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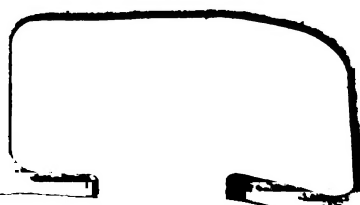
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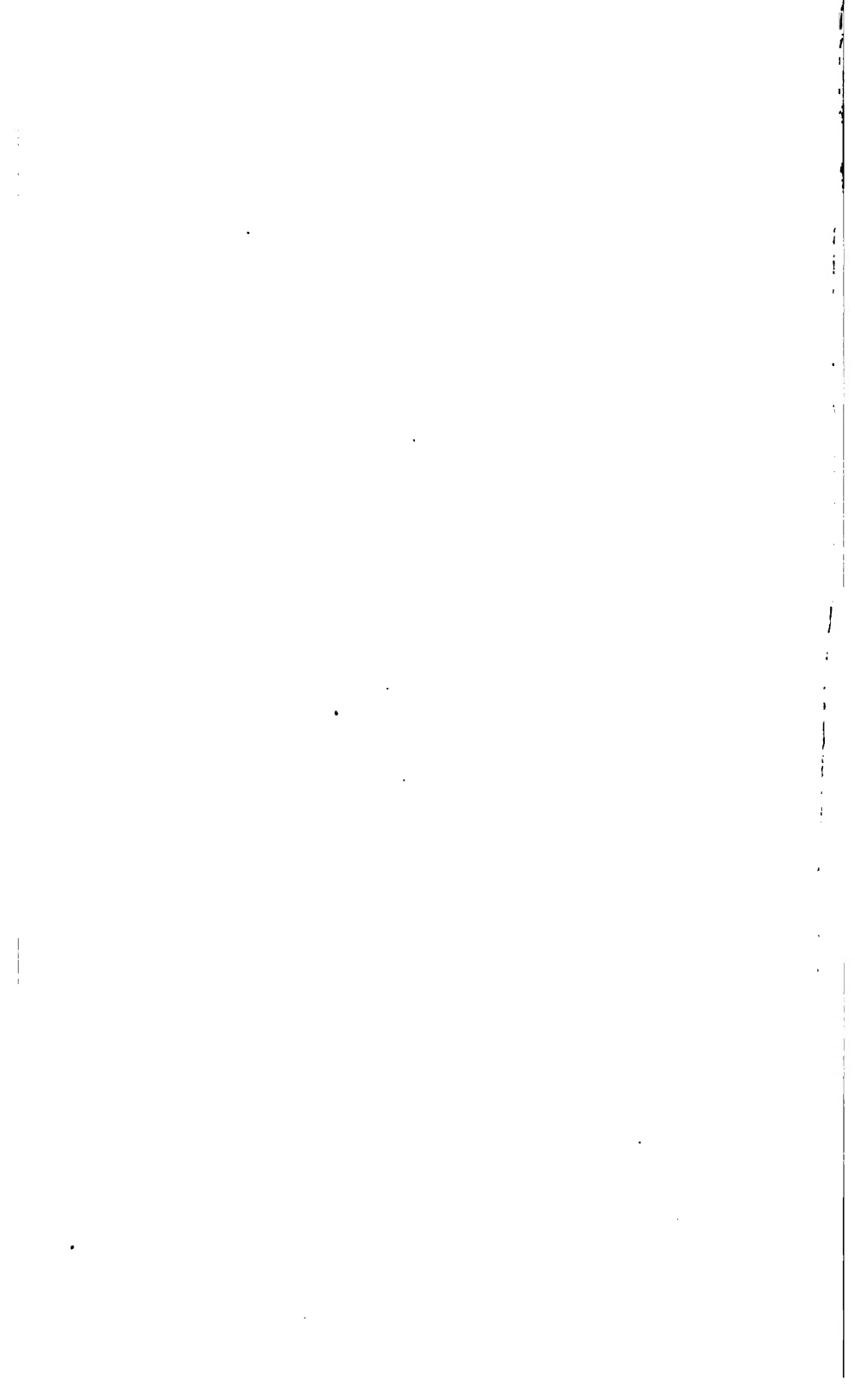
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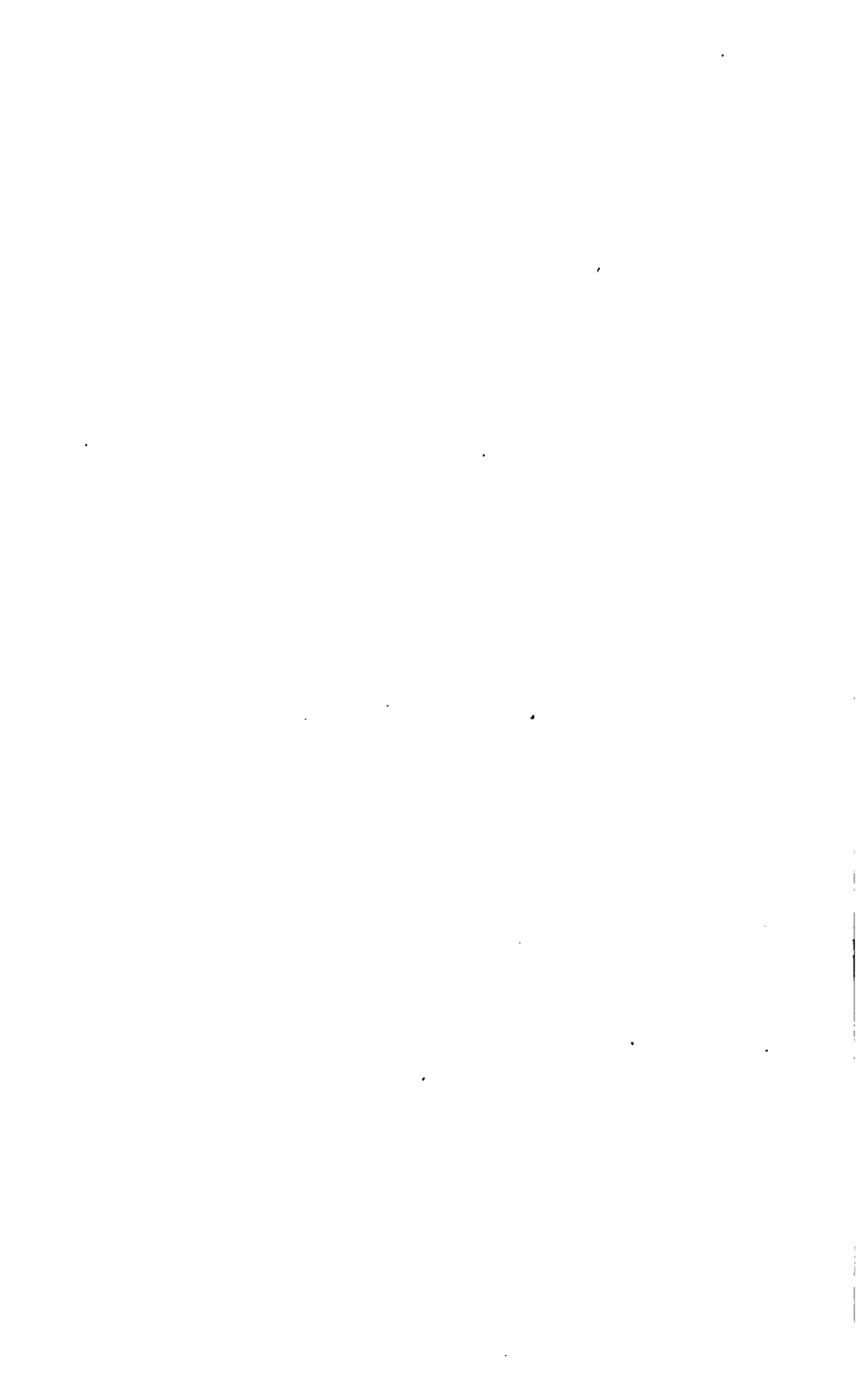


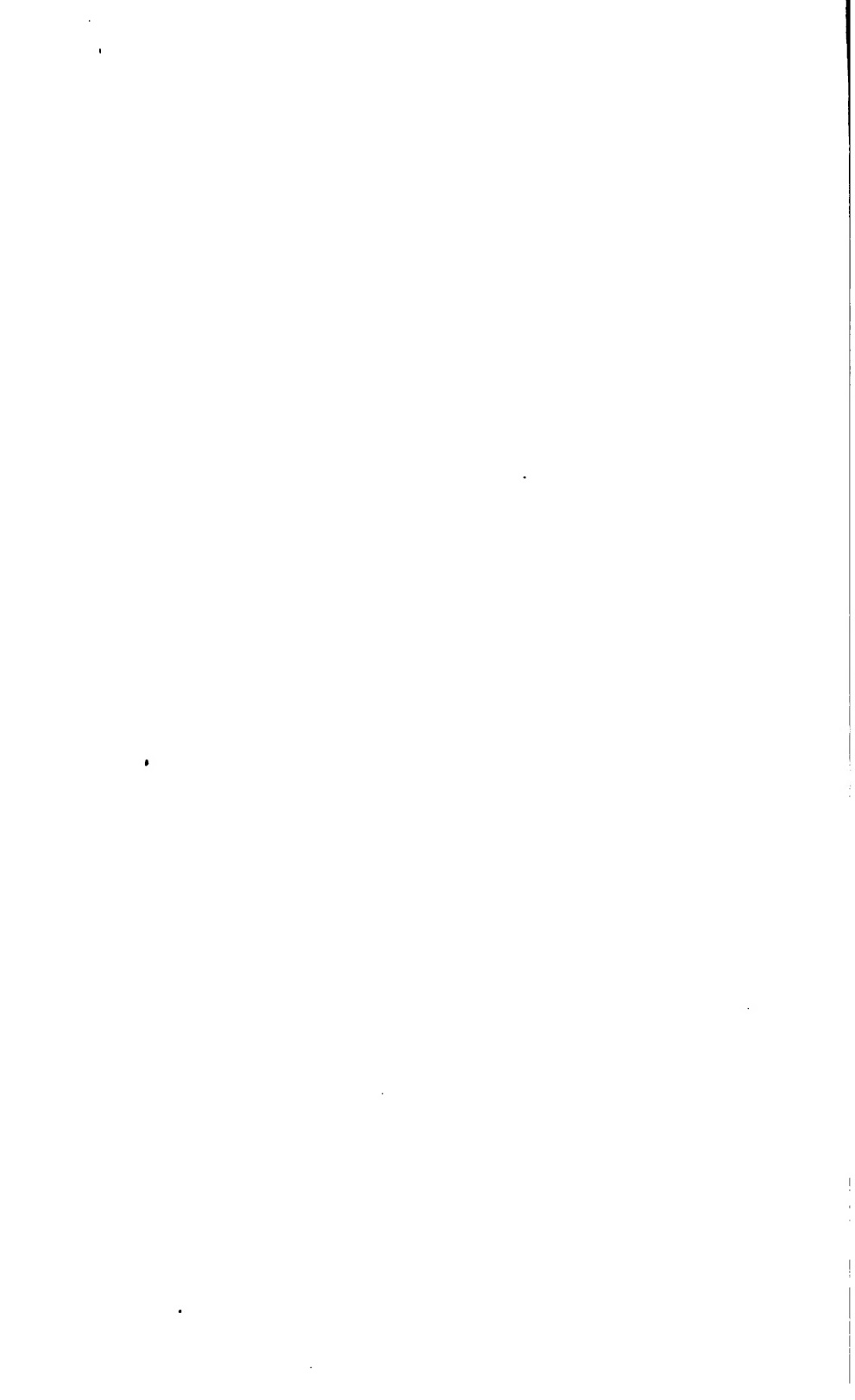


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# HERODOTUS,

WITH

## A COMMENTARY

BY

JOSEPH WILLIAMS BLAKESLEY, B.D.

LATE FELLOW AND TUTOR OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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## INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE commencing the study of any ancient book, a modern reader is naturally desirous of being made acquainted with whatever is known of the personal history of the author. In the case of Herodotus there is little information remaining to gratify this desire, and that little is of a doubtful character. The brief notice in *SUIDAS*, which attributes to him a prolonged residence in the island Samos, after expulsion, in the sequel of a political convulsion, from his native city Halicarnassus, might from its probability be received without any suspicion, if it were not combined with the assertion, that in Samos he cultivated the Ionian dialect, and there wrote his history. But the Ionian dialect was in fact the dialect of literature at the time, and, although Samos was one of the Ionian states of Asia, its language was quite a peculiar one, as Herodotus himself remarks<sup>1</sup>; and, indeed, the few characteristics of it which are recorded do not appear in any of the MSS of his work. Nevertheless, although we cannot accept any view which would connect his residence in Samos with the peculiarities of his language, there are indications in the course of his work that he was familiar with the island, and that some of his accounts of distant regions are derived from information furnished by the enterprising navigators whose home it was. Suidas goes on to say that after a prolonged stay there he returned to Halicarnassus, and assisted in the expulsion of the tyrant

<sup>1</sup> i. 142. The Samians said *Δαίρυρος* and *Θεύδοτος* instead of *Δαίρυρος* and *Θεύδοτος*. *ETYMOLOGICUM MAGNUM*, p. 259. A reason for the anomalous character of the language may be found in the fortunes of the population. (See iii. 147. 149.)

Lygdamis (the author of his own banishment, and the murderer of his kinsman Panyasis, a soothsayer and epic poet). Perceiving himself, however, to be unpopular with his fellow-citizens, he joined as a volunteer the colony sent by the Athenians to Thurii in Italy, died there, and was buried in the agora. These insulated facts are at least conformable to the nature of the times in which Herodotus lived, and are confirmed in some degree by various passages in his writings. Some may perhaps trace the influence of his relative in the superstitious regard for omens and portents which shows itself continually, and may connect his residence in Samos with the frequent allusion to the mysteries and sacred legends<sup>2</sup>. It seems indisputable that some portions of the work which has come down to us must have been composed in the south of Italy; and there is at least a strong probability that a large part originally existed in an independent form. Of the celebrated story related by LUCIAN relative to the circumstances under which the whole was first produced, something will be said in the sequel.

But a far more important matter for the profitable study of this writer is to ascertain the peculiar circumstances of the time in which he lived, in their bearing upon literary productions of a similar nature to his own. No writer escapes the influences of his age, even under circumstances which give the freest scope to individual character. But this scope, under Hellenic modes of life, was narrowed to an almost infinitesimal limit. From his earliest childhood to the day of his death, the Greek lived entirely with others and for others. The traditions, social, political, and religious, in which he was brought up, became a part of himself. Originality, such as we see every day, and are accustomed to admire, would have been in his eyes an object almost of horror,—would indeed have been viewed very much in the same light as free-thinking at the present time. To suppose, therefore, that because an author displays evident marks of intelligence and sagacity, those qualities would exhibit themselves in the same *kind* of discrimination which we should look for in a writer on

<sup>2</sup> Samos was the mythical site of the marriage of Zeus and Here, the mysterious character of which passed into a proverb: πάντα γυναῖκες ἴσαντι, καὶ ὡς Ζεὺς ἀγάγεθ' ἥραν. THEOCRITUS, xv. 64. See the VENETIAN SCHOLIAST on *Iliad* xiv. 295:

οἶον ὅτε πρότειστον ἐμισγέσθην φιλότῃ  
εἰς εὐνὴν φοιτῶντε, φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας.

similar subjects at this day, is to take up a ground which will necessarily distort our judgement both of his merits and defects,—a result which has certainly happened in the case of Herodotus. To make this point clearer it will be well to bestow some little consideration upon the other prose writers which preceded or immediately followed him, and to sketch in a rough outline the characteristics in which they resembled, and those in which they differed.

Fortunately, although nothing but a few fragments remain of these writers, we have the means of doing this. DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS, in two treatises which have come down to us, has given a masterly description of them in terms which seem almost enough in themselves to furnish posterity with a complete clue to the subject, and to prevent any one from entertaining those views which of late have acquired a great, though undeserved, popularity. “Not only the ancient historians,” says he in one place, “Eugeon of Samos, Deiochus of Proconnesus, Eudemus of Paros, Democles of Phigalea, and Hecataeus of Miletus, and also the Argive Acusilaus, the Lamp-sacene Charon, and the Chalcedonian Amelesagoras,—not only these, but also they who were very little more ancient than the Peloponnesian war, and came down to the time of Thucydides, such as Hellenicus of Lesbos and Damastes of Sigeum, Xenomedes the Chian and Xanthus the Lydian, with many others, all resemble one another in the plan of their work and the selection of their subjects. Some of them recorded Hellenic stories, and some those of foreign parts; and these they did not think of connecting with one another, but distributed them by nations and cities, and went through the string of these independently of each other; adhering to one common principle, that whatever local traditions were preserved in the several places, and whatever writings were accessible to them in temples or elsewhere, *these they should publish in the form in which they got them* without addition or diminution. Among these materials existed legends which had obtained current belief in the lapse of time, and likewise stories of dramatic interest, in which a reader of the present day finds much to carp at.” This topographical method retained so great a hold upon the minds of men, that POLYBIUS thinks it

<sup>3</sup> *De Thucydide judicium*, pp. 818, 9. The fragments which remain of these writers fully bear out the description of Dionysius.

necessary, nearly three hundred years after the latest of the writers mentioned by Dionysius, to apologize for not adopting it in his own work, although composed for an entirely different object from those of the logographers in question<sup>4</sup>.

When Dionysius, after the above description, proceeds to compare Herodotus with these writers, the distinction which he draws between them is nothing like that which modern critics have generally assumed. It points entirely to the superior artistical skill which our author displays in the choice of his subject and the manner of treating it. "He does not (says the critic) confine himself to the history of a single nation or a single state; no! he begins with the Lydian dynasty and comes down to the Persian war, including in one single narrative all the important transactions both of Greeks and barbarians that had occurred in the interval of two hundred and forty years<sup>5</sup>." But let us observe that there is nothing in the whole of the essay to give the slightest support to the modern assumption, that in point of critical sagacity, diligent investigation, and historical fidelity, Herodotus belongs to an entirely different class from his contemporaries and immediate predecessors. That he does exceed them in these respects is possible; but if the fact, it could scarcely be ascertained in any other way than by a careful comparison of his and their writings,—a comparison which the loss of the latter has put out of our power. If, indeed, we are to be at all guided by the chance expressions of those ancient writers, who had the means of instituting such a comparison, those expressions, so far as they go, are unfavourable to the modern view of the question. Herodotus and Hellanicus are coupled with one another by STRABO, in a very emphatic passage, in which we cannot doubt that he is expressing himself advisedly, and after well considering the facts of the case. "The ancient Greek historians (says he) gave the names of Scythians and Celto-scythians to all the northerns, while those who preceded them made a division, terming

<sup>4</sup> iii. 57. After giving his reasons for pursuing a different plan, he adds an illustration which shows the prevalence of the feeling in favour of the old one: *εἰ δέ τις πάντως ἐπιζητοῦσι κατὰ τόπον καὶ κατὰ μέρος τῶν τοιοῦτων ἀκούειν, ἴσως ἀγνοοῦσι παραπλήσιόν τι πάσχοντες τοῖς λίχνοις τῶν δειπνητῶν καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι πάντων ἀπογευόμενοι τῶν παρακειμένων, οὔτε κατὰ τὸ παρὸν οὔτε ἀληθινῶς ἀπολαβούσι τῶν βρωμάτων οὔτ' εἰς τὸ μέλλον ὠφέλιμον ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν ἀνάδοσιν καὶ τροφήν κομίζονται.*

<sup>5</sup> *De Thucydide judicium*, p. 820.



such as lay above the Euxine, the Ister, and the Adriatic, *Hyperboreans*, and *Sauromatians*, and *Arimaspians*; while such as lay beyond the Caspians they called, one portion of them, *Sacians*, and another *Massagetes*, having in fact not a particle of certain information to give about them, although they do not scruple to relate a war between Cyrus and the Massagetes! In fact, neither on the subject of these tribes had any one ascertained any thing to be depended upon, nor was any great credit to be attached to the ancient part of the Persian and Median and Assyrian history, owing to the simplicity of the historians (τῶν συγγραφέων) and their fondness for legends (τὴν φιλομυθίαν). For seeing, as they did, professed legend writers (τοὺς φανερώς μυθογράφους) in great esteem, they thought that they would give a relish to their productions by relating, in the form of history, matters which they neither saw nor heard of, (at least from persons who they were satisfied were acquainted with what they related,) simply and solely because such matters would excite the satisfaction and wonder of the hearers. One has as much reason to put faith in Hesiod and Homer in their stories of the heroes, as upon Ctesias, Herodotus, and Hellanicus, and others of that stamp<sup>6</sup>."

THUCYDIDES, again, in a well-known passage, wherein he compares his own subject and the plan on which he has treated it with the writings of his predecessors or contemporaries, can hardly be doubted by an unprejudiced reader to refer to HERODOTUS'. If this be the case, our author must be considered as reckoned by the philosophical historian among the *logographers* of the time, with whom the principal object was to produce an agreeable narrative, consistent with itself, and sufficiently conformable to the opinions current among their hearers to be received without opposition by them. Such a narrative would not necessarily be false, but it would certainly not be founded on that kind of investigation which in modern times we are accustomed to consider essential to the character of an historian. The principle of discrimination exercised in combining materials would be one which an artist would adopt rather than a philosopher. The

<sup>6</sup> xi. c. 7, p. 424, ed. Tauchnitz. COLONEL RAWLINSON, on the other hand, opposes "authentic history such as it is related by Herodotus and Berosus" to "the romance of Xenophon or the fables of Ctesias." (*Athenæum of March 18th, 1854.*)

<sup>7</sup> i. 21. The arguments which have been brought against this opinion are remarked on in the notes on the several passages supposed to militate against it.

writer would probably abstain from the incorporation of stories which carried improbability on their very face, but he would be saved from this by the simple operation of his good taste; and the result would be, that his work might very well, when completed, present the appearance of a judgement in the selection of materials, which, in another age and under other conditions of society, would only arise from the exercise of a critical spirit. This is a point which it is important to keep in view, not only in weighing the authority to be attached to Thucydides's remark upon his illustrious contemporary, but also in estimating the value of the latter as an historical witness. By losing sight of it we convert, at the outset, into a direct censure of another what was only intended as an elucidation of the writer's own method; we suppose a rivalry where none either existed or could exist, any more than between a sculptor and a painter. And when we come to the perusal of Herodotus himself, we bring with us a fruitful source of erroneous judgement, by assuming in him qualities which he neither possessed nor claimed, which are foreign to the habits of his time, and would have hindered rather than furthered the execution of his real design.

A very different feeling from that which called forth the observations of Thucydides is shown in the attack upon Herodotus by one of the other writers with whom Strabo couples him. CTESIAS, a Cnidian physician, resided for seventeen years at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon, and on his return to Greece produced a connected history of the Assyrian, Median, and Persian dynasties from the time of Ninus and Semiramis to the third year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad (B.C. 398). This work only remains in the scanty epitome made by PHOTIUS, afterwards elevated to the patriarchate of Constantinople, but the first twenty chapters of the second book of DIODORUS SICULUS, which contain the history of Semiramis, are undoubtedly taken from it\*. In almost all the particulars of the Persian history it was

\* An epitome of Ctesias (or, as Voss supposes, of the first twenty-three books of his work, excluding the last, which was on the subject of India) was made by PAMPHILA, a literary lady of Egyptian extraction, in the time of Nero. It was in three books, and it may be suspected that it was really from this work, and not from the original, that Photius's epitome was made. This will account for the extreme disproportion as well as meagreness of his performance. Omitting the first six books which contained the Assyrian and Median history prior to the time of Cyrus, he compresses

opposed to the account given by Herodotus, and the opposition seems to have been of a controversial character, for the writer did not scruple to apply the epithets of "liar" and "romancer" to his predecessor<sup>9</sup>. Nevertheless, harsh as these expressions read to us, a recollection of the notorious irascibility of the Greeks upon all subjects in which two different views could be taken, ought to check the haste with which some modern scholars have assumed, that if they refused to adopt Ctesias's judgement of Herodotus, they were bound in justice to the party accused to deny all credence to any statements of the accuser. Whatever may be the personal merits of the two parties, there is no antecedent improbability that the sources of information possessed by the Cnidian were very different in kind from those to which the Halicarnassian had access; and that the same historical fact would consequently appear in a very different light to the one and the other. Ctesias states the grounds of his information to have been his own personal observation, and the testimony of the Persians themselves, checked and arranged by a reference to the records of the royal chronicles. What the sources were from which Herodotus derived his information is a very difficult problem to determine; but whether better or worse than those to which his rival had access, it will appear that they were quite different; and consequently that all general assumptions as to the degree of weight to be given to either writer are premature, until an estimate has been formed (at any rate approximately) of the value of the materials at the command of each.

In order to attempt this, however, with any prospect of success, the first step to be taken is to get quit of all the associations which spring out of modern civilisation. Every one accustomed to the facilities which the present time offers, involuntarily attributes to any individual of the same social position with himself similar

the next twelve into fifteen columns, and the five following into three columns and a half, while the single book on India which succeeds takes up between nine and ten. For the prevalence of the practice of epitomising from epitomes see the introductory part of the *Life of Aristotle* in the *ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA*.

<sup>9</sup> *ψεύστην αὐτὸν ἀπελέγχων ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ λογοποῖν ἀποκαλῶν*. (PHOTIUS, *Biblioth.* p. 35.) About the misapplication of the former epithet there will be little question; but the latter is applied by Herodotus himself to Hecateus (ii. 143; v. 36. 125), with whom he is united by ARRIAN under the same designation. (*Exped. Alex.* v. 6.)

methods of effecting any given purpose,—unconsciously forgetting the entirely different conditions of social existence which an interval of more than 2000 years implies. To visit personally all the scenes which he was going to describe; to collect materials (documentary or otherwise) upon the spot; to read all that others had written on the subject, and verify all points which might appear doubtful by a reference to other sources of information; to provide himself with the best maps, and correct these from time to time by independent observations; to determine every incident by a careful reference both to time and place; to make plans of interesting localities; and to bring home specimens, zoological, botanical, and mineral, for the behoof of those more learned in such lore than himself, would possibly have been the plan adopted by Herodotus had he lived in the nineteenth century after, instead of the fifth before, the commencement of the Christian era. Whether in this case his work would have been as entertaining a one as it is, or would have stood the same chance of surviving for some thousands of years, and being read by every succeeding generation with renewed delight, may be suffered to remain an unmooted point. It will be well, however, to consider some of the obvious obstacles which, he living at the time he did, existed to hinder his realisation of such an idea of a historian's duties as has just been sketched out.

First of all, the mere difficulties and dangers of locomotion were enormous. Until the time of Alexander the seas swarmed with pirates, and the land with banditti<sup>10</sup>. The only countries to which there is any satisfactory evidence of Greek visitors having resorted for the mere purpose of gratifying an intelligent curiosity, are Lydia (under the reign of Croesus) and Egypt, with both of which places there existed direct commercial relations of considerable importance. Where this was the case, the interest of the states whose revenue was increased by levying duties upon the merchants would induce them to render the access of foreigners something safer. But on the other hand, the very same interest would tend to confine traffic to *certain definite channels*, and to fetter it by arbitrary rules enforced in the most summary manner. The hardy Samian skipper with his cargo of Laconian marine dye, might, after creeping along the coast of Crete, take advantage of a favourable wind to run across to

<sup>10</sup> POLYBIUS, iii. 58, 59.

Cyrene ; but if while doing this an easterly breeze should spring up and carry him out of his course, he would, unless preserved by the special favour of the gods, infallibly be sunk by the Carthaginian cruisers, or if spared, it would only be for the purpose of being carried into port and sold as a slave. It would avail him little to plead that he had been bound for a place with which the Carthaginians themselves carried on a commercial intercourse, that the deviation from his owners' instructions was quite involuntary on his part, that he should be extremely happy to exchange his cargo for a return freight of salt-fish from the curing-houses at Adryme<sup>11</sup>, or of negroes from the coffles with which he understood the Garamantes were every day expected in the town of the Lotus-eaters<sup>12</sup>; or, as his ship had suffered from stress of weather, that he would go back in ballast, and invest the proceeds of his outward cargo in a choice selection of carbuncles<sup>13</sup>, which would fetch a good price at Ephesus, to decorate the shrines of the great goddess Artemis withal. He would find, in such a case, that the advantages of an open trade were little appreciated by the merchant-princes he had to deal with. "Stranger," one of these might perhaps answer, in such counting-house Greek as he could muster, "we do business in a very different way. 'Tis very true, we drive a thriving trade with thy friends of Cyrene. That *silphium* of theirs always goes off well in the Campanian market; and I sent orders only yesterday to my agent at *the Stake*<sup>14</sup> to buy up as much as he could get. But should I deal with thee, what oath could we two take to make the bargain binding? And as for the Lotus-eaters and their slave-market, I rede thee lay an ox on thy tongue. My excellent friend Lars Perpenna, of the great house in Agylla, found his way there last summer, and by Moloch, he had a narrow escape of ending his days as a bailiff on Hamilcar's model farm. He protested indeed, that out at sea there was a tremendous north-wester, and that if he had not run under

<sup>11</sup> STRABO, xvii. 492.

<sup>12</sup> HERODOTUS, iv. 183.

<sup>13</sup> PLINY, *H. N.* xxxvii. 7.

<sup>14</sup> The *Stake* (Ἰδαί) was a place in the immediate neighbourhood of the *Altars of Philenus*, where a traffic (which in the time of the Ptolemies was contraband) used to be carried on between Carthaginians and Cyrenians, the former obtaining the syrup of *silphium* in exchange for wine. (STRABO, xvii. c. 3, p. 495.) But this traffic was carried on overland.



Fair Cape, he must have gone down : indeed he would have it that his ship had suffered so much he could not possibly get again to sea under a week ; but our commissioner told him roundly (and he was a man to keep his word) that, ready or not ready, if the craft did not clear out on the fifth day <sup>15</sup>, he would seize both her and her owner. In sooth, friend, I suspect that my gossip's north-wester blew very much in the same direction as thy south-easter, that is, to a good market where there were no port dues to pay. Thou hast doubtless heard of such a place as Sardinia? No! Nor Gades? No! I dare say not indeed! no more than a Cretan of wearing ship <sup>16</sup>!"

The Carthaginians, although the most striking examples of commercial monopolists in the time with which we are concerned, are by no means to be considered as alone in their practices. Several instances of the same habitual policy are pointed out in the notes of this edition; and, in fact, it may be considered as a point established beyond all reasonable doubt, that piracy would be regularly practised by any one of the petty states of Hellas upon any other, *where no direct relations, sanctioned by a common religious bond, existed between the two*. The amount of risk to a traveller by sea arising out of this state of things appears vividly in the line of argument adopted by the orator ANDOCIDES, who is defending himself against the charge of having been concerned in the mutilation of the *Hermæ*, which caused so much excitement at Athens just before the fatal expedition to Sicily. He had left the city at the time, and been engaged for several years in commerce until his return and subsequent trial. His accuser, in reference to the dangers of this employment, had asserted that the gods had specially preserved him through them, destining him "to a drier death on shore" as the reward of his sacrilege. "What," he replies, "if the gods had deemed me guilty, would they not have revenged themselves upon me when they had got me involved in the extremest peril? for what human peril is greater than a sea voyage at a stormy time? Here they had life, limb, and fortune in their hands, and yet they saved me: why! they might have caused that not even my body should have obtained a grave! What! when there was war, and war-gallies and pirates

<sup>15</sup> POLYBIUS, iii. 22.

<sup>16</sup> See note 390 on iv. 151, and note 307 on v. 107.

covering the seas,—as numbers know to their cost, from being captured by them, and after losing their all ending their lives in slavery, —when too there was a barbarous seaboard on which numbers before now have been wrecked, and murdered after the most horrible tortures,—will you believe that the gods saved me through all these perils in order to make Cephisius, that vilest of Athenians (not that he is an Athenian as he professes), the minister of their vengeance on me<sup>17</sup> ? ”

We may, from what has been said, come without much hesitation to the conclusion, that admitting our author to have been as naturally inclined to travel as an Englishman of the present day, his means of gratifying this passion must have been very limited;—that if he visited foreign parts, it will have been under the same circumstances as the travelling merchants of his day,—that his voyages will have been (except by accident) limited to the courses held by the trading vessels, and his travels by land to the great routes along which the commercial intercourse between distant countries was carried on; for if travelling by sea was dangerous, far more so (POLYBIUS tells us) was travelling by land.

But even supposing the personal experiences of our author thus limited by the necessities of his time, it may be replied that the examples of the Parkes, Burckhardts, and Clappertons show how great an amount of knowledge may be acquired by a traveller in a caravan. Here, however, there is another abatement to be made. Modern travellers under such circumstances possess a power, which before the time of ERATOSTHENES, was quite out of the reach even of the most intelligent. They can determine the latitude, longitude, and height above the level of the sea, of any spot they please. But not one of these three particulars could be attempted by Herodotus, except in the very roughest manner. The spherical figure of the

<sup>17</sup> *De Mysterioris*, p. 18. He goes on to say presently: ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὃ ἄνδρες, ἡγοῦμαι χρήναι νομίζειν τοὺς τοιοῦτους κινδύνους ἀνθρώπινους, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν θεῖους.

ARISTOTLE allows his ideally brave man (τὸν ἀνδρείον) to be afraid of death out at sea, without forfeiting any portion of his claim to the character; and in fact considers an entire absence of fear in such a case to indicate a habit of mind for which the Greek language possessed no expression: τῶν δ' ὑπερβαλλόντων τῇ ἀφοβίᾳ ἀνάνυμος· εἴη δ' ἢ τις μαινόμενος ἢ ἀνάλγητος, εἰ μὴθ' ἐν φοβῷ, μήτε σεισμὸν μήτε τὰ κύματα, καθάπερ φασὶ τοὺς Κελτούς. (*Nicomach. Ethic.* ii. p. 1115.)

earth was a notion which certainly never entered his mind, and except on this assumption neither latitude nor longitude have any existence. The position of any one place on the surface of the earth can, in such a case, only be described by a reference to its bearing from some other. And in so assigning its bearing, we must not forget that our traveller has no compass, nay, that he has not even the rough means of orientation now possessed by every school-boy who knows how to find the pole-star. The *north* of Herodotus is the *quarter* from whence the cold Thracian winds blow. His *south* is the place of the sun when *sensibly* highest in the heaven (*μσημβρία*), or the region from which the warm moist wind (*νότος*) comes. His *east* and *west* are the solstitial points of the rising and setting sun, without any definition whatever of the position from whence the phenomenon is observed<sup>18</sup>.

That this rough way of assigning positions, by their bearing upon other equally undefined points, was the ordinary method of our author, will appear quite plainly from an expression used by him in several passages, which has not been generally understood by the commentators, and which is unintelligible except on the supposition that he is defining the position of a spot by projecting it, as it were, upon the direction of the course which he is at the time pursuing, quite irrespectively of what that course may happen to be. For instance, in describing *Pteria*, the place where the first battle took place between the armies of Cræsus and Cyrus, he says that it is *κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν μάλιστά κη κειμένη* (i. 76). The defile where the ibises were said to watch for the winged snakes, is in Arabia *κατὰ Βουτούν πόλιν μάλιστά κη κείμενος* (ii. 75). The *Labyrinth* is said to be situated above the lake Mæris, and *κατὰ Κροκοδείλων καλεομένην πόλιν μάλιστά κη κείμενος* (ii. 148). Now one may assume, *à priori*, that this phrase is used in the same sense in all these passages, and in the second of them (see note 195 thereon) it is quite certain that the preposition conveys no sense of proximity, for the defile was far away from the city Buto. It can only be taken to mean "on the

<sup>18</sup> The variation of these points with the alteration of latitude is obvious to us. For instance, at *Cyzicus* the sun would rise nearly to the N.E. by E. of a spectator, when at *Syene* it would appear due E. There is no reason to suppose that, in the idea of Herodotus, these bearings differed in the least degree from one another.

same line with the city Buto," that is, that when a traveller passing up the Nile arrives at Buto, he is come "abreast of" the locality where the bones of the snakes are to be seen. Applying this sense to the other two passages, a satisfactory meaning will be obtained; but, if we come to consider the direction with reference to the points of the compass, we shall discover that in the first of the three cases the traveller must look *southwards* for the direction of Pteria, in the second *eastwards* for the defile in the Arabian mountains, and in the third *westwards* for the Labyrinth. In other words, the description is an appropriate one for a person carrying in his hand *an outline* of the south coast of the Euxine or of the banks of the Nile, and referring other sites which he has occasion to mention to some point on these<sup>19</sup>; but it is altogether unnatural for one who had before him any thing like *a map* in the modern sense of the word, that is, a representation of a large portion of the earth's surface on a fixed scale, wherein the several places should be noted, and their relative bearings laid down on one consistent plan.

That maps of this description existed in the time of Herodotus I will not absolutely deny; but that they were either common, or likely to be used by him, or, if they had been, that they possessed such a degree of accuracy as to contribute to the clearness of his views in combining the several portions of his own personal experience, appears to me very unlikely. The first person who ever attempted to construct any thing which could be so called, or indeed who paid any particular attention to the subject of geography, was the Milesian ANAXIMANDER, and perhaps we shall be near the truth in supposing that a brazen tablet, exhibiting the known earth according to his views of it, was set up in some public place at Miletus, and furnished Aristagoras with the information regarding the route to Susa which Herodotus makes him give. Anaximander was followed by HECATÆUS, who corrected his errors, partly, if not entirely, from his own personal experience as a traveller, and left behind him the memoir in which this was done,—a work which remained extant

<sup>19</sup> The coast outline which Democedes is described as having made for Darius is an example of such a chart; and the existing work under the name of SCYLAX is the mere description of such another. As for the Nile, most modern tourists up the Rhine or by the South Coast Railway in England, have bought, or been solicited to buy, a similar manual.

in the time of ERATOSTHENES<sup>20</sup>; but that copies of this production, or of any considerable portion of it, were in common circulation, there seems no reason whatever to suppose. If, indeed, it really was, as some have imagined, the basis of the brazen tablet which Aristagoras was said to have taken with him to Lacedæmon, it is plain that its utility as a guide can have been very small; for the Lacedæmonians, to whom it was exhibited, gathered from it no conception of the real distance of Susa from the coast, and unless Aristagoras had inadvertently answered their question truly, were in a fair way (according to Herodotus) of being duped by him. So far, therefore, as the evidence of this particular incident (on which much stress has been laid) goes, there is nothing whatever to difference the "map" of Aristagoras from those numerous γῆς περίοδοι which excite our author's contempt elsewhere, and consequently nothing to indicate the existence of charts constructed on such principles as to furnish a traveller with assistance in *disentangling the geography* of the country through which he might be passing.

But, in fact, the commercial importance of Miletus, its wealth, and the civilisation indicated by its contributions to the literature of the sixth and fifth centuries before the Christian era forbid us to rest satisfied with merely this negative result. Anaximander's name is brought into connexion with that of his countryman Thales, either as a scholar or an acquaintance; and his reputation as a physical philosopher was high throughout antiquity, worthless as his views appear to the superior enlightenment of modern times. It is difficult therefore to suppose, that a performance which even Eratosthenes thought

<sup>20</sup> Ἀναξίμανδρος ὁ Μιλήσιος, ἀκουστής Θαλέω, πρῶτος ἐτόλμησε τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν πίνακι γράφειν, μεθ' ὃν Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος, ἀπὸ πολλῶν λαῶν, διηκρίβωσεν, ὥστε θαυμασθῆναι τὸ πρᾶγμα. AGATHEMERUS (p. 2, ed. Hudson). Ἐρατοσθένης φησὶν Ἀναξίμανδρόν τε, Θαλοῦ γεγονότα γνῶριμον καὶ πόλιν, καὶ Ἐκαταῖον τὸν Μιλήσιον, τὸν μὲν ἐκδοῦναι πρῶτον γεωγραφικὸν πίνακα, τὸν δὲ Ἐκαταῖον καταλιπεῖν γράμμα, πιστούμενον ἐκείνου εἶναι ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῦ γραφῆς. (STRABO, i. c. 1, p. 10.) It is well to remark, that from the comparison of these two passages it follows, (1st) that Agathemerus's statement is, no less than Strabo's, originally derived from Eratosthenes; (2ndly) that what Hecateus did was to correct Anaximander's tablet, not by producing a better, but by writing a *treatise* upon it; and (3rdly) that Anaximander's πίναξ was not accompanied by such a treatise, which, if it had been a portable map on vellum, it doubtless would have been. Consequently, it will most likely have been, as suggested in the text, a table in stone or metal, set up in some public place, as the nineteen-year cycle of Meton was some years afterwards at Athens. See p. 163, below.

worthy of honourable mention, can have possessed merely the merit of being the first rough attempt to convey an idea of the shape and bearings of the then known portions of the earth. Had it been nothing more than this, it must have been utterly valueless, if merely from the erroneous physical notions of its author. But it will assume a considerable value (although one of a very different kind from a modern chart) if we suppose that within such a rude outline as we have imagined there were drawn *the several inland routes, and the tracks of coast navigation*, by which the commerce of Miletus (then unquestionably the chief of the Hellenic trading communities) was accustomed to pass,—and that the different ports at which (if a navigator) the traveller would desire to touch, the landmarks for which he would have to look out, or (in the case of land routes) the stations where he might be able to rest, the rivers which he would have to cross, and the barriers where he would find tolls to pay, were noted down upon each of these. This information might be conveyed in such a tablet *without any adherence to an uniform scale*; because the distances, estimated in the way in which alone at that time it was possible to estimate them, would naturally be specified by the number of days' march or of hours' sail from one position to another. A tablet constructed on such a principle would be of the greatest use to the merchants who met on the exchange at Miletus; and *on this* its reputation would rest. To look at it in the usual manner as a step in the science of mathematical geography is (I conceive) not only to attribute to it a merit which it did not possess: it is really to distract our attention from those which it did. It must be regarded as resembling the PEUTINGER TABLE, *a general itinerary in a synoptical form*, conveying the aggregate information possessed by Greek merchants at the time, in a shape independent of any knowledge of the true figure and dimensions of the earth, and consequently subject to all the amount of error which ignorance of the elementary principles of mathematical geography necessarily involves. In this view of the subject, it is not difficult to understand, how the memoir of Hecateus founded upon it should acquire the reputation it did. It no doubt consisted mainly in the verification and correction of the distances and bearings of the landmarks, with reference exclusively to travellers upon the routes. Thus the corrected itinerary, although of no pretension in itself to the merits of a *chart*, would become most inter-

esting to a scientific geographer like Eratosthenes, who having already, by independent methods, determined approximately the figure and magnitude of the earth, would find in it materials to fill up the correct outline which his superior knowledge had enabled him to sketch out.

HECATEUS THE MILESIAN, whose name has been brought before our notice in connexion with the subject of this celebrated tablet, is also included in the list of ancient writers criticised by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the way we have seen. Mention of him by name occurs in four passages in our MSS of Herodotus <sup>21</sup>, in the first three of which he is described by the title *ὁ λογοποιός*, a term which ARRIAN gives to both <sup>22</sup>. In the fourth passage he is called simply "the son of Hegesander," his father's name not having been mentioned in the other three, and a notice, apparently in his own words, of the conduct of the Pelasgians to their Athenian neighbours is inserted into our author's text <sup>23</sup>. This passage may possibly be a later introduction by the hand of an ancient editor, of whom there are traces in several other places <sup>24</sup>; but even if it be so, it is still not likely that Herodotus should have learnt what he says of Hecateus without being acquainted with his works. In point of fact, Hecateus is the only one of the numerous prose writers then extant who is mentioned by him by name. Now it is distinctly asserted, that in the second book of his work, a great deal has been taken from Hecateus's *Periegesis*, even the very language having been only slightly changed, and as instances of this are cited the descriptions of the phoenix, the river-horse, and the mode of capturing the crocodile <sup>25</sup>. Yet, not only is there no indication on the part of Herodotus that he has there made any use of his predecessor's writings, but, if we turn to the passages thus particularised, we find what amounts to a profession that he is himself an eye-witness of what he is describing. The phoenix, he allows, he has not seen himself except in a painting, from the circumstance of its visiting the country only at rare intervals; from which statement one would naturally infer that he must have seen both the river-horse and the crocodile, the description of which

<sup>21</sup> ii. 143; v. 36. 125 (on which last passage see note 341); vi. 137.

<sup>22</sup> *Exped. Alexand.* v. 6.

<sup>23</sup> See note 305 on vi. 137.

<sup>24</sup> See note 432 on ii. 145; note 99 on iv. 32; note 236 on viii. 119.

<sup>25</sup> The descriptions are in §§ 68—73. See PORPHYRY quoted in note 183.

occurs in the next section. But the description is of such a kind as to make one absolutely certain that he neither saw them nor got his account direct from any one who had;—so entirely erroneous are the particulars in matters which could not fail to strike the eye. And yet these descriptions occur in a part of the book for the superior accuracy of which he volunteers a pledge, studiously contrasting it in this respect with what he afterwards proceeds to relate<sup>26</sup>. Whether, therefore, we adopt the assertion of PORPHYRY, that the sections just referred to are really the work of Hecataeus, or reject it, the conclusion seems irresistible, that we have here an instance of the writer giving an account, as if on his own authority, of what he undoubtedly could not have seen<sup>27</sup>.

If now we set out with the impression, which some scholars appear to have derived from the study of Herodotus, that there is “observable, in every part of his history, a determination not to be responsible for any but ascertained facts;” if we regard his intercourse with the Chaldaean priests in Babylon as taking place while “engaged in collecting materials for his history of Assyria;” and think of him as one who, after having “visited all the most remarkable parts of the world then known—Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Colchis, probably Babylon and Ecbatana, the northern parts of Africa, the shores of the Hellespont, the Euxine Sea, and Scythia, pursuing in all those countries his researches with unwearied industry,” . . . “again recommenced his researches and his travels with renovated ardour; and, as he had before directed his attention more particularly to the nations and countries which acknowledged the supremacy of the Persian empire, so now travelled with the same patience of investigation over the various provinces of Greece, collecting the records of the most illustrious families of the different towns of any note,” we cannot help feeling not only surprised, but shocked, at such a manifestation of the real state of the case as appears in the passages just mentioned. If we are deter-

<sup>26</sup> μέχρι μὲν τούτου ἔβρι τε ἐμὴ καὶ γράμῃ καὶ ἱστορίῃ ταῦτα λέγουσά ἐστι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε, Ἀλγυπτίους ἐρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων, § 99, where see note 265.

<sup>27</sup> It has generally been assumed by the modern magnifiers of Herodotus's historical character, that when he uses the expression μέχρι ἐμὲ ἔδον or ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἔδον, he is of course to be regarded as an eye-witness of the thing to which these words are applied. This rule, however, can hardly be applied to the “Forts of Darius” in Scythia (iv. 124), or, if applied, it must be at the expense of the writer's character as an observer. See notes 316 and 317, thereon.



mined to take up ground different from that on which the ancients uniformly took their stand in the criticism of our author, we must give up his character for veracity. Considered as a *logographer*, nothing can be said too highly in his praise. But then we must regard him as governed by the principles of a logographer, blending together into one mass the various materials which offered themselves to him, here the tale brought by some skipper of a merchant ship, there the story which beguiled the discomforts of the caravanseraï after the day's journey was over; often listening to the tale of the *ἱερότης* of a temple, at another time hearing the details which some veteran sailor or septuagenarian hoplite poured out, of the doings at Salamis or Marathon. The local traditions which embodied in a mythical form the early history of the several states,—the popular poetry which embalmed the memory of the worthies of the past,—the peculiar customs prevailing at the religious festivals, to every one of which was attached some story to explain it,—would furnish a mass of materials not less valuable *for his purpose* than formal historical documents. Modern criticism is inclined to rate such sources of information very low; but in the days of Herodotus they found more favour, or perhaps we should rather say, more justice. At all events, if we are to be guided by the direct testimony of antiquity, confirmed by that indirect evidence which the remains of the early historians afford, we shall not set out on the assumption that Herodotus was guided by a modern spirit of criticism in the collection or the selection of his materials; but either be satisfied to enjoy his work as a composition of surpassing beauty and interest, reading it as a contemporary would have done; or else, if in accordance with the habits and tastes of the present day we look in it for materials from which to reconstruct the image of the past, we must be content patiently to trace the probable sources of each portion of it, to compare not merely Herodotus with Otesias or Dinon (as one might Hallam with Lingard, or Southey with Butler), but both the one and the other with what we know from other sources to have actually taken place; not deciding between them on the simple estimate which we may form of their relative judgments, but testing the accounts of each by the analogy of other similar cases, and by their conformity with the known conditions of society. The notes with which this edition is furnished have been drawn up chiefly with the object of facilitating

this process. They are not, properly speaking, so much illustrations *of the text* of Herodotus, as illustrations, *through his text*, of the time in which he lived and the influences under which his work would necessarily be composed. The object has not been to palliate discrepancies, but by bringing them out into a strong light, to show distinctly the degree of historical assurance which exists on the points where they occur, and thus prepare the way for a due appreciation of all conflicting statements. In some cases I cherish the hope that the result of this method has been, to render possible a clearer view of important historical transactions than has yet been obtained<sup>22</sup>; and I have little doubt that a much richer harvest will be reaped by those who have leisure to follow it up.

It would, however, be a great error to dismiss the reader to the study of Herodotus, under an impression that because his materials are mainly of the kind just described, and combined with one another on a principle very different from that which a modern historian would adopt, his work is therefore at all deficient in historical value. The very phenomena discoverable in it, which take it out of the category of histories such as those of Tacitus or Thucydides, will (if we look at the matter aright) increase our conviction of the fidelity with which it reflects the current opinions, feelings, and habits of the time in which it was written. What the men of that day *believed* of the transactions of the generation which had preceded them, comes to us *in a scarcely altered shape*. A flood of barbarism had swept over Asia, and, after engulfing almost all the existing civilisation, had been rolled back again; so that when the survivors of the deluge began to lift up their heads, an entirely new order of things had sprung into existence, and of the old order only insulated relics remained, connected together and interpreted by the popular sentiments of the time. A generation before the battle of Salamis the coasts of Asia were full of flourishing commercial communities, small indeed as regards their territorial extent, but wealthy, enterprising, and skilled

<sup>22</sup> I would instance especially the nature of the revolution effected by Darius, as developed in the Excursus II. on Book iii. and the under-current of Achæan interests, which modified the whole foreign policy of Sparta before and during the Persian war, upon their finding an able and unscrupulous representative in a Heraclide king. See note 172 upon vi. 73, and the references therein; the following notes as far as 190; also notes 436, 437 on Book vii. and notes 18 and 34 on Book ix.

in arts and arms. The Homeric epics,—the lyric poetry, of which fragments alone have come down to us,—the numerous colonies which studded the shores of the Euxine,—the magnificent temples of Samos and Ephesus,—and the proverbial luxury of Ionia, constitute incontestable evidence of the extent which civilisation had reached among the Asiatic Hellenes. With their European brethren the case was widely different. That city, in which, before a century more had elapsed, were produced the dramas of Sophocles and the friezes of the Parthenon,—in which the oratory of “Olympian Pericles” swayed the wills of the assembled people like the nod of the omnipotent Zeus himself,—while, meantime, unprecedented national success had engendered the vision of universal sovereignty,—was, at the time when Croesus crossed the Halys, a humble member of the confederacy of which her military rival was the paramount head,—too feeble to dream of independent action,—without a written literature, unless we may give such a name to the productions of Solon,—and indebted for even the rudiments of cultivation to the dynasty whose name she afterwards proscribed<sup>29</sup>. History presents no instance of rapid development comparable to that of Athens during the latter half of the sixth and the former half of the fifth century before the Christian era; the nearest parallel perhaps is that of the Italian republics at the time of the revival of letters. But the calamity which had in its results awakened the latent energies of the countrymen of Themistocles, by merging all individual interests in the sense of one common danger and the sentiment of one common patriotism, and which, when it was at last repelled, left them no longer an aggregate of rival families, but an united people free by their own efforts, presenting to the world an example of the most heroic valour rewarded by the most dazzling success,—had overlaid and entirely extinguished the national life of the Asiatic states. Their whole population had been changed, and their national records were of course destroyed, when the temples in which they had been laid up were burnt and the endowments confiscated. Hence, when the ancient enemy was at last partially humbled, and some

<sup>29</sup> To the Pisistratids the Athenians were indebted not only for their first familiarisation with the Homeric poems,—an influence which may be compared, (looking at the matter merely in its intellectual bearings,) to the effect produced in England by the circulation through the press of the translation of the Bible,—but likewise for an introduction to the nobler forms of architecture.

of the exiles which remained alive had returned to their native land, a complete gap in the continuity of their history would exist, to be bridged over in the best way it might. Of the way, now, in which this problem was solved we have the picture in the work of Herodotus,—a far more valuable document, surely, from its exhibiting, in their genuine simplicity, the materials of the edifice, than would have been the case had the writer undertaken the duty of chipping and shaping these in order to produce a more symmetrical, and, what some may consider, a more historical appearance.

I will now proceed to point out some of the principal sources of Herodotus's materials, and give a brief sketch of their peculiar character, in order to make yet plainer the point of view from which, in my opinion, he must be criticised.

The most important of all must undoubtedly be reckoned the temples, especially those which were connected with periodical assemblages of the different members of the Hellenic race, such as those of Pytho and Olympia. The importance of these reunions is often but little appreciated, from the habit which prevails of regarding them exclusively under their religious aspect. No doubt the *national* feeling was fostered by that participation in common religious ceremonies which formed an essential part of the meeting; but this was not the original object of their institution, and would in a very slight degree be the case until after the occurrence of those great events which did, so to speak, create the nationality. There was no pan-hellenic spirit, in the proper sense of the word, before the Persian war. In the earlier times the prevailing bond of union was the principle of *confederation*, either for the purpose of mutual defence or for that of commercial advantage, and perhaps especially the latter. STRABO expresses as much in a word, when he says "that the panegyris is a commercial matter;" and the truth of the remark is confirmed by the circumstance, that as the lines of traffic altered with the political changes of the world, the temples which had been the seat of the principal assemblages lost their importance, sometimes recovering it again with the return of the original state of things<sup>30</sup>. And, in fact, the

<sup>30</sup> This was the case with Delos, which immediately after the Mithridatic war recovered its former importance, because Corinth, which for several hundred years had attracted the thorough traffic between Asia and Europe, had been destroyed by the Romans. The Delians were wise enough to assist the natural advantages of their situation

connexion between the temple and the fair is very easy to understand. One may at once see how, in early times, the respect due to the shrine of the god produced security to his worshippers; how deeds of violence and robbery, which the lax morality of the time would have let pass unrebuked in another place and at a different time, became sacrilege when perpetrated within the boundaries of the sacred territory, and before the expiration of the sacred truce. Within these limits the authority of the accredited ministers of the temple would be supreme, arising from the circumstance that they alone had the power of defining the rites and ceremonies which the stranger, who had entered the territory under the guardianship of the local deity, must perform in order to propitiate him<sup>21</sup>. This knowledge was considered a matter of the very highest importance; it was handed down traditionally from generation to generation, usually in certain families. No one would attempt either to question, or to share it; and as a necessary consequence, a yet further power would be grafted upon it,—that of determining what regulations should be observed by the visitors of the temple in their intercourse with each other during their stay in the sacred territory. All disputes between them would naturally fall under the jurisdiction of the acknowledged authorities of the place. In their capacity of *ἐξηγηταί*, these would be regarded as divinely accredited; and in such a case the decisions of equity would become invested with the awful character of a divine command. The obvious utility of enforcing such decisions would enlist on the side of the judges the sympathy and active support of all except the party against whom each particular decision was given; and thus insensibly would grow up a complete code of maxims relating to the intercourse of men with one another, the good sense of which would commend itself to the sober judgment of the calm, while the repute of their sacred origin would procure obedience to them even from the violent<sup>22</sup>. It is, however, now im-

by abstaining from levying port dues,—the earliest instance of an enlightened commercial policy which I know. (Ἐκείσε γὰρ μετεχώρησαν οἱ ἔμποροι καὶ τῆς ἀτελείας τοῦ ἱεροῦ προκαλουμένης αὐτοῦς, καὶ τῆς εὐκαιρίας τοῦ λιμένος. STRABO, X./c. 5, p. 388.)

<sup>21</sup> The well-known scene in SOPHOCLES'S *Oedipus Coloneus* will convey a lively notion of the effect of the *religio loci* in Pagan antiquity (vv. 117—257). See also vv. 465—492.

<sup>22</sup> Thus will be explained the origin of the old gnostic sentiments referred to in note 116 on i. 32.

portant to remember that such proceedings imply a *common religious belief*. The deity whose shrine was regarded in so sacred a light, and whose ministers were so revered as to render their authority paramount even in the decision of purely secular matters, was, of necessity, himself assumed to stand in a *special relation* to his worshippers, of a kind which demanded their respect, and at the same time justified them in expecting protection from him. In this necessity originated the early genealogies,—preserved in the poets but not invented by them,—connecting by lineal descent impersonations of the several tribes (i. e. their *eponyms*) with the tutelary deity who was the object of their united worship; and thus expressing to the multitude, not in an arbitrary form, but in the only language intelligible to an uncultivated age, their religious and ethnical history. The transition from the divine to the merely human was smoothed down by the employment of that machinery which the imagination so readily suggests to those who are open to the influences of nature. The stream, the mountain, and the forest were all invested with life. The foaming torrent had been a river-god, the spreading oak in the depth of the forest a melancholy maiden, the dancing brook some joyous daughter of an ancient chief whose charms had won for her the love of the local divinity, and who became by him the mother of a new race<sup>22</sup>. The dry genealogy thus acquired the colouring of

<sup>22</sup> Two exquisite sonnets of WORDSWORTH'S will show, better than a volume of dissertation, the part played by the fresh imagination of a highly organised race in the creation of their own mythology. One is the following :—

“BROOK ! whose society the Poet seeks,  
Intent his wasted spirits to renew ;  
And whom the curious Painter doth pursue  
Through rocky passes, among flowery creeks,  
And track thee dancing down thy water-breaks ;  
If wish were mine some type of thee to view,  
Thee, and not thee thyself, I would not do  
Like Grecian Artists, give thee human cheeks,  
Channels for tears ; no Naiad should'st thou be,—  
Have neither limbs, feet, feathers, joints, nor hairs :  
*It seems th' Eternal Soul is clothed in thee*  
*With purer robes than those of flesh and blood,*  
*And hath bestowed on thee a better good ;*  
*Unwearied joy, and life without its cares.”*

The sympathy of the poet of nature revolts, as might have been expected, from the artistical polytheism of the classical period, and attaches itself to the feelings of an earlier age, when the instinctive sense of the beautiful (as strong then as ever after-

the poetical tale; upon the ancient pantheistic creed thus became grafted the varied forms which Hellenic polytheism afterwards assumed; and as the process went on, in accordance with a regular law, every addition to the original legend was stamped with the impress of the common habits of life and common modes of thought and feeling belonging to the time in which it was assimilated.

"Thus every where to Truth Tradition clings,  
Or Fancy localises Powers we love:  
Were only History licensed to take note  
Of things gone by, her meagre monuments  
Would ill suffice for persons and events:  
There is an ampler page for man to quote,  
A readier book of manifold contents  
Studied alike in palace and in cot."

WORDSWORTH.

While now the intercourse between different independent communities was very slight, and confined to those tribes whose traditions were identical, the historical and religious myths remained proportionally simple; but the case was altered when the extension of commerce brought distant cities into contact with one another. Some common religious bond was essential to the most ordinary mercantile transaction. Without it there could be no valid covenant, for no oath could be tendered which would bind the conscience of both the contracting parties; and without the sanction of an oath good faith was not to be looked for in early paganism. But this difficulty was soon removed where there existed any strong analogy between religious systems, or similarity between the rituals which embodied them. Nothing was easier, or in the feeling of those simple times more natural and proper, than to combine the two distinct creeds together by the aid of a fresh legend<sup>34</sup>. Thus the *Isis* of Egypt found an entrance, as *Io*, into the religious ideas of the worshippers of the

wards) had not yet been dissevered from a religious awe for the grand forms of nature, into which men chose rather to merge humanity, than detach them from the great Whole to which they belonged by isolated personifications.

The other sonnet is that on the monument commonly called Long Meg and her daughters, near the river Eden. (*Works*, vol. v. p. 249.) To these, the lines of SHELLEY on the Passage of the Apennines, printed among the Posthumous Poems in 1824, deserve well to be added. They might have been chanted under Mount Mænalus, three thousand years ago, as a part of some hymn to Demeter Achaia.

<sup>34</sup> See notes 164 and 366, on Book I., note 153 on Book II., and note 487 on Book VII.

Argive *Here*, as soon as commercial intercourse sprang up between the two countries. Thus, too, the cruel Tauric goddess was brought into connexion with the Artemis Limnæa of Lacedæmon, for the behoof of the merchants of Heraclea and Chersonesus, by help of the story of Iphigenia<sup>25</sup>. It is not of course to be supposed that these *supplementary legends* (as they may for distinction's sake be called) possessed at their first growth any thing like the symmetry or the richness with which their handling by the poets has invested them for us. In the dim twilight of the time in which they sprang up, their rude proportions excited no surprise; and it was not until an entirely different state of things had arisen, not until men's tastes had become more cultivated, their acquaintance with the world extended, and their understandings called into action, that a spirit of discrimination arose which rejected the food on which the early ages had been contentedly nourished, and demanded the artistic attractions which the lyrical and dramatic poets supplied. This being the only shape in which we are familiar with the Hellenic mythology, it requires some effort not to forget, that it only represents the original, somewhat as the fairy mythology of the *Midsummer Night's Dream* may represent the notions prevalent among the common people of England, on the subject of elves and fays, in the reigns of the Tudors. The myths of Hellas, as they grew up in the mountain village or the depths of the forest, were strange and outlandish even to the eye of an ancient mythographer<sup>26</sup>. It was enough at first if they answered the purpose for which they were produced, that of securing respect for the rude ordinances which were the earliest legal check to the ferocity of uncivilised men.

It is important above all things for understanding any question of mythology, to separate this *era of the natural growth of myths*, from those later periods in which their handling by poets and logographers produced a far greater luxuriance, although one of an entirely different kind, and also from that still later, when their arrangement by collectors had superinduced a semblance of chronological order. The genuine myth is not a fiction in the proper sense of the word; it

<sup>25</sup> See notes 279 and 280 on Book IV.

<sup>26</sup> HECATÆUS began his history with the words: τὰδε γράφω ὅς μοι ἀληθέα δοκέει εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ γελοῖοι, ὥς ἐμοὶ φαίνονται, εἰσίν. (fr. 332.)



was the only possible form for denoting the new phenomena which presented themselves, and demanded to be expressed. It bore an analogy to the common use of metaphorical language,—in which we apply to spiritual experiences language borrowed from the world of sense (as when we talk of being *prostrated* by a calamity),—or to the practice of children, who will continually speak of that which they are imagining as a transaction which is actually taking place, and who often become really alarmed at the terrors which in their play they create for themselves. The genuine myth therefore is in its essence a truth; for its form expresses the real social conditions of those periods of human existence during which it arises; and its preservation in an uncorrupted shape is the most valuable of all materials for the philosophical historian. There can be no greater confusion than to consider it as interchangeable with *fable*, unless it be the transplanting it into ages and conditions of society where none of the necessities which gave rise to it existed, and where it is scarcely less absurd to look for it than it would be to search for wild flowers among the pavement of Cheapside.

The first important step in the modification of the *myth* perhaps was taken by the officials of the temples themselves, in substituting the *hymn*, with its attractions of metre and music, for the ancient dry formula of invocation. The earliest hymn writers were doubtless themselves priests of the deity celebrated, and their first performances in all probability differed but little from the jejune genealogies to which they succeeded. Unfortunately the productions of Olen the Lycian, Pamphus the Athenian, and Musæus the Eleusinian (who belonged to this class, and are said to have lived before the time of Homer), are so utterly lost, that no direct notion can be formed of their nature; but a few lines which remain of a writer who lived at no great distance of time after the conquest of the Peloponnese, and who may be regarded as belonging to the next stage of advance, entirely go to confirm this view. They constitute a portion of the ᾠσμα προσόδιον, or hymn in which the sacred procession saluted the Delian Apollo upon entering the walls of his temple. The hymn itself was written by EUMELUS OF CORINTH, a member of the illustrious house of the Bacchiads, for the Messenians on the first occasion of their participating in the festival; and if any opinion may be formed from the specimen which remains, it consisted of a

versified recitation of the genealogies through which the ethnical connexion of the Messenians with the other tribes that frequented the Delian panegyris was exhibited<sup>37</sup>. The fragment is thus given by TZETZES:

Ἄλλ' ὅτε δ' Αἰήτης καὶ Ἀλῶεὺς ἐξεγένοντο  
 Ἥελιου τε καὶ Ἀντιόπης, τότε δ' ἀνδριχα χόρην  
 δάσσατο παῖσιν ἰοῖς Ἵπερίονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός·  
 ἦν μὲν ἔβαιεν Ἀσώπιδς, τὴν πόρε δῖφ' Ἀλῶεϊ,  
 ἦν δ' Ἐφόρῃ κτεάτεσσ' Αἰήτηρ δῶκεν ἄπασαν  
 Αἰήτης δ' ἄρ' ἐκὼν Βουνῷ παρέδωκε φυλάσσειν,  
 εἰσέκεν αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ εἰς ὕστερον αἰθις ἱκοίτο,  
 ἧ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τις δδ' ἔρχετο [forte ὦδ' οἴχοντ' εἰς] Κολχίδα γαῖαν.  
 (ad Lycophron. 174.)

From hymns of such a description as this must have been, the translation is scarcely perceptible to the poems of the so-called *Cycle*, which in fact may be regarded, in their origin, as founded upon

<sup>37</sup> The observations upon this writer by COLONEL MURE in his *History of Greek Literature* (iv. p. 62), are, in my opinion, singularly ill founded, and constitute a remarkable exception to the perspicacity which distinguishes the greater part of the work,—one for which the author deserves the thanks of all in this country who wish success to the study of the Hellenic literature. The ἄσμα προσόδιον was the only genuine work of Eumelus, and was a processional composed for a religious service. (PAUSANIAS, iv. 4. 1; iv. 33. 3.) It is therefore no warrant for coupling its author with “his fellow Dorian annalists of the same age.” Moreover, the Messenians for whose use it was composed, were a people in which the Dorian invaders had amalgamated with the primitive population on terms of equality, and where, after a revolution and counter-revolution, the old religion had recovered great force. (PAUSANIAS, iv. 3. 3–6.) The reigning dynasty ceased to be called Heraclides, and were called Æpytides. The Bacchiads of Corinth had likewise abandoned the name which distinguished the Dorian invaders. It is therefore scarcely possible to doubt that the hymn of Eumelus was composed in a friendly spirit to the conquered people, with whom the Æpytides and Bacchiads appear to have identified themselves as the Norman Plantagenets did with their English subjects. In this view, any commemoration of the victories of the Dorian invaders over the Achæans would have been religiously avoided. I cannot refrain from adding, that I suspect the “Sparto-Dorian” writers of Mure, such as Cinæthion (PAUSANIAS, ii. 3. 7), were really of the old blood, and should rather be described by the word “Achæo-Laconian.” I should believe them to have retained the greater civilisation of the Pelopid times, and to have employed it in the way in which the warlike Dorian invaders would most appreciate it, namely, in pedigree writing. The Lacedæmonian passion for this subject was remarkable in later days. PLATO makes Socrates ask Hippias the sophist respecting them: ἀλλὰ τί μὴν ἔστιν ἃ ἡδέως σου ἀκροῶνται καὶ ἐπαινοῦσιν; αὐτὸς μοι εἰπέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγὼ οὐχ εὗρισκω, to which he answers: περὶ τῶν γενῶν, ὃ Ζῳκράτης, τῶν τε ἡρώων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῶν κατοικήσεων, ὡς τὰ ἀρχαῖον ἐκτίσθησαν αἱ πόλεις, καὶ συλλήβδην πάσης τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας ἥδιστα ἀκροῶνται, ὥστ' ἐγὼ γε δι' αὐτοὺς ἡνάγκασαι ἐκμαθεῖν τε καὶ μεμελετηκέναι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα. (Hippias Major, § 12.)

them. The Alexandrine grammarians who arranged these so as to constitute in themselves a complete collection of the Hellenic mythology, were guided entirely by a view to their fitness for mutual adaptation, so as to produce a consistent and continuous narrative; and in this they only carried out the principle upon which the several poets had acted in the composition of their own works. Hence it is that they are called *ποιηταὶ ἱστορικοὶ*, and regarded as differing from the logographers who arose yet later, only by the circumstance of writing in metre<sup>28</sup>. Their poetical merits were perhaps small, but they left no current legend without finding a place for it somewhere or other. The description which MACROBIUS gives of one of them may serve for all. "Virgil," he says, "copied almost verbally his overthrow of Troy, with the story of Sinon and the wooden horse, and all the other contents of his second book, from *Pisander*, an author distinguished among the Greek poets by a work which, beginning with the nuptials of Jupiter and Juno, collects and reduces into one series all the historical incidents which occurred in the whole of the intervening ages, down to Pisander's own time, and produces a single body out of diverse insulated periods (*unum ex diversis hiatibus temporum corpus efficit*)"<sup>29</sup>.

It is obvious, however, that in a people endowed so universally as was the case with the Greeks, with a capacity for apprehending the beautiful in every possible form, mythical history, when once the influence of the artist began to be exercised upon it, would rapidly alter its character, and while it became fuller and richer, would at the same time become more nearly identical with simple fable. In the time of the Hellenic drama, the right of the poet to shape the legend he handled in any way most convenient to himself was not questioned; and the only obstacle to the most arbitrary treatment of the myths arose out of the circumstance, that, as in their main outline they were already familiar to every body, any extraordinary variation from this would have been detrimental to the artistic effect. The spectator, for instance, who sat down in the temple of Dionysus accustomed to think of Helen as having been carried off to Troy by her paramour, would have been (unless familiar with STESICHOUS)

<sup>28</sup> STRABO, i. p. 34.

<sup>29</sup> *Saturnalia*, v. 2. Pisander was a native of Camirus, in the island Rhodes.

utterly puzzled as the curtain rose to find her in Egypt, possessed with the sentiments of a Penelope, and only enduring life in the hope of being ultimately enabled to disabuse her husband of a ten years' delusion, and recover her own character in the public opinion of Hellas. Accordingly EURIPIDES, whose career coincides with the time in which the desire for novelty had completely over-ridden all regard for the traditional method of treating mythical subjects, was compelled, in this as in many other instances, to resort to that peculiarity which drew upon him the ridicule of his comic contemporary, —to employ the first of his personages who appeared on the stage in explaining the particulars of the plot<sup>40</sup>. His predecessor SOPHOCLES, and ÆSCHYLUS indeed also, had introduced some variations into the currently received legends; in fact, slight variations could hardly fail to arise as soon as ever the imagination of the poet was brought to bear upon them; and these would insensibly increase without attracting especial notice until accidental circumstances directed attention to them<sup>41</sup>.

But although the early myths were much modified by their poetical handling as soon as they grew into any thing more than dry genealogies, the change thus produced in them was at any rate not of a kind to mask their original character, and to invest them with an undue historical credit in the eyes of posterity. It was otherwise, however, in their passage through the hands of the logographers, whose occupation it became to complete the work which the cyclical poets had begun, of collecting and arranging all the local legends into one consistent whole. When the several genealogies had once been combined, there was a strong temptation to pursue the task of arrangement yet further, and to link the whole together by a chronological system, of which the basis was the number of generations

<sup>40</sup> ARISTOPHANES makes him say of his own plan :

εἴτ' οὐκ ἀλήρουν δ τι τύχοιμ', οὐδ' ἐμπροσθ' ἔφυγον,  
ἀλλ' οὐξῶν πρότειστα μέν μοι τὸ γένος εἴτ' ἂν εὐθὺς  
τοῦ δράματος.—(*Frogs*, 945.)

<sup>41</sup> Such, for instance, as the peculiarity of EURIPIDES's prologues; or the trenching upon the sacred traditions of a deity whose ritual was a secret one, as ÆSCHYLUS did when he made Artemis the daughter of Demeter, following, as Herodotus tells us (ii. 156), a Hellenized Egyptian legend. He was accused of revealing the doctrine of the mysteries, and pleaded in his defence that if he did so he did it in ignorance. (ARISTOTLE, *Nicom. Ethic.* p. 1111.)

which appeared to have elapsed<sup>42</sup>. This attempt seems to have been first systematically carried out by HELLANICUS, whose work or works differed from those of his predecessors by not being a mere topographical account of a single locality, but on the contrary including an extent of subject equal to that embraced by Herodotus. Still, however, unlike Herodotus, who weaves into one web the history of all the nations on which he touches, Hellanicus adopted what may be called a *topical* method, as is obvious from the titles under which he is quoted: *Attica*, *Persica*, *Troica*, and the like. The fragments which remain show that both mythical and historical stories were equally welcome to him; but his essential characteristic is the chronological attempt just referred to. This, in some respects, was not without a claim to a scientific character; for the foundation of it was the succession of the priestesses in the temple of Here between Argos and Mycenæ. So far back as these were entered in contemporaneous records, the register must have been a very valuable document; and from the circumstance of THUCYDIDES fixing the beginning of his history by stating that the attack on Plataea took place in the forty-eighth year of the priesthood of Chrysis<sup>43</sup>, one is led to believe that it may have furnished a better basis for an era than the registers of the victors either at Pythia and Olympia, or perhaps than any other then existing document. Nevertheless, even in the most recent times, Hellanicus's chronological arrangement was inaccurate<sup>44</sup>, and Thucydides mentions this as one of the reasons, which induced himself to give that brief summary which is the foundation of all the knowledge we possess, of the history of Greece between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars. How entirely sandy a foundation therefore must lie under such statements as that of the month and the day upon which Troy was taken, or of the year in which the nation of the Sicels migrated from the south of Italy to the island to which they gave their name<sup>45</sup>. Yet such a chronological thread as

<sup>42</sup> See the criticism proceeding upon this principle in ii. 44.

<sup>43</sup> ii. 2. It is to be observed, that although he dates this event by a reference to the archon at Athens, and to the ephor at Sparta, and likewise to two other incidents, the mention of the priestess of the Heræum does not stand on the same footing; for Argos had nothing to do with the first act of the Peloponnesian war, and was not mixed up in it until after the successful issue of the diplomacy of Alcibiades.

<sup>44</sup> THUCYDIDES, i. 97.

<sup>45</sup> HELLANICUS, *ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang.* x. 12. (fr. 143, ed. Müller.) Müller

that of Hellanicus, however feeble, was convenient as a mere means of arrangement, and while regarded merely in this light, there was no reason that it should be abandoned. That it maintained its ground for this purpose, until the more comprehensive systems of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus threw it into the shade, can scarcely be doubted<sup>46</sup>.

The register of the priestesses of Here can only be considered as one document out of many of the same kind existing in Hellas. Wherever there was a temple endowed with a demesne, we may be perfectly sure that there was a muniment room. In some instances we know, and in others all analogy would lead us to presume, that the inferior service of a temple, and the cultivation of the neighbouring lands, was carried on by a population originally consisting of *hierodules*, belonging to the chapter of superior priests or (in the language of antiquity) to the deity to whom the temple was dedicated. As in the middle ages, so here, a transition would gradually take place from an absolutely servile condition to that of villenage. The supply of *attendants* would sometimes be partially renewed by the dedication of a portion of the captives taken when a town was stormed and destroyed, or by a votive offering of a similar description sent by some affiliated community<sup>47</sup>,—sometimes, too, it would be augmented by the helpless foundling picked up within the sacred precinct, and regarded by pagan humanity as possibly the offspring of the master of the temple<sup>48</sup>, or by the victim of individual oppres-

rightly holds that it is unquestionably Hellanicus who is described by DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS in the words *ὁ τὰς ἱερείας τὰς ἐν Ἀργεὶ καὶ τὰ καθ' ἑκάστην πρᾶχθέρτα συνάγαγεν*. (Gr. 53.)

<sup>46</sup> It is not to be assumed that because these Alexandrine scholars superseded their predecessors, and have continued, through Eusebius and others, to be the text-book of ancient chronography to the present day, that their methods were more critical; or that any greater dependance is to be placed upon the date of a professed historical transaction, antecedent to the period of contemporaneous records, because it found a place in their canons. The question, when reckoning backward once commenced, became only one of comprehensiveness and convenient arrangement; and if a myth was ever discarded, it was only from its being utterly unmanageable in combination with the rest.

<sup>47</sup> As was the case with the chorus in the *Phænissa* of EURIPIDES. See vv. 202—225.

<sup>48</sup> Ion is the mythical representative of this class of claimants upon human sympathy (see the whole chorus: EURIPIDES, *Ion*, vv. 82—183), just as Orestes is of the involuntary homicide.

sion, who was glad to exchange the service of a secular master for that lighter burden which a religious fraternity even in pagan times seemed to promise<sup>49</sup>; but the regular maintenance of the ritual and of the fabric required a substantial endowment, and as this could only be in land, the question would at once arise, how this land was to be made to yield its produce. Who was to plough and sow it if under tillage? who to feed the flocks and herds if it consisted of pasture? The original arrangement would doubtless be that which has been always found to prevail, where the conquest of a country by a warlike race has taken place under conditions of imperfect civilisation. The conquered people are, in such cases, compelled to maintain themselves and their conquerors by tilling the fields or herding the flocks of the latter, and they receive as their wages the permission to raise their own subsistence from a portion of the soil occupied by themselves. Such a state of things as this may be regarded as the normal type of pagan religious establishments. The temple, like its successor the abbey, commonly stood in the depth of a forest (the *τέμενος* or *ager publicus*), whose solemn shades, unviolated by the axe, were the special haunt of the divinity. Round about were scattered the hamlets of the country people, serfs of the pagan chapter, but still under the guardianship of the deity to whom the land they tilled belonged, and participators in the ritual for the maintenance of which they paid a portion of their produce. Their condition was an enviable one as compared with the perioecian population of secular communities. If they furnished victims for the sacrifices, they partook of at least a portion of the flesh. They would have the privilege of hunting within the forest, and of taking the apples and chestnuts, and the windfalls of wood<sup>50</sup>. The periodical festivals brought many an Autolycus with his pack; and his arrival was the more welcome from his also bringing the news of what was going on in every place through which he had past. If perhaps he took advantage of the influence which plentiful potations from the great silver bowl—the grace-cup at the *Theophania*<sup>51</sup>—had exerted upon their brains, and made them give an undue price for their wives' scarlet mantles<sup>52</sup>, or

<sup>49</sup> See note 319 on ii. 113, below.

<sup>50</sup> See ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ, *Anabasis*, v. 3. 6, *seq.*

<sup>51</sup> HERODOTUS, i. 51.

<sup>52</sup> φοινικίδες Σαρδανικά. ΑΘΗΝÆUS, ii. p. 48.

some perfectly irresistible piece of carpet work<sup>53</sup>, they might console themselves with thinking that the royal present which the pedlar told them he heard was on its way from Sardis would more than make up the difference<sup>54</sup>. It was in the nature of things that a population of this kind should be a contented and thriving one; and if the votive offerings of devotees are to be regarded as one source of the wealth of the sacred communities, another no less important one is to be found in the security from rapine and violence which their religious character afforded to the cultivators of the soil. Some of the first-fruits of this would be the acquisition of a vested interest in their holdings, on condition of rendering the accustomed suit and service to the god. In the course of time special privileges would be granted to individuals, and the record of these 'copyholders' would be preserved in some form or other within the temple<sup>55</sup>. In it the names of the members of the chapter or of its officers, for the time being, would appear; and thus in the lapse of years materials would be formed for a kind of chronicle of the foundation. The skeleton of this would consist of a list of names derived from such sources as have been hinted, augmented by the ethnical and religious genealogies above mentioned, and, where there were public games, by the register of the victors; and in course of time would be enriched by an ample harvest of details supplied from the traditional stories which were attached to the various offerings accumulated in the treasury.

If, now, no violent revolutions had occurred after the first settlement of the several temples in Hellas, such local chronicles might have acquired considerable fulness<sup>56</sup>, and extending over a large

<sup>53</sup> ποικίλος μέσθλης Δόδιον καλὸν ἔργον. SAPPHO (*ap. Scholiast. Aristoph. Pac.* 1174).

<sup>54</sup> HERODOTUS, i. 54.

<sup>55</sup> Doubtless originally in stone, especially in European Greece, where writing materials appear to have been very little used in early times. In Asia the case was probably different, the employment of parchment being common there. The register of the victors in the Pythian games which ARISTOTLE made use of, was doubtless an inscription. (*ap. Plutarch. Solon.* § 11.)

<sup>56</sup> Two of the recent publications of the CAMDEN SOCIETY afford an excellent illustration of the nature of such compilations as those described in the text. The *Liber de antiquis legibus* contains a list of the mayors and sheriffs of the city of London from the first year of Richard I. (1188) to the second year of Edward I. (1274), together with an account of remarkable events which happened in their time of office. This portion of the work is written in Latin by the same hand; consequently, by some one who was living at the last date, and who therefore must have



space of time from the epoch of their first assuming the character of contemporary records, would have possessed great value as materials for genuine history<sup>57</sup>. But the continual invasions of hostile tribes prevented this. It was not necessary for the conquerors to be of an altogether alien race, who would utterly destroy the temples of the conquered, as the Persians did those of the Hellenic cities in Asia. It would be enough to thoroughly unsettle the tenure of the society's property and to destroy the continuity of its history, if the hierarchy was changed and the care of the temple entrusted to families of the victorious tribe. Such would bring their own traditions with them, and even in the favourable case of an amalgamation of these with what they found, the old annals in their genuine form would be very unpalatable to the new comers. The acceptance of a current story of a kind to imply that the actual possessors of a shrine were intruders into it, would have been a glaring impiety according to ancient ways of thinking<sup>58</sup>. After every such change, therefore, as is marked mythically by the introduction of a new deity with his appropriate legend, we must conceive the back history of the temple to be in a manner reconstructed, retaining only so much of its

taken the first portion of the period from some other authority. Accordingly, the earlier years are exceedingly meagre of incidents. But to the whole is prefixed a collection of stories bearing upon the yet more ancient English history, most of which are taken from William of Malmesbury. The *Peterborough Chronicle* commences in the year 1122, and the first ninety years are exceedingly scanty, containing only a few brief entries relating to public affairs. For the next sixty years it is more minute, and more obviously derived from sources of information peculiar to the abbey, and from the year 1273 it is a contemporaneous history, full and detailed, of the proceedings of the chapter during the next ten years. The original foundation of the abbey was nearly six hundred years before this time, but the edifices had been burnt by the Danes, and the new church was built by abbot John, whose death (in 1125) is one of the earliest events named in the chronicle.

<sup>57</sup> See the use which PLUTARCH makes of the Delphian Chronicle (*Solon*, § 11).

<sup>58</sup> Thus Clisthenes of Sicyon, who had confiscated the property of the Adrastus temple, was obliged as a necessary consequence to forbid the recitation of the *Thebais* and *Epigoni*. See note 99 on iv. 33, and note 172 on v. 67. The conquest of the Poseidon-worshippers of the acropolis at Athens by the Athene-worshippers of the Areopagus is, in the myth, very carefully masked. Theseus, although his pedigree betrays his connexion with Poseidon, is made to be himself the founder of Athene as the tutelary deity of the united city. The hostile inhabitants of the Areopagus are converted into Amazons, although Athene's early connexion with that locality is evinced by her establishment of the court there. And finally, the struggle takes the shape of an amicable rivalry between the two deities as to which shall produce the gift of greatest utility to their common protégés.

former contents as could be made to harmonise with the new régime.

It is not to be supposed, however, that chronicles, such as have been described, attracted any great attention. Even in the monastic establishments of the middle ages, the taste for compiling such works only existed in a very small number out of the multitude of their inmates. And in the religions of pagan antiquity,—at least those which chiefly prevailed at the time with which we are concerned,—it must be remembered that not the maceration of the body, but the development of its powers in vigour, not the contemplative life of the recluse, but the stirring energy of the warrior and statesman would be the object kept habitually in view. Apollo gave his advice upon schemes of conquest, or plans of colonisation which would involve conquest, more than upon any other subject; and if, in the 12th century among the monks of Peterborough or St. Edmund's Bury, we find that active business habits and a shrewd eye for the interests of the fraternity were much more generally appreciated than either ascetic piety or skill in letters, we may be sure that at Pytho or Olympia, at Calauria or the Isthmus, in a climate where an indoor life is almost an unnatural one, and with a creed which aided instead of checking the animal impulses, clerical propensities were very rare indeed. Not that the Greek was indifferent to the past time; quite the contrary, but he did not care to look at it as an antiquarian does. Nothing so welcome to him if addressed to his imagination,—in the solemn hymn before the altar of the deity,—or in the mythico-historical address to the multitude assembled in the panegyris. To these he would listen with his whole heart and soul; by the help of a memory unimpaired by reading he would carry them home bodily to his own town, and his wife would repeat them to her handmaidens plying the distaff in the gynæceum<sup>59</sup>, while the children

<sup>59</sup> The attendants on Creusa indicate very plainly what were the two great agencies for propagating in early times that which has been called philosophy teaching by examples.

οὐτ' ἐπὶ κερκίσιν οὐτε λόγοις  
φάτιν ἄιον, εὐτυχίας μετέχουσιν  
θεόθεν τέκνα θνατοῖς.

(EURIPIDES, *Ion*, 506.)

Thus too the Athenian in the *Laws* of PLATO says: *οὗν οὖν πειθόμενοι τοῖς μύθοις, οὓς ἐκ νέων παίδων ἐπὶ ἐν γάλαξιν τρεφόμενοι τροφῶν τε ἡκούον καὶ μητέρων, οἷον ἐν*

sat by, suspending for a time the construction of toad-beetles from lime-tree bark, while they drank in the thrilling tale how Xanthus met his death by the sword of Melanthus as he looked round at the black shape which had come and stood behind him, or some equally stirring adventure. But it may be safely affirmed that the real early history of the Hellenic tribes would have been, without the intervention of poets or logographers, altogether unpalatable. The system secured by the factitious arrangements of the latter was the very least substitute which could be accepted, for the appeal to the fancy which the former had been accustomed to make.

Having thus traced up the mythico-historical traditions of early Greece to that stage in their growth at which they had acquired a definite shape, had become recognised in the common belief of several distinct communities, and been fixed by embodiment in poetry or poetical prose, we will turn our attention to a new modification which they would thenceforth receive. Let us suppose a colony sent out, and settled in the midst of a barbarous neighbourhood, such, for instance, as were the settlements on the southern coast of the Euxine. Here the emigrants would retain the traditions and the ritual which they carried with them, in a pure state. There would be none of that religious syncretism which was the necessary result of conquest, wherever a close affinity existed between the victors and the vanquished; for there would be no amalgamation of races whatever, any more than there was between the Portuguese settlers on the coast of Africa and the negroes which they found there. But now a phenomenon of a different kind would present itself. As in the earliest days, the natural features of a neighbourhood gave a specific form to the incidents with which the dry skeleton of the historical genealogy was enriched, so, after the full grown myth had been *fixed* by the poet or logographer, and transported by a colony from its original site to a foreign shore, was the new neighbourhood required to furnish visible objects illustrative of the imported legend. Hence the numberless *Nysas*, each the reputed nursing place of Dionysus,—hence the repe-

*ἐμφαῖς μετὰ τε παιδίᾳ καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς λεγομένων, καὶ μετὰ θυσίῳ ἐν εὐχαῖς αὐτοῖς ἀκούοντές τε, καὶ ὕψις ὁρῶντες ἐπομένους αὐτοῖς ὡς ἥδιστα δὲ γε νέος ὄρα τε καὶ ἀκούει πραγματοποιένας, θύοντων ἐν σπουδῇ τῶν αὐτῶν γονέων, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἐκείνων ἐσπουδακῶτων κ.τ.λ. (x. p. 887.)* The *Menexenus* gives a good idea of what the λόγος will have been in its full development.

tition of the rivers *Tritonis* and *Thermodon*,—hence the cave through which Heracles descended to Hades, shown at Heraclea on the Euxine as well as at Tænarum in Laconia, and many other similar cases. The feeling which occasioned these localisations is one not difficult to understand. It was not peculiar to the pagan mind, but exhibited itself, under similar conditions of civilisation, in the Christian practices of the middle ages. In the steep hills (sometimes artificial mounds), which under the name of *Gottesbergs* or *Calvaries* are found throughout continental Europe in the vicinity of the sites of ancient churches<sup>66</sup>, it is not difficult to recognise exactly the same principle of representation which prevailed in pagan antiquity;—a principle enforced by the necessities of the case. The heart of a German or Italian peasant of the 10th century would have been as dull to the simple *narrative* of events which took place at a distant place and remote time, as those of his pagan ancestors fifteen hundred years before. For him at all to enter into them, it was absolutely indispensable that they should be in a manner acted before his eyes. To regard such local representations as arbitrary fictions or priestly impostures, is just as unphilosophical a proceeding as the attempt to maintain them as if justified by historical facts<sup>a</sup>.

Finally, a yet different modification of traditions would take place when, in the course of time, circumstances led to the establishment of intercourse between two or more previously insulated offsets of a common stock, after the recollection of their common origin had passed away. It was an obvious step to account for the community of habits, and sometimes of language also, apparent in two such tribes, by the hypothesis of a direct migration of the ancestors of the one from the site occupied by the other. Thus the Tyrrhenes of Italy were represented as having come from Lydia, the Phrygians of Asia from Macedonia, the Minyæans of the western shore of the Peloponnese from Lemnos, and the numerous insulated spots where

<sup>66</sup> In Protestant countries these are naturally rarer than where the Roman Catholic creed prevails. Yet even in England there are not wanting instances of these sacred hills, although the spirit of the reformation would tend to obliterate all recollection of the purpose they served. The mound in the immediate neighbourhood of the close at Ely is no doubt such a one.

<sup>a</sup> The *Pilgrimage of Sir R. Guylford* in the Holy Land (another of the CAMDEN SOCIETY'S publications) will serve to exemplify both this principle, and that of the supplementary legends spoken of above, p. xxix. See especially what is said of the "Ager Damascenus," p. 54.

traces of a Pelasgian population remained, were connected with one another by ascribing to that race habits of life of an altogether anomalous character<sup>61</sup>. The whole cycle of traditions upon which the story of the *Æneid* is founded is the combined product of this influence and of that other one which has last been noticed. The Homeric poems and the cyclics furnished the warp, the *ethnical affinity* of the Asiatic and Italian tribes supplied the woof, of that rich web of poetical history, which was appropriated by VIRGIL, worked up by him into a form adapted to the requirements of his time, and in that state consolidated for all future ages by the epic which has immortalised his name.

What has been said will perhaps be sufficient to guide the student to a right appreciation of the nature of the materials which lay ready to the hand of Herodotus; but a few words may still be desirable upon the principle of discrimination which he appears to have followed.

It has been pointed out above, how the temples, in the neighbourhood of which any periodically recurring assemblage was held, became, from the nature of the case, points of crystallisation for the history of the several communities which took part therein. When this had acquired any definite shape, it naturally would, together with the religious ritual and its explanatory traditions, be carried into any new locality to which the ancient shrine sent out its missionaries. Wherever there was a sanctuary of great reputation and extensive connexions, it would follow as a direct consequence, that its mythico-historical traditions would spread far and wide, and be in the main accepted over an area co-extensive with that of its religious authority. When, therefore, we find, as is sometimes the case, two distinct communities produced as evidence for a particular story, it must not be hastily inferred that the story is an historically true one in the shape in which the two acknowledge it; for the agreement may arise simply from the circumstance of the two frequenting a common shrine, from which the story originally emanated. Thus, for instance, it cannot be doubted that the Hellenium at Naucratis was the original source of many tales which might be current at Chios, Teos, Phocæa, Clazomenæ, Ialysus, Camirus, Lindus, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Phaselis, and Mytilene<sup>62</sup>, or at any number of those towns; and the

<sup>61</sup> See notes 179 and 183 on Book I, and note 147 on Book VIII.

<sup>62</sup> These are the communities which formed a kind of corporation at Naucratis, and

apparent concurrence of testimony would in such a case, for the purposes for which a modern historian values it, be altogether imaginary. But, looking at the matter in the way in which it was viewed five hundred years before the Christian era, that concurrence would be extremely important. It would demonstrate that the story in question was a portion of the body of tradition received and delivered at the central shrine, and consequently would authenticate it with all persons in whose eyes that body of tradition possessed authority. There would not indeed be that kind of conviction which is sought for by the investigations of modern scholars, but the need of such a conviction was not felt. Accordingly we find Herodotus, in his most critical moods, testing the merits of any mythical story he heard simply by its conformity with some other to which he had attached credence<sup>62</sup>. To attribute extraordinary sagacity to him for bringing such stories to a test at all, is no more justifiable than to ascribe to him extraordinary credulity for not bringing them to a better one. He is to be regarded as a man of intelligence in his age, but not in advance of it to any appreciable extent.

The celebrated story told by LUCIAN, relative to an asserted recitation of the history before the assembled Greeks at Olympia, is so generally exploded at the present time, that it is hardly worth while to advert to it, except to remark that it so far conforms to all other ancient criticisms of our author, as to represent him in the light of an artist anxious to produce a work of beauty and general interest, and not in that of an antiquarian. In all its details the story is altogether out of keeping, both with the habits of the time and the appearances which are manifest in the work itself, as has been pointed out in several of the notes. But that portions of the work were read to an audience, not indeed as part of a solemn ceremony,

probably at one time monopolised the trade between Egypt and Greece. (Herod. ii. 178.) I am much inclined to suspect that Cos once stood in the list and completed the number of twelve.

<sup>62</sup> As, for instance, where he acquiesces with satisfaction in the hypothesis of a double Heracles, as a means of reconciling chronologically the story of the Thasian Heracles at Tyre with the common Heracles legend of European Hellas (ii. 44), and where he rejects the story of Rhodopis attached to the pyramid of Mycerinus, because the heroine of it cannot be brought into synchronism with the female of the same name whose offering existed at Delphi (ii. 134-5). In the former of these cases, his obvious uneasiness, lest he should inadvertently have been guilty of a piece of irreverence, is very curious and instructive. (§ 46, *ult.*)

but as the usual and natural mode of *publishing*, at an era when literature was addressed to the ear, is at least not improbable. In fact it seems far from unlikely that the original draft of the work contained only the last three books, and that of the remainder all the several parts were not added simultaneously. If we could be certain that any one of the MSS which exist represented the text as it was left by the author, only altered by the accidents consequent on transcription, this problem might be solved satisfactorily. This, however, is not the case. It was the practice with the booksellers under the Roman empire to make very considerable alterations in the books which they had transcribed, for the purpose of adding to their interest<sup>64</sup>; and there are several passages, especially in the first half of the work of Herodotus, of which it seems doubtful whether they are not notes, originally added for the purpose of illustration by some ancient editor, and afterwards incorporated with the text. Many of these, certainly, may be accounted for on the hypothesis that the author kept an interleaved copy of his book by him to the last, and from time to time inserted in this other incidents which came to his notice and seemed likely to enhance the value of the whole. But this explanation will scarcely suffice to explain all the phenomena of the kind referred to; besides which there is strong evidence of very considerable variation of the copies in early times. Two of the manuscripts which remain stand apart in a striking manner from the rest; and there formerly were copies which differed from any now in existence<sup>65</sup>. The uncertainty arising from these disturbing causes renders it next to impossible, from the present condition of Herodotus's history, to draw a *certain* conclusion as to the conditions under which it was originally composed. For instance, it has been sometimes assumed that descriptions implying personal knowledge of the object described prove beyond the possibility of question that the author must have *travelled* in the locality of which he is speaking; but in some cases the passages to which this character attaches

<sup>64</sup> Hence DIONORUS SICULUS gives a preliminary sketch of the arrangement of his own work, in order to protect himself from the operations of future bookmakers: τοὺς διασκευάζειν εἰσθότας τὰς βιβλους ἀποτρέψαι τοῦ λυμάλνεσθαι τὰς ἀλλοτρίας πραγματείας (l. 5).

<sup>65</sup> See note 332 on i. 93, and 333 on iv. 131. For the variations in the two existing MSS alluded to above (S and V), see the notes referred to in the Index under the head "Sancroft manuscript."

present the appearance of proceeding from an ancient editor, while in others the inexplicable silence upon topics which *must* have suggested themselves to an eye-witness compels the conclusion, that the writer has in those places adopted and embodied in his work the narrative of another party without changing the form of expression which the circumstances of that party might have rendered appropriate<sup>66</sup>. The way in which whole passages from preceding writers are said to have been tacitly appropriated has been mentioned above<sup>67</sup>. So far, therefore, from tracing out a map of the travels of Herodotus from the incidental notices which occur in his history of different places, some readers may be disposed to take an altogether different view of the case, and to regard the author as handling his subject in the manner of De Foe, being perhaps all the time a resident in Samos or Athens. But although this view has more plausibility than the modern notion which represents Herodotus as a critic and antiquarian, it seems incompatible with another phenomenon which is observable on an attentive perusal of his work, namely, the incorporation of heterogeneous traditions,—of which several examples have been pointed out in the notes,—and even more so with the adoption of minor details which are out of keeping with the main outlines of the narrative into which they are introduced<sup>68</sup>. Truth will, in this matter as in most others, probably lie between the extreme views. A candid reader who will read the history through, unhampered by any preconceived theory, simply putting himself in the position of a Greek of the fifth century before the Christian era, will probably not doubt that the author saw much with his own eyes, although perhaps he received more from the accounts of others; and while he will not feel surprised at the general assumption of the character of a narrator at first hand, he will not press this into a claim of extraordinary historical authority. The nearest parallel, perhaps, which can be adduced to the first six books, is to be found in the Travels of MARCO POLO, which in many respects present very curious analogies. Like the work of Herodotus, that book very early appeared in manuscripts which

<sup>66</sup> See notes 10, 58, and 84 on Book II., also note 68, below.

<sup>67</sup> Page xx. See also note 19 on Book II.

<sup>68</sup> The use, in different places, of different forms of the same name, as *Thyrea* and *Thyreæ*, *Ladice* and *Laodice*, *Crathis* and *Crastis*, is another circumstance which indicates a diversity of sources, and is incompatible with the view alluded to.



differed from one another to a considerable extent, some betraying marks of excision, others of interpolation; in the latter case the additions being sometimes apparently contemporaneous with the traveller, sometimes demonstrably of later date. The narrative, too, as in the case of Herodotus, possesses in the main an unmistakeably truthful character, and yet does not change its form when passing from the region of personal experience to the narration of particulars which undoubtedly rested on hearsay.

The object of the commentary being, as I have stated above, not simply to elucidate the *text* of the author, I have freely made use of the stores which were at hand in the notes of Valcknaer, Wesseling, Schweighauser, and Larcher (of whose commentary I have used the English translation by Mr. Cooley), as well as of the labours of Heyne, Lobeck, Mueller, and others, without thinking it necessary to notice the circumstance in particular instances. In fact, the accumulations of those worthies have now so long formed a part of the elementary knowledge of every classical scholar, that the acknowledgement of the obligation in each particular case is scarcely possible, and serves no other purpose than that of distracting the reader of a note from the point to which it is especially wished to fix his attention. When we owe, as we do, our whole power of taking any thing like a wide view of classical antiquity to having mounted upon the shoulders of our fathers, it seems absurd to repeat our thanks for each particular feature of the landscape. On the other hand, I have been particularly careful when resorting to ancient writers for the purpose of illustration, to keep in the eye of the student their character and authority; and thus to save him, so far as possible, from falling into the common error of mechanically putting together materials of the most heterogeneous description, in the notion that he is thereby increasing his knowledge of ancient history. The collations of the manuscripts have been entirely taken on the authority of Professor Gaisford's arrangement of them, and his text, from the circumstance of its being very widely used, has been followed where the contrary fact is not notified. This remark, however, does not apply to changes in the punctuation, which has been freely altered, and a large proportion of the stops removed for the sake of perspicuity.

The following Table will explain the symbols by which the different manuscripts are denoted :—

A, B, C are three manuscripts in the Royal Library at Paris, collated by Wesseling.

a, b, c, d, e, f are six in the same, collated by Schweighaeuser. Of these, the first is of the 12th, the second of the 14th, and the third and fourth of the 15th century. The fifth is a mere fragment containing only i. 1—87, and the sixth contains mere *excerpta*. According to Schweighaeuser, A and c, B and b, and C and a, exhibit a striking agreement with one another.

M is a manuscript of the 10th century in the Medicean Library at Florence, collated by Gronovius.

P, a manuscript of the 12th century, collated by Wesseling.

F, a manuscript of the 10th century, formerly at Florence, collated by Schweighaeuser.

K, a fragmentary manuscript of the 12th century in the Cambridge University Library, collated by Wesseling.

S, a manuscript of the 12th century, formerly belonging to Archbishop Sancroft, now in the Library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, collated by Wesseling and Gaisford.

V, a manuscript of the same age with S, with which it has a remarkable agreement, at Vienna, collated by Wesseling.

They may be divided into three classes, each representing, with more or fewer minor variations, a common ancestor, thus—

I. M, F, P, and the fragmentary K.

II. S and V.

III. A, C, a and c.

The rest, B, b, d, e, f are sporadic in their character. The second class appears to show more grammatical care on the part of the transcribers than the others, but the inconstancy of all is shown in several instances in the notes.

I will only further add, that the task of annotating having been diffused over a considerable time<sup>66</sup>, and performed in the short inter-

<sup>66</sup> Three of the Excursuses have already been read at the London Philological Society, and printed in the Society's Transactions.

vals which could be snatched from occupations of a different character, I fear there may be found some unnecessary repetitions, and probably not a few oversights which a continuous execution of the work would have prevented. These will, I hope, be judged with indulgence if I have at all succeeded in my main object,—that of illustrating, through the medium of the most fascinating of Greek prose writers, the habits and feelings of the time in which he lived, and awakening attention to the common motives of human action, exhibited in forms belonging to a state of things which has long since passed away.

*Ware Vicarage, Herts,  
April 7, 1854.*

# ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

## ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗ.

ΚΛΕΙΩ.

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ Ἀλικαρνασῆος ἱστορίας ἀπόδειξις ἥδε· ὥς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θαυμαστά<sup>3</sup>, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδειχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην<sup>4</sup> ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

Περσέων μὲν νυν οἱ λόγιοι<sup>5</sup> Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ γενέσθαι τῆς διαφορῆς. τούτους γὰρ, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ οικήσαντας τοῦτον τὸν χώρον τὸν καὶ νῦν οἰκέουσι, αὐτίκα ναυτιλήσει μακρῇσι ἐπιθέσθαι· ἀπαγινέοντας δὲ φορτία Αἰγύπτια τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια, τῇ τε ἄλλῃ [χώρῃ] ἐσαπικνέεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ<sup>6</sup> ἐς Ἀργος· (τὸ δὲ

1  
Persian accounts of the origin of the feud between Hellas and the East.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀλικαρνασῆος. Gaisford reads with the Medicean MS (M) Ἀλικαρνησσῆος. But the Sencroft MS (S), the Codex Passionensis (P), and three Parisian MSS, have the reading adopted in the text, which is confirmed by the Aldine edition and the citation of Demetrius Phalereus.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπόδειξις. So P S and the Vienna MS (V), and also the Parisian MSS (b d). Gaisford adopts the Ionic form ἀπόδειξις, and below ἀποδεχθέντα. But it appears possible that these few lines of preface were not a portion of the work in its original shape; and therefore, being sanctioned by good MSS, I have preferred the common forms.

<sup>3</sup> θαυμαστά. So S. Gaisford θαυμαστά.

<sup>4</sup> δι' ἣν αἰτίην. The narrative of the

historical causes of the war commences in v. 97.

<sup>5</sup> οἱ λόγιοι. "The story-tellers." The words λόγος and λόγιος in Herodotus are perfectly general in their application to all narratives, whether legendary or historical, oral or written. Thus he calls the natives of a particular portion of Egypt, who paid particular attention to the cultivation of their memory, *λογιότατοι μακροί* of all men with whom he has come into contact (ii. 77). Here, and also in ii. 3, oral narrative must be meant.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ δὴ καί. This, and καὶ δὴ, are expressions which Herodotus habitually uses to introduce that particular feature of a narrative which bears upon the purpose he has in hand. Here, for instance, he wanted to bring the Phœnicians to

Rape of Io  
by Phœ-  
nician  
traders.

"Ἄργος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον προεῖχε ἅπασιν τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλεομένην χώρῃ) ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος τοῦτο διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἔκτη ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ἀπίκοντο, ἐξεμπολημένων σφί σχεδὸν πάντων, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν γυναῖκας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα· τὸ δὲ οἱ οὐνομα εἶναι, κατὰ τῶντὸ τὸ καὶ Ἑλλήνες λέγουσι, Ἰοῦν τὴν Ἰνάχον ταύτας στάσας κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νεὸς ὠνέεσθαι τῶν φορτίων τῶν σφί ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα· καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας διακελευσαμένους ὁρμήσαι ἐπ' αὐτάς· τὰς μὲν δὴ πλεῖνας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγείν, τὴν δὲ Ἰοῦν σὺν ἄλλῃσι ἀρπασθῆναι ἐσβαλομένους δὲ ἐς τὴν νέα οἴχεσθαι ἀποπλέοντας ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου.

- 2 Οὕτω μὲν Ἰοῦν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι Πέρσαι<sup>9</sup>, οὐκ ὥς Ἑλλήνες· καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τοῦτο ἄρξαι πρῶτον μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Ἑλλήνων τινας (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τοῦνομα ἀπηγήσασθαι) φασὶ τῆς Φοινίκης ἐς Τύρον προσχόντας, ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα Εὐρώπην (εἶψαν δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες<sup>10</sup>) ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴσα σφί πρὸς ἴσα γενέσθαι μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Ἑλλήνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρης ἀδικίης γενέσθαι καταπλώσαντας γὰρ μακρῇ νηὶ<sup>11</sup> ἐς Αἶαν τε τὴν Κολχίδα καὶ ἐπὶ Φᾶσι ποταμὸν, ἐνθεύτεν, διαπρηξάμενους καὶ τὰλλα τῶν εἵνεκεν ἀπίκато, ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν

Retaliation  
by the rape  
of Europa.

New quar-  
rel begun  
by the  
Argonauts.

Argos, in order to connect their habits with the Hellenic legend of Io. Translate, "and, in fine, to Argos." The etymology of δὴ from ἤδη seems to furnish the best clue to its proper signification. The clause in which it occurs always contains a tacit reference to something previously related or understood to have happened. Thus, in the sentence next but one following, δὴ serves to direct the mind of the reader to what had just been said of Argos, the greatness of which was a part of the tradition. Translate, "Well, to this Argos the Phœnicians came, and set out their wares." So i. 9, ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα λέγων ἀνέμειχετο, "well, he on his side by such-like arguments strove to get off." iv. 157: οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφεας ἀπεί· ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀποικίης, πρὶν δὴ ἀπίκωνται ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν Λιβύην, "for, after all, the god refused to release them from the undertaken settlement, until, hindrance or no hindrance, they got to Libya itself."

<sup>7</sup> κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νεὸς. The vessel is supposed to be drawn up on the

beach with her head to sea, ready therefore to be at once run out.

<sup>9</sup> Πέρσαι. See note on § 95, ὡς ὁ Περσέων μετεξέτεροι λέγουσι.

<sup>10</sup> βασιλέως. The MSS vary throughout between the forms βασιλέως, βασιλῆος, and βασιλέος, in the most arbitrary manner. There being no means of discovering the law of their variation, it seems useless to weigh their testimony in each particular case.

<sup>11</sup> εἶψαν δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες. The Hellenic legends represented Europa as going from Phœnicia to Crete, and from Crete to Lycia (iv. 48). The tradition of which Herodotus is here speaking took no account of her after leaving Tyre. His inference proceeds from the habit of putting together independent myths in order to construct an historical narrative out of them.

<sup>12</sup> μακρῇ νηί. This feature in the narrative indicates that it was not for peaceable objects they went; as they sailed not in a merchant-vessel but a war-galley.

θυγατέρα Μήδειαν<sup>12</sup>. πέμψαντα δὲ τὸν Κόλχον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα<sup>13</sup>  
κήρυκα, αἰτέειν τε δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀπαιτέειν τὴν θυγατέρα·  
τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι Ἰοῦς τῆς Ἀργείης ἔδοσαν  
σφι δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, οὐδὲ ὦν αὐτοὶ δώσειν ἐκείνοισι. Δευτέρῃ 3  
δὲ λέγουσι γενεῇ<sup>14</sup> μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμου ἀκηκοῦτα  
ταῦτα, ἐβελήσαι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος δι' ἀρπαγῆς γενέσθαι γυναῖκα,  
ἐπιστάμενον πάντως ὅτι οὐ δώσει δίκας· οὐδὲ<sup>15</sup> γὰρ ἐκείνους διδόναι  
οὕτω δὴ ἀρπάσαντος αὐτοῦ Ἑλένην, τοῖσι Ἕλλησι δόξαι πρῶτον  
πέμψαντας ἀγγέλους ἀπαιτέειν τε Ἑλένην καὶ δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς  
αἰτέειν τοὺς δὲ, προῖσχομένων ταῦτα<sup>16</sup>, προφέρειν σφι Μηδείης<sup>17</sup>  
τὴν ἀρπαγὴν ὡς οὐ δόντες αὐτοὶ δίκας οὐδὲ ἐκδόντες ἀπαιτεόντων,  
βουλοιάτῳ σφι παρ' ἄλλων δίκας γίνεσθαι. Μέχρι μὲν ὦν τούτου 4  
ἀρπαγὰς μούνας εἶναι παρ' ἀλλήλων τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου, Ἕλληνας  
δὴ μεγάλως αἰτίους γενέσθαι προτέρους γὰρ ἄρξαι στρατεύεσθαι  
ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἢ σφέας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην<sup>18</sup>. τὸ μὲν νυν ἀρπάζειν  
γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν ἀδικῶν νομίζεν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀρπασθεῖσών  
σπουδὴν ποιήσασθαι τιμωρέειν ἀνοήτων, [τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὥρην  
ἔχειν ἀρπασθεῖσών, σωφρόνων<sup>19</sup>.] δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ

Retaliation  
of Alexan-  
drus, son of  
Priam.

Further step  
in aggression  
by the Hel-  
lenes, who  
come in  
force to Asia  
and over-

<sup>12</sup> Μήδειαν. The MSS have generally Μηδίνην, Gaisford Μηδείην.

<sup>13</sup> ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. The late growth of the legend in its present form shows itself from this expression. There was no collective *Hellas* at the time alluded to. THUCYDIDES (I. 3) remarks, that long after the Trojan war the name Hellenes, as designating the Hellenic race, was unknown to Homer; and it must be remembered that Thucydides did not confine his ideas of the Homeric poems to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

<sup>14</sup> δευτέρῃ γενεῇ. This expression shows that "the Persians" received the legends of the Argonautic expedition, and of the Trojan war, as connected with one another, and forming parts of the same cycle, i. e. after they had been altered from their original form. See note 20, below.

<sup>15</sup> οὐδὲ. Gaisford οὐτε.

<sup>16</sup> τοὺς δὲ, προῖσχομένων ταῦτα. "And that they (the Trojans, the countrymen of Alexandrus) on the (Hellenes) putting forward their claims." The familiarity of the legend justifies the laxity of the style.

<sup>17</sup> Μηδείης. Two of the MSS (S and V) retain here also the form Μηδείης.

But the others have the more common form.

<sup>18</sup> ἢ σφέας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. This expression also shows that the Persian statements which Herodotus is following are of a late growth, as no expedition whatever into Europe took place before that of Darius into Scythia. The rhetorical turn, too, which in the next sentence is given to the narrative, clearly manifests the influence of the sophists.

<sup>19</sup> τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν . . . σωφρόνων. This clause is found in all the MSS; but it is difficult to conceive that it could have been the intention of the author, if it proceeded from his pen, to allow it to stand together with the preceding sentence, with which it is precisely identical in point of sense. If either of the two clauses be struck out, the rhetorical antithesis, which is obviously intended, is unimpaired. This is not the case, if both stand. It seems probable that here is an instance of a double reading introduced by the collation of two MSS, in the one of which the former clause was found, and in the other the latter. The former seems to have existed in the copy used by PLUTARCH (*De Malignitate Herodoti*, p. 856. F.).

throw the  
dynasty of  
Priam.

The capture  
of Ilium is  
the begin-  
ning of the  
eternal  
feud.

Different  
Phoenician  
legend of Io.

ἐβουλεύατο, οὐκ ἂν ἠρπάζοντο. σφέας μὲν δὴ, τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀρπαζομενέων τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι. Ἕλληνας δὲ Λακεδαιμονίης εἵνεκεν γυναικὸς στόλον μέγαν συναγείρει, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τὴν Πριάμου δύναμιν κατελείν. ἀπὸ τούτου αἰεὶ ἡγήσασθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι πολέμιον. τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην<sup>20</sup> καὶ τὰ ἐνοικέοντα ἔθνεα βάρβαρα οἰκειεύνται οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἡγνται κεχωρισθαι.

5 Οὕτω μὲν λέγουσι<sup>21</sup> γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν εὐρίσκουσι σφίσι εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἔχθρης τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰοῦς οὐκ ὁμολογεῖν Πέρσῃσι οὕτω<sup>22</sup> Φοίνικες. οὐ γὰρ ἀρπαγῇ σφέας χρῆσάμενους λέγουσι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐν τῷ Ἀργεῖ ἐμίσητο τῷ ναυκλήρῳ τῆς νεός<sup>23</sup>. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν ἔγκυος εἶναι, αἰδεομένη τοὺς τοκέας οὕτω δὴ ἐβελοντὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Φοίνιξι συνεκπλῶσαι, ὥς ἂν μὴ κατάδηλος γένηται. ταῦτα μὲν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι. ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων<sup>24</sup> ὥς οὕτως ἢ ἄλλως κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο. τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοῦτον σημήνας, προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου ὁμοίως μικρὰ<sup>25</sup> καὶ μεγάλα ἄσπετα ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξιών. τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι

<sup>20</sup> τὴν Ἀσίην . . . οἱ Πέρσαι. See, in illustration of this principle, the story of Artayctes (ix. 116). But this antithesis of Europe and Asia, as parallel to Hellenic and Barbarian, is doubtless later than the battle of Marathon. Before that time, or at least before the destruction of Miletus, the Hellenes of Asia were vastly more powerful than those of Europe. But after these had been crushed, and the check to the growth of Persia had been given by the Europeans, the vanity of the latter suggested such views as those which Æschylus gives in the vision of Atossa (*Persæ*, 176—196), and which from that time forward passed current.

<sup>21</sup> οὕτω μὲν λέγουσι. Gaisford and the principal MSS insert Πέρσαι before λέγουσι.

<sup>22</sup> οὕτω, "exactly," "so as they put it, and not otherwise." Compare the use of the word in the next sentence, οὕτω δὴ ἐβελοντὴν, &c., "then, and not before, in fine, she voluntarily sailed off with the Phœnicians." This is the commonest

use of the word. It always contains a tacit reference to certain conditions; and may often be rendered by the English "then and not till then." i. 11, τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτως οὐδὲν δηλώσασα ἡσυχίην εἶχε, "well, at the time, she just as she was, gave no sign of observing, and kept still." ἢ αὐτὸν σὲ αὐτίκα οὕτω ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ, "or you yourself must die immediately, as you stand." Cicero (*Pro Sexto Roscio*, § xxvi. 71), of the punishment of parricides, which were sown up in a sack alive and thrown into a river, says: "Noluerunt feris corpus obicere, ne bestis quoque quæ tantum scelus attigissent immmanioribus uteremur; non SIC nudos in flumen dejicere, ne quum delati essent in mare, ipsum polluerent."

<sup>23</sup> νεός. Most MSS. νηός. See note 9, above.

<sup>24</sup> οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων, "I do not mean to say."

<sup>25</sup> μικρὰ. Between the use of this form and σμικρὰ in Herodotus, the best principle of discrimination seems to be, that the former is to be retained when the pre-

μεγάλα ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν σμικρὰ γέγονε· τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ ἦν μεγάλη, πρότερον ἦν σμικρά· τὴν ἀνθρωπητὴν ὧν ἐπιστάμενος εὐδαιμονίην οὐδαμὰ ἐν τῶντῳ μένουσαν, ἐπιμνήσομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως.

Κροίσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττεω<sup>26</sup>, τύραννος δὲ 6  
ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς "Αλυσ" ποταμοῦ· ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσαμβρίας<sup>28</sup>

μεταξὺ Σύρων\* καὶ Παφλαγόνων, ἐξίει<sup>29</sup> πρὸς βορρὴν ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν Εὐξεινον καλεόμενον πόντον· οὗτος ὁ Κροίσος βαρβάρων πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέψατο Ἑλλήνων ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τοὺς δὲ, φίλους προσεποιήσατο. (κατεστρέψατο μὲν

Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας, καὶ Δωριέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ· φίλους δὲ προσεποιήσατο Λακεδαιμονίους.) πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροίσου ἀρχῆς πάντες Ἕλληνες ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι· τὸ γὰρ Κιμμερίων στράτευμα<sup>30</sup>

τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀπικόμενον, Κροίσου ἐὼν πρεσβύτερον<sup>31</sup>, οὐ καταστροφή ἐγένετο τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγῆ.

Ἡ δὲ ἡγεμονίη οὕτω περιήλθε, ἐοῦσα Ἡρακλειδέων, ἐς τὸ γένος 7

τὸ Κροίσου, καλεομένους δὲ Μερμνάδας. Ἦν Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἱ 8  
Ἕλληνες Μυρσίλον ὀνομάζουσι<sup>32</sup>, τύραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπόγονος δὲ

Ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. Ἀγρων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Νίνου τοῦ Βήλου τοῦ Ἀλκαίου πρῶτος Ἡρακλειδέων βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο Σαρδίων, Κανδαύλης δὲ ὁ Μύρσου ὑστάτος· οἱ δὲ πρότερον Ἀγρωνος βασι-

λεύσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄττος· ἀπὸ τοῦ<sup>33</sup> ὁ δῆμος Λύδιος ἐκλήθη ὁ πᾶς οὗτος, πρότερον Μῶων καλεόμενος. παρὰ τούτων Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπιτραφθέντες<sup>34</sup> ἔσχον

ceding word terminates with σ, and the latter in all other cases. The oldest MSS written in uncial characters rarely exhibit the division of words, and in such it is very common, where one word terminates with the same letter which begins the following one, to write the letter only once.

<sup>26</sup> Ἀλυάττεω. Gaisford Ἀλυαττέω.

<sup>27</sup> Ἄλυσ. The expression τῶν ἐντὸς Ἀλ. indicates that the tradition here followed was of Græco-Lylian origin. Like the phrase "Cis-alpine" by Italians, it would be used by persons who lived within the region which the Halys bounded. The origin of the tradition is still more closely determined by the expression Σύρων, which was the Hellenic name for the Cappadocians (see i. 72; v. 49).

<sup>28</sup> ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσαμβρίας. See note 243, below.

\* Σύρων. See note 242, below.

<sup>29</sup> ἐξίει. On this form, which is equivalent to ἐξίησι, see note 604, below.

<sup>30</sup> Κιμμερίων στράτευμα. See note 59, below.

<sup>31</sup> πρεσβύτερον, "earlier." A very rare use of the word. The nearest parallel to it is perhaps ii. 2, οὕτω συνεχάρησαν Αἰγύπτῳ . . . τοὺς Φρύγας πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι ἰωνῶν.

<sup>32</sup> τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Μυρσίλον ὀνομάζουσι. What Herodotus probably means by this is, that the Hellenic genealogists identified the Mysilus of the Hellenic traditions with the Lylian Candaules. But HESYCHIUS gives Candaules as a name for Hermes or Heracles. See note on i. 13, οἱ τε τοῦ Γύγως στασιῶται.

<sup>33</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ. Gaisford ἀπ' οὗ.

<sup>34</sup> ἐπιτραφθέντες, "after having been constituted viceroys" (ἐπίτροποι = procuratores). See note on iii. 36, ἐπετρόπευσας.

Croesus was the first barbarian monarch who entered into relations with the Hellenes.

First Lylian dynasty descended from Atys. Second dynasty, Heracleidae. Third dynasty, Mermnadae.



τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ θεοπροπίου, ἐκ δούλης τε τῆς Ἰαρδάνου γεγονότες καὶ Ἡρακλέος, ἄρξαντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι γενεάς ἀνδρῶν, ἕτα πάντε τε καὶ πεντακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν<sup>35</sup> μέχρι Κανδαύλεω τοῦ Μύρσου

Traditional account of the rise of the Meropids on occasion of Candaules exhibiting his wife to Gyges in a state of nudity.

8 Οὗτος δὴ ὦν ὁ Κανδαύλης ἠράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὸς ἔρασθεις δὲ, ἐνόμιζέ οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλὸν πασέων καλλίστην ὥστε δὲ ταῦτα νομίζων, ἦν γάρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα, τούτῳ [τῷ Γύγῃ] καὶ τὰ σπουδαιότερα<sup>36</sup> τῶν πρηγμάτων ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Κανδαύλης, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπερειαίνεων χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, (χρὴν γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς), ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Γύγην τοιάδε· “Γύγη, οὐ γάρ σε δοκέω πείθεσθαι μοι λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ εἶδους τῆς γυναικὸς (ὧτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα<sup>37</sup> ὀφθαλμῶν) ποίειε ὅκως ἐκείνην θεήσεαι γυμνὴν” ὁ δὲ μέγα ἀμβώσας εἶπε· “Δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγιέα κελεύων με δέσποιναν τὴν ἐμὴν θεήσασθαι γυμνὴν; ἅμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένη συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύρηται<sup>38</sup>, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἐν τούτῳ ἐστὶ, σκρῆπειν τινὰ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ· ἐγὼ δὲ πειθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων γυναικῶν καλλίστην, καὶ σεο δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι ἀνόμων.”

9 Ὁ μὲν δὴ<sup>39</sup> λέγων τοιαῦτα ἀπεμάχετο, ἀρραδένων μὴ τι οἱ ἐξ αὐτέων γένηται κακόν<sup>40</sup>. ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· “θάρσει Γύγη· καὶ

<sup>35</sup> παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν. Attempts have been made to reconcile this statement with probability, by interpreting it as merely meaning that the succession was on the hereditary principle. But nothing can be imagined more foreign to the habits of thought in the time of Herodotus than the interposition of such a remark would be. Hereditary succession was the rule in that time; and the long genealogy in a direct line presented to an uncritical age no difficulties whatever. Herodotus does not display the least surprise, on this account, at the hereditary succession of the Egyptian priests, which extended to 341 generations (ii. 143). The passages, ii. 65, 166, are no defence whatever for a loose interpretation of this one. The profession of arms was not hereditary in Hellas, and the priestly office only so in some cases.

<sup>36</sup> σπουδαιότερα. The MS S has this form, but A, B, and R that of σπου-

δαίτερα. See below, note on i. 133, σπουδαιότατα.

<sup>37</sup> ἀπιστότερα. Not “less persuasive,” but “less trusted.” The sentiment is the same as that expressed by SENECA (ep. vi.): *Homines amplius oculis quam auribus credunt*,—not that of HORACE (A. P. 180):

*Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures, Quam quæ sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus.* See, however, ix. 98.

<sup>38</sup> πάλαι τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύρηται. It belongs to the simplicity of an early age to represent the laws of nature as rules invented by sages. Thus SOPHOCLES (*Antig.* 456) says of the “unwritten and unchangeable laws of the gods:” οὐ γὰρ τι νῦν γε καχθὲς ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ ποτε (ᾧ ταῦτα, κοῦδὲς οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου ᾧ φάνη.

<sup>39</sup> ὁ μὲν δὴ. See note 6, above.

<sup>40</sup> μὴ τι οἱ ἐξ αὐτέων γένηται κακόν. According to the well-known rules as to the use of the subjunctive and optative

μη φοβεῦ μήτε ἐμέ, ὥς σεο πειρώμενον λόγον<sup>41</sup> τόνδε, μήτε  
 γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμήν, μή τι τοι ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται βλάβος ἀρχήν<sup>42</sup>  
 γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσομαι οὕτω, ὥστε μηδὲ μαθεῖν μιν ὀφθείσαν ὑπὸ  
 σεῦ· ἐγὼ γάρ σε ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἐν τῷ κοιμώμεθα ὀπισθε τῆς ἀνουγο-  
 μένης θύρης στήσω μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνή  
 ἢ ἐμὴ ἐς κοῖτον. κεῖται δὲ ἀγγοῦ τῆς ἐσόδου θρόνος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον  
 τῶν ἱματίων κατὰ ἐν ἑκαστον ἐκδύνουσα θήσει<sup>43</sup>, καὶ κατ' ἡσυχίην  
 πολλὴν παρέξει τοι θεήσασθαι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείλῃ  
 ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνήν, κατὰ νότον τε αὐτῆς γένη, σοὶ μελέτω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν  
 ὅκως μὴ σε ὀψεται ἴοντα διὰ θυρέων." Ὁ μὲν δὴ, ὥς οὐκ ἐδύνατο  
 διαφυγεῖν, ἦν ἐτοῖμος<sup>44</sup>. ὁ δὲ Κανδαύλης, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκεε ὥρῃ τῆς

10

after the conjunctions *ὅπως*, *ἔφρα*, *μή*, and *ὅνα*, we should expect here the optative *γένοιτο* instead of the subjunctive *γένηται*. But in fact the canons of Dawes and Monk, though applicable in the main, do not explain all the cases which occur. The subjunctive is appropriately used in the dependent clause, when the event expressed in that clause is regarded as either the probable or the direct result of a previous hypothesis; the optative, when the mere possibility or contingency of it is contemplated. The clause in the text should be rendered, "dreading *that* some mischief *would* come to him." If the optative had been used, the meaning would have been, "dreading lest some mischief *might* come to him." Gyges saw his own destruction as the direct and natural consequence of the transaction in which he was urged to take part. The following passage, which baffles the application of the formal rules, well illustrates the real principle which regulates the use of the two moods. ΕΥΜΕΡΙΔΗΣ (*Hecub.* 1133, seqq.):

ἔδεια μὴ σοὶ πολέμιος λειφθεὶς δ' παῖς  
 Τροίαν ἀβροίσῃ καὶ ξυνοικίῃ πάλιν,  
 γνόντες δ' Ἀχαιοὶ ὧντα Πριαμίδων τινα,  
 φρυγῶν ἐς αἶαν ἀδῆς ἄρειαν στόλον,  
 κάππειτα Θρήκης πεδία τρίβοιεν τάδε  
 λεηλατοῦντες, κ.τ.λ.

"I dreaded that the boy *would* rebuild Troy [as a natural and direct consequence if he grew up to manhood]; and that, when the Achæans knew that one of the race of Priam was alive, they *might* again bring an armament into the land of the Phrygians," &c. This was a distant probability, contingent, first, on Polydo-

rus rebuilding Troy; secondly, on the Achæans hearing of this; thirdly, on their anger being rekindled at the news. That there should be no *exact* rule for determining when the subjunctive and when the optative should be used, arises from the circumstance that there is no formal limit between probability and possibility.

<sup>41</sup> *πειρώμενον λόγον*. Some MSS and Dionysius have *πειρώμενος λέγων λόγον*: others, *πειρώμενος* (or *πειρώμενον*) *λόγον*. It seems not improbable that the present variations have arisen from the combination of two readings, *μήτε ἐμὲ σεο πειρώμενος λέγων*, and *μήτε ὥς σεο πειρώμενον λόγον τόνδε*. See note 19, above.

<sup>42</sup> *ἀρχήν*. This word used adverbially very nearly corresponds to the English phrase, "to begin with." It introduces a consideration which forecloses the question. Thus *iii.* 39: *τῷ φίλῳ ἔφη χαρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἀποδιδὸς τὰ ἔλαβε, ἢ ἀρχὴν μηδὲ λαβάν*, "than if he had not taken them to begin with," in which case restoration would of course have been impossible.

<sup>43</sup> *ἐπὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἱματίων . . . θήσει*, "Upon this she will go and lay down each one of her garments as she pulls it off." The accusatives *ἐν ἑκαστον* are not governed by the preposition *κατὰ*, but by the compound verb *καταθήσει*. The *θρόνος* was a high-backed arm-chair used with a footstool. In the ancient works of art, it is always appropriated to a deity or person of rank.

<sup>44</sup> *ἦν ἐτοῖμος*. See note on *i.* 70. In the common dialect, the accent is on the antepenultimate syllable *ἔτοιμος*, but in Ionic and Doric the penultimate is circumflexed.

- κοίτης εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύγεα ἐς τὸ οἶκημα· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα παρὴν καὶ ἡ γυνή· ἐσελθοῦσαν δὲ καὶ τιθεῖσαν τὰ εἴματα ἐθηεῖτο ὁ Γύγης· ὥς δὲ κατὰ νότου ἐγένετο ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδὺς ἐχώρεε ἕξω· καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορᾷ μιν ἐξιώντα, μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὔτε ἀνέβασεν αἰσχυρθεῖσα οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθέειν, ἐν νόῳ ἔχουσα τίσεσθαι τὸν Κανδαύλεα· παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροισι,
- 11 καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι γυμνὸν “ ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει. Τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτως “ οὐδὲν δηλώσασα ἡσυχίην εἶχε· ὥς δὲ ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνεε, τῶν οἰκετέων τοὺς μάλιστα ὥρα πιστοὺς εἶοντας ἐωυτῇ ἐτοίμους ποιησαμένη, ἐκάλεε τὸν Γύγεα· ὁ δὲ, οὐδὲν δοκέων αὐτὴν τῶν πρηχθέντων ἐπίστασθαι, ἦλθε καλεόμενος· ἐώθεε γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε, ὅκως ἡ βασιλεια καλέοι, φοιτᾶν· ὥς δὲ ὁ Γύγης ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγεν ἡ γυνὴ τάδε· “ νῦν τοι δυοῖν ὁδοῖν παρουσέων, Γύγη, δίδωμι αἵρεσιν, ὁκοτέρην βούλει τραπέσθαι· ἡ γὰρ Κανδαύλεα ἀποκτείνας ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν βασιληίην ἔχε τὴν Λυδῶν, ἡ αὐτὸν σὲ αὐτίκα οὕτω ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ· ὥς ἂν μὴ, πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλῃ, τοῦ λοιποῦ ἴδῃς τὰ μὴ σε δεῖ. ἀλλ’ ἦτοι κεῖνόν γε τὸν ταῦτα βουλευσάντα δεῖ ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἡ σὲ τὸν ἐμέ γυμνῇν θηησάμενον καὶ ποιήσαντα οὐ νομιζόμενα.” ὁ δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν ἀπεθώμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα· μετὰ δὲ, ἰκέτευε μὴ μιν ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεῖν “ διακρίναι τοιαύτην αἵρεσιν· οὐκὼν δὴ ἔπειθε “ ἀλλ’ ὥρα ἀναγκαίῃν ἀληθέως προκειμένην, ἡ τὸν δεσπότεα ἀπολλύναι ἡ αὐτὸν ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι, αἰρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι· ἐπειρώτα δὴ λέγων τάδε· “ ἐπεὶ με ἀναγκάζεις δεσπότεα τὸν ἐμὸν κτείνειν, οὐκ ἐθέλοντα, φέρε ἀκούσω “ τέφ καὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτῷ ;” ἡ δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα ἔφη, “ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίου ἡ ὁρμὴ ἔσται ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐκείνος ἐμέ ἐπεδέξατο γυμνῇν ὑπνωμένῃ
- 12 δὲ ἡ ἐπιχειρήσις ἔσται.” Ὡς δὲ ἤρτυσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, νυκτὸς

<sup>45</sup> ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι γυμνὸν ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει. ΠΛΑΤΟ (Κερύβ. v. p. 462) says that it is οὐ πολλὸς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐδόκει αἰσχρὰ εἶναι καὶ γέλοια ἅπερ νῦν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν βαρβάρων, γυμνοὺς ἄνδρας ὁρᾶσθαι. He adds, that the Cretans were the first, and the Lacedæmonians the next, who introduced gymnastics. THUCYDIDES (i. 6), without mentioning the Cretans, speaks of the Lacedæmonians as the originators.

<sup>46</sup> οὕτως, “ just as she was.” See note 32, above.

<sup>47</sup> ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεῖν. The same expression is used ix. 16: ἐπόμεθα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεδεμένοι.

<sup>48</sup> οὐκὼν δὴ ἔπειθε, “ in fine, as he failed in persuading.” For the peculiar use of the word οὐκὼν, see note on v. 92, ult.

<sup>49</sup> φέρε ἀκούσω, “ come, let me hear.” For this use of the subjunctive, see ΜΑΤΤΘΙÆ, Gr. Gr. § 516.

γυνομένης, (οὐ γὰρ μετίετο ὁ Γύγης, οὐδέ οἱ ἦν ἀπαλλαγή οὐδεμία, ἀλλὰ ἔδεε ἢ αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι ἢ Κανδαύλεα), εἶπετο ἐς τὸν θάλαμον τῇ γυναικί· καὶ μιν ἐκείνη, ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα, κατακρύπτει ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἀναπαυομένου Κανδαύλεω, ὑπεισδύς τε καὶ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν, ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναικα καὶ τὴν βασιλητὴν Γύγης· (τοῦ καὶ<sup>50</sup> Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενος, ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ<sup>51</sup> ἐπεμνήσθη.) Ἔσχε δὲ τὴν βασιλητὴν καὶ ἐκρατύνη ἐκ τοῦ ἐν 13 Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίου<sup>52</sup>. ὥς γὰρ δὴ οἱ Λυδοὶ δεινὸν ἐποιοῦντο τὸ Κανδαύλεω πάθος, καὶ ἐν ὅπλοισι ἦσαν, συνέβησαν ἐς τῶντ' οἷ τε τοῦ Γύγεω στασιῶται<sup>53</sup> καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λυδοί, ἦν μὲν δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον ἀνέλη μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Λυδῶν, τὸν δὲ<sup>54</sup> βασιλεύειν ἦν δὲ μὴ, ἀποδοῦναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἡρακλείδαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνεῖλε τε δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν οὕτω Γύγης· τοσόνδε μέντοι εἶπε ἢ Πυθίῃ, ὥς Ἡρακλείδῃσι τίσις ἦξει ἐς τὸν πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγεω. τούτου τοῦ ἔπεος Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιοῦντο, πρὶν δὴ ἐπετελέσθῃ.

Dynasty of the Mer-  
mnadae re-  
cognized by  
the Del-  
phic oracle.

Τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι, τοὺς Ἡρα- 14 κλείδας ἀπελόμενοι· Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφούς οὐκ ὀλίγα· ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου<sup>55</sup> ἀναθήματα ἔστι οἱ

Succession of Lydia  
kings.

<sup>50</sup> τοῦ καὶ . . . ἐπεμνήσθη. Wesseling considers this sentence an interpolation, but on no sufficient ground.

<sup>51</sup> ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ. Probably οὐ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει, preserved by ARISTOTLE (*Rhet.* p. 1418, line 31).

<sup>52</sup> The account which PLATO (*Repub.* ii. p. 359) gives of the mode in which Gyges became king, by discovering a magic ring which rendered him invisible, and enabled him to murder the king of the country and occupy his place, has no pretension to a historical character; neither has the one in the text, except for the identification of Candaules with Myrsilus. Plato does not mention the name of the sovereign deposed. By Herodotus's statement at the end of § 13, it would seem that the story of Gyges formed in the Delphic traditions an integral part of that of Croesus. It will be observed, in the narrative of the Lydian dynasty, that no detailed account of any transaction occurs which is not connected with some offering to the Apollo temples either of Delphi or Branchidae.

<sup>53</sup> οἱ τε τοῦ Γύγεω στασιῶται. This expression points to a different account of the fall of Candaules from the one followed by Herodotus. Perhaps it is that which furnishes the basis of Plutarch's story; for which see note on v. 119. Another tradition still makes Gyges son of Candaules the first king of the Lydians, and another an ἐγχώριος ἥρως. (*Schol. ad Il.* ix. 391.)

<sup>54</sup> τὸν δὲ, i. e. ἐκείνον δέ. Gaisford reads τόνδε. See ii. 39: οἱ δὲ φέροντες . . . οἱ δὲ ἐκβάλλουσι.

<sup>55</sup> ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἐν Δελφοῖσι. This passage is variously explained; but its difficulty has mainly arisen from erroneous interpunctuation, a colon being placed after the word Δελφοῖσι. Hence the whole clause has been taken to be in opposition to the words οὐκ ὀλίγα, and to complete the opposition; and, consequently, ἔστι οἱ πλεῖστα to mean, "he has most of any person." But the opposition to the words οὐκ ὀλίγα is not completed until the reader comes to the word ἀνέθηκεν. Gyges is represented to have

Gyges the founder made offerings to the temple at Delphi;

πλείστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι, παρέξ δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου, χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἀνέθηκεν, ἄλλον τε καὶ (τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμην ἄξιον ἔχειν ἐστὶ) κρητῆρές οἱ ἀριθμὸν ἕξ χρύσειοι ἀνακέαται· ἐστάσι δὲ οὔτοι ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα· ἀληθεῖ δὲ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ<sup>56</sup> οὐ Κορινθίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστὶν ὁ θησαυρὸς ἀλλὰ Κυψέλου<sup>57</sup> τοῦ Ἡελώνος. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδῖον, Φρυγίης βασιλέα· ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασιλῆϊον θρόνον ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, ἔοντα ἀξιοθέτητον· κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ἔνθα περ οἱ τοῦ Γύγως κρητῆρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὗτος καὶ ὁ ἀργυρὸς τὸν ὁ Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλέεται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην. ἐσέβαλε μὲν νυν στρατιὴν καὶ οὗτος, ἐπεὶ τε ἤρξε, ἔς τε Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ Κολοφῶνος τὸ ἄστυ εἶλε. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ μέγα ἔργον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ἐγένετο βασιλεύσαντος δυνῶν δέοντα τεσσαράκοντα

invaded Miletus and Smyrna, and took Colophon; reigned thirty-eight years.

15 ἔτεα, τοῦτον μὲν παρήσομεν τοσαῦτα ἐπιμνησθέντες, Ἄρδους δὲ τοῦ Γύγως μετὰ Γύγην βασιλεύσαντος μνήμην ποιήσομαι· οὗτος δὲ Πριηνέας τε εἶλε, ἐς Μίλητόν τε ἐσέβαλε· ἐπὶ τούτου τε τυραννεύοντος<sup>58</sup> Σαρδίων, Κυμμέριοι ἕξ ἡτέων ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν τῶν Νομάδων ἐξαναστάντες, ἀπικέατο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, καὶ Σάρδις πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος εἶλον.<sup>59</sup>

Ards took Priene, and invaded Miletus. In his reign the Cimmerian invasion occurred.

16 Ἄρδους δὲ βασιλεύσαντος ἐνὸς δέοντα πεντήκοντα ἔτεα ἐξε-

made many offerings of silver, but to have been chiefly distinguished by those of gold. The whole passage may be thus translated: "But Gyges, after becoming sovereign, sent off presents to Delphi, not few in number; on the contrary, among the offerings which are of silver he has very many at Delphi, but over and above the silver he presented an immense quantity of gold: among the rest—an offering which deserves especial mention—there are bowls, six in number, made of gold, standing as his" (*ἀνακέαται* cf.). Herodotus seems to have been puzzled by the place where these were, and hence to have changed the form of the sentence, which in its normal form would have run, κρητῆρας ἕξ χρυσεύς, into one less decisively expressing who the donor was.

<sup>56</sup> ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ. Compare i. 30: τῷ ἔοντι χρυσάμενος. i. 116: τῇ ἀληθείᾳ χρεώμενος.

<sup>57</sup> Κυψέλου. The history of Cypselus

is put into the mouth of a Corinthian by Herodotus, v. 92.

<sup>58</sup> ἐπὶ τούτῳ τυραννεύοντος. STRABO (in several places) says that the Cimmerian invasion in question was considered to have taken place in the time of Homer, or a little earlier. But from one passage (i. c. 2, p. 31) it is clear that this synchronism was due to the calculations of the chronologers. See note on iv. 11.

<sup>59</sup> Σάρδις πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος εἶλον. CALLISTHENES (*ap. Strabon.* xiii. c. 4) related that Sardis was taken three times: first by the Cimmerians, secondly by the Trerians and Lycians, and thirdly by Cyrus. The second of these is entirely unnoticed by Herodotus. CALLINUS, the elegiac poet, spoke of the Cimmerian expedition as one against the Ἡσιονεῖς, by which the antiquaries of Strabo's time considered him to mean those tribes who dwell Ἀσίῳ ἐν λευμῶνι, i. e. the valley of the lower Cayster.

δέξατο Σαρδυνάτης<sup>60</sup> ὁ Ἄρδνος, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτεα δυνώδεκα· He reigned  
 Σαρδυνάττειν δὲ Ἀλυνάττης. οὗτος δὲ Κναξάρη τε τῷ Δηϊόκωω forty-nine  
 ἀπογόνῳ ἐπολέμησέ<sup>61</sup> καὶ Μήδοισιν. Κιμμερίους τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης years.  
 ἐξήλασε. Σμύρνην τε τὴν ἀπὸ Κολοφώνος κτισθεῖσαν εἶλε<sup>62</sup>. ἐς Sardyattes  
 Κλαζομενάς τε ἐσέβαλε· ἀπὸ μὲν νυν τούτων οὐκ ὥς ἤθελε ἀπ- reigned  
 ἡλλάξε, ἀλλὰ προσπταίσας μεγάλως· ἄλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο twelve  
 ἐὼν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀξιαπηγητότατα τάδε· Ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίοισι, 17 years.  
 παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἐπελαύνων γὰρ Halvattes  
 ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Μίλητον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ὅκως μὲν εἴη ἐν τῇ γῇ καρ- made war  
 πὸς ἄδρος, τηνικαῦτα ἐσέβαλλε τὴν στρατιήν· ἐστρατεύετο δὲ against  
 ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων, καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικῆτος τε καὶ ἀν- Cyaxares  
 δρητοῦ<sup>63</sup>. ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην ἀπικούτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ and the  
 τῶν ἀγρῶν οὔτε κατέβαλλε οὔτε ἐνεπίμπρη οὔτε θύρας ἀπέσπα, Medes, ex-  
 ἔα δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἐστάμεναι· ὁ δὲ τά τε δένδρεα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν pelled the  
 τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὅκως διαφθείρειε, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὅπισω· τῆς γὰρ Cimmerians  
 θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐπεκράτεον<sup>64</sup>, ὥστε ἐπέδρης μὴ εἶναι ἔργον from Asia,  
 took Smyr-  
 na, and in-  
 vaded  
 Clazomenae.  
 His war  
 with  
 Miletus

<sup>60</sup> Σαρδυνάτης. This form of the name (which seems undoubtedly the true one, being connected with Σάρδης as Ἀλυνάτης is with Ἄλυσ, and both in the Lydian language being probably significant), was recovered by Mr. Long from a MS. in the British Museum. Gaisford has throughout Σαρδυνάτης. See note on i. 22, Σαρδηνός.

<sup>61</sup> Κναξάρη . . . . ἐπολέμησε. The origin and duration of this war is given by Herodotus below, §§ 73, 74.

<sup>62</sup> Σμύρνην ἀπὸ Κολοφώνος κτισθεῖσαν εἶλε. For the various accounts of Smyrna, antecedently to this calamity, see note on i. 160. STRABO says, that after the Lydians pulled down the town the people lived scattered in hamlets (κομηδόν) for nearly 400 years, until Antigonus, and afterwards Lysimachus, built the modern city, about two miles from the site of the ancient one (xiv. p. 183).

<sup>63</sup> καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικῆτος τε καὶ ἀνδρητοῦ. GELLIVS (N. A. i. 11) makes use of this passage to show the barbaric luxury of the Lydian monarchs, who even on their military expeditions carried female flute-players with them. In objection to this interpretation of the passage, it has been maintained that the αὐλὸς γυναικῆτος does not here mean a flute blown by a female performer, but a flute with a high pitch, resembling that of a female voice. It

has been suggested that the αὐλὸς ἀνδρ. and αὐλὸς γυν. correspond to the *tibia dextra* and *tibia sinistra* of the Roman double pipe, and also to the *bass* and *treble clefs* in modern harmonies. But there is no sufficient ground to suppose that in the time of Herodotus the musical scale extended over more than eleven notes at the very utmost; so that, if the hypothesis relative to the different pitches of the male and female flute be founded in fact, the difference cannot have been so great as is supposed. But it seems more likely that αὐλὸς γυν. does in this passage mean a flute blown by a female performer. The fact of Halvattes' army being thus attended, in all probability rests upon the interpretation by a Milesian cicerone of the friezes which existed in the temples of Assesus built by him. These temples were traditionally connected with the termination of the war and the formation of an alliance, no doubt cemented by religious ceremonies, in which the several rituals of the deities worshipped by the contracting parties would be embodied and symbolically represented by performers on their appropriate instruments. See the note on i. 60, ἡλαυνον εἰς τὸ ἔστυ.

<sup>64</sup> τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐπεκράτεον. The great naval power of Miletus may be gathered from the number

18  
lasts for  
eleven  
years,

the Milesians being assisted only by the Chians; is ended by his forming

τῇ στρατιῇ τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατέβαλλε ὁ Λυδὸς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅκως ἔχοιεν ἐνθεύτεν ὀρμεώμενοι τὴν γῆν σπεῖρειν τε καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οἱ Μιλήσιοι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκείνων ἐργαζομένων ἔχοι τι καὶ σίνεσθαι ἐσβύλλων. Ταῦτα ποίεων ἐπολέμεε ἕτα ἔνδεκα ἐν τοῖσι τρώματα μεγάλα διφάσια Μιλησίων ἐγένετο, ἔν τε Λιμενητῷ<sup>66</sup> χώρης τῆς σφετέρης μαχεσαμένων, καὶ ἐν Μαϊάνδρου πεδίῳ. (τὰ μὲν νυν ἐξ ἕτα τῶν ἔνδεκα Σαρδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδνος ἐτι Λυδῶν ἦρχε, ὁ καὶ ἐσβαλὼν τηνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην τὴν στρατιήν Σαρδυάττης<sup>66</sup> γὰρ οὗτος καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἦν συνάψας· τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἐτέων τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖσι ἐξ Ἀλυάττης ὁ Σαρδυάττεω ἐπολέμεε, ὃς παραδεξάμενος, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν πόλεμον προσεῖχε ἐντεταμένως.) τοῖσι δὲ Μιλησίοισι οὐδαμοὶ Ἴωνων τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον συνεπελάφρυνον, ὅτι μὴ Χίοι μόνου. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ ὁμοῖον ἀνταποδιδόντες ἐτιμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῖσι Χίοισι τὸν πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον<sup>67</sup> συνδῆναι. Τῷ δὲ δυωδεκάτῳ ἔτει λητῶ

of the colonies which sprang from her. The whole of the Euxine and the Propontis was full of them; and they were not confined to them. PLINY calls Miletus, *Ionía caput . . . super octoginta urbium per cuncta maria genetriz* (N. H. v. 21). Among them may be enumerated the islands Icarus and Lerus, in the Ægean; Apollonia, Odessus, and Mesembria, on the coast of the Euxine, between Salmydessus and the mouth of the Ister; Istropolis, within the Ister; Abydos, Arisba, and Scepsis, in the Troad; Artace, Lampsacus, and Cyzicus, on the Propontis; Sinope, on the south coast of the Euxine; and Dioscurias, on the river Anthemus, in the extreme east of the same sea. It also possessed a temple at Naucratis in Egypt (ii. 178). The proverb, *πάσαι πότ' ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι*, was current at Athens in the time of ARISTOPHANES (*Plut.* 1075). Many different accounts of its origin are given (which are collected by ERASMUS in his *Adagia*), but there seems no reason to look for any special cause of the outgrowth of such a sentiment, beyond the fact that Miletus furnished far the most familiar instance of departed greatness to a Hellenic observer. It may be observed that some of the eighty towns referred to by Pliny were mere factories, such as those with which the Carthaginians co-

vered the north coast of Africa. An example of these was Thynias, which was an outlying dependency of Apollonia, and probably a factory for the purpose of salting the tunny-fish (*θύνη*), the staple of those parts. It was, perhaps, from its supremacy over its dependencies that Miletus was once called *Ἀνακτορία* (PAUSANIAS, vii. 2, 5), although in after-times this name was derived as usual from an autochthonous king, *Anax*.

<sup>66</sup> Λιμενητῷ. M. F. *ἐν λιμενητῷ*, which, perhaps, is equivalent to Ἑλλημενητῷ written in the old manner.

<sup>66</sup> Σαρδυάττης. Gaisford here, as elsewhere, *Σαδυάττης*. See note 69, above.

<sup>67</sup> πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον. Of this war, both the date and the occasion can only be matter of conjecture. It probably grew out of the rival mercantile interests of the two cities, Chios and Erythræ, which, especially in the early times, when piratical and commercial undertakings were not strictly defined, continually led to collision. Perhaps this particular war in its consequences may have produced the similarity of dialect between Chios and Erythræ, which Herodotus remarks (i. 142). If Erythræ was overwhelmed by its rival, probably there would be a considerable settlement of the victors in its territory, enough to

ἐμπιπραμένον ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς, συνηείχθη τι τοῖονδε γενέσθαι  
 πρῆγμα· ὥς ἄφθη τάχιστα τὸ λήιον ἀνέμφ βιώμενον, ἄψατο νηοῦ  
 Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἀσσησίης· ἀφθείς δὲ ὁ νηὸς κατεκαύθη  
 καὶ τὸ παραντῖκα μὲν λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐγένετο· μετὰ δὲ, τῆς στρα-  
 τιῆς ἀπικομένης ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐνόσησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης· μακροτέρης δὲ  
 οἱ γενομένης τῆς νόσου, πέμπει ἐς Δελφούς θεοπρόπους, εἴτε δὴ  
 συμβουλευσάντος τευ εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἔδοξε πέμψαντα τὸν θεὸν  
 ἐπείρεσθαι περὶ τῆς νόσου τοῖσι δὲ ἡ Πυθίη ἀπικομένοισι ἐς  
 Δελφούς οὐκ ἔφη χρήσειν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἀνορ-  
 θώσωσι<sup>68</sup>, τὸν ἐνέπρησαν χώρης τῆς Μιλήσιος ἐν Ἀσσησῷ.  
 Δελφῶν<sup>69</sup> οἶδα ἐγὼ οὕτω ἀκούσας γενέσθαι. Μιλήσιοι δὲ τὰδε  
 προστιθεῖσι<sup>70</sup>· τοῦτοισι· Περίανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου, ἔοντα Θρα-  
 συβούλῳ τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυραννεύοντι<sup>71</sup>· ξείνον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα,  
 πυθόμενον τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τῷ Ἀλυάττῃ γενόμενον πέμψαντα  
 ἄγγελον κατεπεῖν, ὅπως ἂν τι προειδὼς πρὸς τὸ παρεὸν βου-  
 λεύηται. Μιλήσιοι μὲν νυν οὕτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι. Ἀλυάττης  
 δὲ, ὥς οἱ ταῦτα ἐξαγγέλθη, αὐτίκα ἔπεμπε κήρυκα ἐς Μίλητον,  
 βουλόμενος σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι Θρασυβούλῳ τε καὶ Μιλησίοις  
 χρόνον ὅσον ἂν τὸν νηὸν οἰκοδομή· ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν  
 Μίλητον ἦε<sup>72</sup>. Θρασύβουλος δὲ σαφέως προπετυσμένος πάντα  
 λόγον καὶ εἰδὼς τὰ Ἀλυάττης μέλλοι ποιήσειν, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε·  
 ὅσος ἦν ἐν τῷ ἄστει σῖτος καὶ ἐωντοῦ καὶ ἰδιωτικὸς τοῦτον πάντα  
 συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν, προεῖπε Μιλησίοις, ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς  
 σημήνη, τότε πίνειν τε πάντας καὶ κόμῳ χρέεσθαι<sup>73</sup> ἐς ἀλλήλους.

an alliance  
 with Mile-  
 tus, and  
 building a  
 temple to  
 Athena at  
 Assesus.

20

Milesian  
 story of Pe-  
 riander and  
 Thrasylu-  
 lus, tyrant  
 of Miletus,  
 and the  
 stratagem of  
 the latter.

21

modify the language considerably. This war was not the only case in which the Milesians stood apart from the rest of the Ionians. See note on § 141, πλὴν Μιλησίων.

<sup>68</sup> ἀνορθώσωσι. Gaisford ἀνορθώσουσι. But the best MSS. confirm the reading in the text.

<sup>69</sup> Δελφῶν. See note on i. 25.

<sup>70</sup> προστιθεῖσι. The form προστιθέασι would be more in accordance with the use of Herodotus, but it seems rash to alter the text against the authority of the whole of the MSS.

<sup>71</sup> τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυραννεύοντι. ARISTOTLE (*Polit.* v. p. 1305, A, line 17) gives Miletus as an instance of a democracy being converted into a tyranny from the extent of the powers given to the Pry-

tanis. He also remarks that in the ancient Republics, of which Miletus is an example, the tyrants almost always became so from demagogues, but demagogues who were successful, not as orators, but as commanders.

<sup>72</sup> ἦε. Gaisford ἦν. Herodotus is accustomed to use either the simple form *ἦε*, from *ἵεναι*, or the compound *παρῆν*, from *εἶναι*, with the preposition *ἐς* followed by an accusative case. Thus i. 113: *ἦε ἐς πόλιν ὁ βουκόλος*, and i. 9: *παρῆσται ἡ γυνὴ ἢ ἐμὴ ἐς κοῖτον*. The passage, v. 38, *δεύτερα αὐτὸς ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα τριήρεϊ ἀπόστολος ἐγένετο* is no parallel case to Gaisford's text here; for *ἀπόστολος ἐγένετο* is equivalent to *ἀπεστέλλετο*, and is put in a corresponding regimen.

<sup>73</sup> κόμῳ χρέεσθαι. These words are



- 22 Ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίεε τε καὶ προαγόρευε Θρασύβουλος τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως ἂν δὴ ὁ κήρυξ ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς<sup>14</sup> ἰδὼν τε σωρὸν μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι ἔοντας, ἀγγεῖλη 'Αλυάττῃ' τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο· ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἰδὼν τε ἐκεῖνα ὁ κήρυξ καὶ εἶπας πρὸς Θρασύβουλον τὰς ἐντολάς τοῦ Ἀνδοῦ ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐγένετο ἢ διαλλαγή· ἐλπίζων γὰρ ὁ 'Αλυάττης σιτοδοτήην τε εἶναι ἰσχυρὴν ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ τὸν λεὼν τετρῦσθαι ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ, ἤκουε τοῦ κήρυκος νοστήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγους ἢ ὥς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε· μετὰ δὲ, ἣ τε διαλλαγή σφι ἐγένετο, ἐπ' ᾧ τε ξείνους ἀλλήλοισι εἶναι καὶ ξυμμάχους· καὶ δύο τε ἀντὶ ἐνὸς νηοῦς τῇ 'Αθηναίῃ ᾠκοδόμησε ὁ 'Αλυάττης ἐν τῇ 'Ασσησῶ, αὐτὸς τε ἐκ τῆς νούσου ἀνέστη. κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον πόλεμον 'Αλυάττη ὥδε ἔσχε.

- 23 Περίανδρος δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς, οὗτος ὁ τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ τὸ χρηστήριον μηνύσας. ἐτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος Κορίνθου. τῷ δὴ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (ὁμολογέουσι δὲ σφι Λέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θῶμα μέγιστον παραστήναι, 'Αρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἐξεनेυχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον, ἔοντα κιθαρωδὸν τῶν τότε ἔόντων· οὐδενὸς δεύτερον, καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά<sup>15</sup> τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα

The story of Arion and the dolphin which was current among the Corinthians and Lesbians.

equivalent to *κωμάζειν*, to join in a bacchante procession. Thus THEOCRITUS says, *κωμάσδω ποτὶ τὰν 'Αμαρυλλίδα* (iii. 1), and Dionysus is himself called *κωμοστής* by ARISTOPHANES (*Nub.* 606). The original idea of the Hellenic *kōmos* and the Latin *comesatio* was, that it was a procession of the deity accompanied by his votaries. It was not confined to the Dionysus-worship, although the predominance of this and its adaptation to carnival-like processions gradually narrowed the meaning of the term. PLUTARCH (*Vit. Arist.* § 26), describing the voyage of Cleopatra down the Cydnus, says, *κατέκειτο ὑπὸ σκιάδι χρυσοπάστῳ, κεκοσμημένῃ γραφικῶς ὥσπερ 'Αφροδίτη, . . καὶ τις λόγος ἐχάρει διὰ πάντων, ὥς ἡ 'Αφροδίτη κωμάδσοι παρὰ τὸν Διδύνασον.*

<sup>14</sup> Σαρδιηνός. S Σαρδύσιος, as from a substantive form Σάρδης. See note 66 above.

<sup>15</sup> διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων ποιή-

σαντα. HELLANICUS and DICÆARCHUS (*ap. Schol. Aristoph. Av.* 1403) likewise attributed the invention of the dithyramb to Arion. But little more seems to follow from this, than that they followed the same local traditions in this matter which Herodotus does. Wherever there was Dionysus-worship carried to any ritualistic perfection, there no doubt it was a popular belief that the invention took place; and it would be attributed to the most celebrated musician with whom they might be familiar. Thus ANTIPATER and EUPHORION ascribed the invention to Lasus at Hermione (*Schol. ad Aristoph. Av.* l. c.). PINDAR, in three different passages, placed it at Thebes, Corinth, and Naxos (*Schol. ad Pind. Olymp.* xiii. 25). As to the dithyramb itself, it was a poem relating to the birth of Dionysus. (PLATO, *Legg.* iii. p. 700: καὶ ἄλλοι, Διονύσου γένεσις, οἶμαι, διθύραμβος λεγόμενος), mimetically rehearsed by performers habited as satyrs. SUIDAS (*sub*

καὶ διδάξαντα<sup>16</sup> ἐν Κορίνθῳ τοῦτον τὸν Ἀρίονα λέγουσι, τὸν 24  
 πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου διατριβόντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ, ἐπιθυμήσαι  
 πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰταλίην τε καὶ Σικελίην ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα  
 μεγάλα θελῆσαι ὀπίσω ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι ὁρμᾶσθαι μὲν ἢν  
 ἐκ Τάραντος, πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοῖσι μᾶλλον ἢ Κορινθίοισι,  
 μισθώσασθαι πλοῖον ἀνδρῶν Κορινθίων τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει  
 ἐπιβουλεύειν τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐκβαλόντας ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα τὸν δὲ  
 συνέντα τοῦτο<sup>17</sup> λίσσεσθαι, χρήματα μὲν σφί προίεντα, ψυχὴν δὲ  
 παραιτούμενον οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτὸν πείθειν αὐτὸν τοῦτοισι· ἀλλὰ κελεύειν  
 τοὺς πορθμέας ἢ αὐτὸν διαχρᾶσθαι<sup>18</sup> μιν ὡς ἂν ταφῆς ἐν γῇ τύχῃ,  
 ἢ ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ταχίστην ἀπειληθέντα<sup>19</sup> δὲ τὸν  
 Ἀρίονα ἐς ἀπορίην, παραιτήσασθαι, ἐπεὶ σφί οὕτω δοκεῖοι,  
 περιῶδειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ<sup>20</sup> στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοις

Arion was the inventor, namer, and first teacher of the dithyramb at Corinth.

v. Ἀρίων) . . . λέγεται . . . πρῶτος χορὸν στήσαι καὶ διθύραμβον ᾄσαι καὶ ὁνομάσαι τὸ φερόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ, καὶ Σατύρους εἰσεργεῖν ἔμμετρα λέγοντας. Precisely parallel was the ritual of the Curetes, in which they mimetically represented the birth of Zeus. STRABO expressly compares the relation in which they stand to the deity as his πρόπολοι with that of the satyrs to Dionysus; and describes their proceedings, that they exhibit μῦθον τὸν περὶ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς γενέσεως, ἐν ᾧ τὸν μὲν Κρόνον εἰσάγουσιν εἰδισμένον κατακλίνειν τὰ τέκνα ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως εὐθύς· τὴν δὲ Ῥέαν πειρωμένην ἐκκρύπτεσθαι τὰς ὥδας, καὶ τὸ γεννηθέν βρέφος ἐκποδᾶν ποιεῖν πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο συνεργοὺς λαβεῖν τοὺς Κουρήτας κ.τ.λ. (X. p. 359, ed. Lips.) But as it was "the jolly god" (as Dryden calls him), "the intoxicator," to whom the dithyramb was sung, it was proper that both the poetry and the music should be of an orgiastic character. Hence, in the well-known fragment, ARCHILOCHUS professes to lead off the dithyramb ὄνῃ συγκρανωθείς φρένας: and the very name of the performance (about which so much has been written, and so unsatisfactorily) was, it can hardly be doubted, a Hellenic form of an Egyptian word, ΤΙΤΗΡΑΜΒΟΣ (= *furor-em movens*), an epithet of Dionysus, with reference to his operations. See JACOBS, *Quæstiones Sophocleæ*, vol. i. pp. 82, 83.

<sup>16</sup> διδάξαντα. See note on vi. 21.

<sup>17</sup> συνέντα τοῦτο. See note 80.

<sup>18</sup> διαχρᾶσθαι. Herodotus uses the word καταχρῆσθαι in the same sense, i. 82.

<sup>19</sup> ἀπειληθέντα. See BUTTMANN (*Lexilogus*, v. εἰλεῖν).

<sup>20</sup> ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ. This was equivalent to placing himself under the protection of Apollo. The kernel of the whole story is the sacred character of the bard, who is represented in it as always under the eye of his patron deity. The narrative of HYGINUS (cxiv.) brings out the features which show this more fully. The servants of Arion conspire with the crew to kill him; but Apollo appears to him in a dream, and bids him put on his sacred garb and wreath, and trust himself to the aid which will appear to him. These are the dolphins. In his haste to get away when brought to shore at Corinth, Arion neglects to thrust his bearer back into the sea, and the fish accordingly perishes. The king of the country buries it, and, when the sailors appear, forces them to swear to the truth of their statement on the dolphin's tomb, in which Arion has been concealed. On his appearing, they confess their guilt by their confusion, and are punished by crucifixion. Apollo places both Arion and the dolphin among the constellations. The last part of this legend is doubtless later than the Alexandrine times; but the former portion has every mark of antiquity, and is a complete parallel to the well-known story of Ibycus and his cranes, the scene of which also is laid at Corinth.

αείσαι· αείσας δὲ ὑπεδέκετο ἑωυτὸν κατεργάσασθαι· καὶ τοῖσι ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ ἡδονὴν εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνθρώπων αἰδοῦ, ἀναχωρήσαι ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης ἐς μέσσην νέα· τὸν δὲ ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν καὶ λαβύοντα τὴν κιθάρην, στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλοῖσι διεξελθεῖν νόμον τὸν ὄρθιον<sup>81</sup>. τελευτῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου, ῥίψαι μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἑωυτὸν ὡς εἶχε σὺν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποπλέειν ἐς Κόρινθον· τὸν δὲ, δελφίνα λέγουσι ὑπολαβόντα ἐξευῖκαι ἐπὶ Ταίναρον ἀποβάντα δὲ αὐτὸν χωρέειν ἐς Κόρινθον σὺν τῇ σκευῇ<sup>82</sup> καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἀπηγγέσθαι πᾶν τὸ γεγονός· Περῖανδρον δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας Ἀρίονα μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν οὐδαμῇ μετιέντα, ἀνακῶς δὲ ἔχειν<sup>83</sup> τῶν πορθμέων ὡς δὲ ἄρα παρῆναι αὐτοὺς, κληθέντας ἱστορέεσθαι εἴ τι λέγουιεν περὶ Ἀρίονος· φαμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ὡς εἶη τε σῶς περὶ Ἰταλίνην, καὶ μιν εὖ πρήσσουντα λίποιεν ἐν Τάραντι, ἐπιφανῆναί σφι<sup>84</sup> τὸν Ἀρίονα ὥσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπήδησε· καὶ τοὺς, ἐκπλαγέντας οὐκ ἔχειν ἔτι ἐλεγχόμενους ἀρνέεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν νυν Κορίνθιοι τε καὶ Λέσβιοι λέγουσι· καὶ Ἀρίονός ἐστι ἀνάθημα<sup>85</sup>· χάλκεον οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ Ταϊνάρῳ, ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἐπεὶ ἄνθρωπος.

25 Ἀλυάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν πρὸς Μίλησιους πόλεμον διενείκας,

<sup>81</sup> νόμον τὸν ὄρθιον, "the réveillée." The use of the article points to a well-known air (or, more properly, chant), one of the forms of the "Doric mode." The same air is meant in *Æsch. Pers.* 389: ὄρθιον ἀντηλάλαξεν ἡχώ. See Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities, under the word *Music*, p. 628, and that of Biography and Mythology, under the word *Terpander*.

<sup>82</sup> σὺν τῇ σκευῇ. See note 80.

<sup>83</sup> ἀνακῶς ἔχειν. See note on viii. 109.

<sup>84</sup> ἐπιφανῆναί σφι. This sudden apparition of Arion in his sacred garb is an essential part of the original story. Hence the legend which, under the influence of the monument at Tænarum, made him land there, is obliged to make him travel all through Peloponnese σὺν τῇ σκευῇ, and on arriving at Corinth be kept in custody by Periander.

<sup>85</sup> Ἀρίονος ἀνάθημα, "an offering set up by Arion." In the time of PAUSANIAS (iii. 25, 7) the human figure was said to be that of Arion himself. With regard to the group, it has been considered with great probability to have been really set up in commemoration of the

colony sent out from Lacedæmon to Tarentum under Phalantus, which sailed from Tænarum. It appears in the Tarentine coins and the Methymnean also, and symbolically represents an Achæo-Dorian colony sent out by sea, the dolphin being the representative of Poseidon, the citharist of Apollo the Dorian deity (see note on viii. 41). In the temple at Delphi there was a figure group placed there by the Tarentines in commemoration of a victory gained by them over their barbarous neighbours the Peucetians. Among the combatants were Taras, the eponymous hero of Tarentum, and Phalantus, and "not far from the latter" (says PAUSANIAS, x. 13. 10) "Phalantus's dolphin; for, before he went to Italy, Phalantus was shipwrecked in the Crissæan sea, and they say he was carried by a dolphin to shore." A similar tradition with regard to the body of Melicerta existed at the Isthmus of Corinth. It was said to have been brought thither by a dolphin, and buried by Sisyphus, who instituted the Isthmian games at the tomb in honour of Melicerta, under the name of Palæmon (PAUSAN. ii. 1, 3).

μετέπειτα τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας ἑτεᾶ ἑπτὰ καὶ πενήκοντα. ἂν-  
 ἔθηκε δὲ ἐκφυγὼν τὴν νοῦσον, δεύτερος οὗτος τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης ἐς  
 Δελφοὺς κρητῆρά<sup>66</sup> τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδή-  
 ρεον κολλητὸν, θέης ἄξιον διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀναθη-  
 μάτων, Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου ποίημα<sup>67</sup>. ὃς μούνος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώ-  
 πων σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἐξεῦρε.

*Halyattes*  
dies after  
reigning  
fifty-seven  
years.  
He made  
presents to the  
Delphic  
temple.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλικύττεω ἐξεδέξατο τὴν βασιληὴν Κροῖσος 26  
 ὁ Ἀλικύττεω, ἐτέων ἑὼν ἡλικίᾳ πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα. ὃς δὴ Ἑλλά-  
 νων πρῶτοις ἐπεθήκατο Ἐφεσίοισι. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι<sup>68</sup> πο-  
 λιорκούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀνέθεσαν τὴν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμειδι ἐξ-  
 ἄψαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ σχοινίον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· ἔστι δὲ μεταξύ τῆς τε  
 παλαιῆς πόλιος<sup>69</sup> ἢ τότε ἐπολιορκέετο καὶ τοῦ νηοῦ, ἑπτὰ στάδιοι.  
 πρῶτοις μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἐπεχείρησε ὁ Κροῖσος· μετὰ δὲ, ἐν μέρει  
 ἐκάστοις Ἰώνων τε καὶ Αἰολέων, ἄλλοις ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων  
 τῶν μὲν ἐδύνατο μέζοντας παρενρίσκειν, μέζονα ἐπαιτιώμενος, τοῖσι  
 δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φαῦλα ἐπιφέρων. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἑλ- 27  
 ληνες κατεστράφατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπενοέε νέας  
 ποιησάμενος ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖσι νησιώτησι· ἐόντων δὲ οἱ πάντων  
 is deterred  
from attack-  
ing the

<sup>66</sup> ἐς Δελφοὺς κρητῆρα. The com-  
 parison of this passage with that in I. 20,  
 Δελφῶν οἶδα ἔγωγε οὕτω ἀκούσας γενέσθαι,  
 seems to show plainly that the story of  
 Halyattes's campaigns against Miletus  
 rests on the traditional narrative of a  
 Delphic cicerone.

<sup>67</sup> Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου ποίημα. This  
 artist is placed by the chronologists at  
 latest in B.C. 677. See SILLIE (*Catalogus*  
*Artificum* v. *Glaucus*). The statement  
 of Herodotus may be reconciled with this  
 date, and with the chronology commonly  
 assigned to Halyattes, by supposing the  
 pedestal here spoken of to have been  
 made before the reign of Halyattes, and  
 to have come into that monarch's posses-  
 sion. But it is perhaps more natural to sup-  
 pose that the Delphians of Herodotus's time  
 attributed the work to Glaucus from his  
 great reputation as an artist. The expres-  
 sion, ἡ Γλαύκου τέχνη, was in the time of  
 PLATO (*Phædon*. § 132) a proverbial one,  
 applied to every thing requiring an extraor-  
 dinary amount of skill. See note on i. 51.  
 PAUSANIAS (x. 16, 1) describes the work  
 in question. It appears to have been a  
 hollow truncated pyramid, of which the  
 sides were composed of strips of iron, that  
 apparently wound obliquely up from the

bottom to the top (like the reliefs on the  
 column of Trajan). On this fillet were  
 various figures; among others, insects and  
 plants (HESANDER *ap. Athenæum*, v.  
 p. 210) in relief, not attached by any me-  
 chanical means, such as pins, but soldered  
 in, so that the whole formed one solid mass,  
 although the figures had been wrought se-  
 parately.

<sup>68</sup> ὃς δὴ Ἑλλήνων . . . ἔνθα δὴ οἱ  
 Ἐφέσιοι. The particle δὴ serves here the  
 purpose of *insulating* the attention of the  
 reader, and directing it to the Ephesians  
 among all the other people, and, as re-  
 gards the Ephesians themselves, to the  
 particular fact of their dedicating them-  
 selves formally to Artemis by the device  
 related. See the note θ, above. It will  
 be observed that, of the whole con-  
 quest of the Asiatic Greeks by Croesus,  
 this is the *only detail* mentioned. This  
 fact is scarcely an exception to the re-  
 mark in note 52 on I. 13, if it be  
 taken to be a part of the general history  
 of Croesus, the whole of which seems  
 evidently to proceed from a Delphic source.  
 But at any rate it is a temple tradition. See  
 note on § 92, τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηρίῳ.

<sup>69</sup> τῆς παλαιῆς πόλιος. See note on  
 I. 150, ὁδὸς ἀπὸ βαλόν.

islanders by a saying of one of the Seven Sages,

ἐτοίμων ἐς τὴν ναυπηγίην, οἱ μὲν Βιάντα<sup>90</sup> λέγουσι τὸν Πριηνέα ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σάρδεις οἱ δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναῖον, εἰρομένου Κροῖσου εἴ τι εἴη νεώτερον περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰπόντα τάδε καταπαῦσαι τὴν ναυπηγίην “ὦ βασιλεῦ, νησιῶται ἵππον συνώνονται μυρίην, ἐς Σάρδεις τε καὶ ἐπὶ σὲ ἔχοντες ἐν νῷ στρατεύεσθαι”. Κροῖσον δὲ ἐλπίσαντα λέγειν ἐκείνον ἀληθέα εἰπεῖν “αἱ γὰρ τοῦτο θεοὶ ποιήσκειαν ἐπὶ νόον νησιώτῃσι, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Λυδῶν παῖδας σὺν ἵπποισι<sup>91</sup>.” τὸν δὲ, ὑπολαβόντα φάναι “ὦ βασιλεῦ, προθύμως μοι φαίνεαι εὐξασθαι νησιώτας ἵππευομένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἡπείρῳ, οἰκόντα ἐλπίζων νησιώτας<sup>92</sup> δὲ τί δοκέεις [εὐχεσθαι] ἄλλο, [ἤ,] ἐπεὶ τε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντό σε μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφίσιν ναυπηγέεσθαι νέας, λαβεῖν ἀρώμενοι Λυδοὺς ἐν θαλάσῃ, ἵνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ οἰκημένων Ἑλλήνων τίσωνται σε, τοὺς σὺ δουλώσας ἔχεις<sup>93</sup>,” κάρτα τε ἡσθῆναι Κροῖσον τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ, καὶ οἱ (προσφυέως γὰρ δόξαι λέγειν) πειθόμενοι παύσασθαι τῆς ναυπηγίης· καὶ οὕτω τοῖσι τὰς νήσους οἰκημένοισι Ἴωσι ξεινίην συνεθήκατο.

and makes an alliance with such of them as are Ionians.

## 28

Extent of the Lydian empire.

Χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγινωμένου, καὶ κατεστραμμένων σχεδὸν πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλως ποταμοῦ οἰκημένων πλὴν γὰρ Κιλικίων καὶ Λυκίων, τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ εἶχε καταστρεφάμενος ὁ

<sup>90</sup> οἱ μὲν Βιάντα . . . οἱ δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναῖον. See note on ii. 160, ἐπὶ τούτων δὴ τὸν Ψάμμιν.

<sup>91</sup> ἐπὶ Λυδῶν παῖδας σὺν ἵπποισι. The cavalry was the strong arm of the Lydians at this time (see i. 79). Hence the Lycians and Cilicians, the nature of whose country was unfavourable to cavalry operations, alone of all the nations of Lower Asia escaped being subdued by them (i. 28). HOMER gives the epithet ἱπποκορυσταὶ to the Mæonians (II. x. 431), who were identical with the Lydians. See i. 7, above.

<sup>92</sup> νησιώτας . . . δουλώσας ἔχεις. This passage is an extremely obscure one, and no attempts which have been made to explain it, or to emend it without violent change, appear satisfactory. The reading ἀρώμενοι rests on too strong MSS authority to be rejected. ἀρῶσθαι would give a very good sense and a construction without any harshness; but it is difficult to conceive that in this case any copyist should have altered it into ἀρώμενοι. The most plausible change which I can suggest is to strike out the words

εὐχεσθαι and ἤ. The words τί δοκέεις ἄλλο refer to οἰκόντα ἐλπίζων, and the whole sentence with the above omissions may be thus rendered: “and what else do you think that the islanders look for” [other than what is likely to happen, viz. the utter annihilation of Croesus's fleet] “the instant they heard that you were going to build a fleet to attack them,—with their ardent wishes that they might only fall in with Lydians afloat, to requite you on behalf of the Hellenic settlers on the main, whom you have enslaved?” If the text originally ran thus, a copyist may have added ἢ εὐχεσθαι in the margin, imagining that this, and not ἢ οἰκόντα ἐλπίζειν, was the ellipse to be supplied, and thus possibly the words may have crept into the text.

<sup>93</sup> δουλώσας ἔχεις. On this combination of the aorist participle with the verb ἔχω, see ΜΑΤΤΗΙÆ (Gr. Gr. § 559). It may be remarked that in it appears the first germ of the idiom common to all modern languages, of using the verb which signifies “to have” as an auxiliary.

Κροῖσος· εἰσὶ δὲ οἷδε, Λυδοὶ<sup>94</sup>, Φρύγες, Μυσοὶ, Μαρνανδυνοὶ, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Θρήϊκες, οἱ Θυνοὶ τε καὶ Βιθυνοὶ, Κᾶρες, Ἰωνες, Δωριεῖς, Αἰολεῖς, Πάμφυλοι· κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων, 29 καὶ προσεπικτωμένου Κροίσου Λυδοῖσι, ἀπικνεύονται ἐς Σάρδεις ἀκμαζούσας πλοῦτῳ ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταὶ<sup>95</sup>, οἳ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτύγγχανον ἔοντες, ὥς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀπικνεύοιτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων<sup>96</sup> ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, δς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύσας ποιήσας, ἀπεδήμησε ἕτα δέκα κατὰ θεωρίας πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μή τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῇ λύσαι τῶν ἔθετο<sup>97</sup>. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἶοι τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναῖοι· ὀρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι κατείχοντο, δέκα ἕτα χρῆσσεσθαι νόμοισι τοὺς ἄν σφι Σόλων θῆται. Αὐτῶν δὴ ὧν τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίας ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων 30

Sardis visited among the other Hellenic Sages by Solon.

<sup>94</sup> Λυδοί. It appears strange that this nation should be included among the number of those who had been subdued by Croesus, as they constituted his hereditary subjects. This difficulty may be got over by supposing that the catalogue of the whole of the subjects of the Lydian monarchy is intended to be given. But the details of this list present considerable difficulty. The *Chalybes* do not fall within the limit of the Halys. And from the geographical position of *Pamphylia* it is difficult to suppose that it can have been subdued, while both *Lycia* and *Cilicia* remained independent. Is it possible that we have here a list of the nations of which the traffic passed through Sardis, and that the transit-dues were, in an Asiatic monarchy, represented as tribute? If so, the steel-manufactures from the *Chalybes* would account for that tribe being enumerated among the dependencies. It will be observed that *Pamphylia* stand in the list after the Hellenic tribes. In the army of Xerxes they were armed in the Hellenic fashion (vii. 91), a circumstance which seems to indicate considerable commercial intercourse with Hellenic traders, even if they were not themselves partially hellenized.

<sup>95</sup> σοφισταί, "sages;" the original sense of the word, in which Herodotus always employs it. See note 99, below, for the staple of their "wisdom."

<sup>96</sup> καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων. Considerable pains have been taken by chronologers to get over the difficulty occasioned in the arrangement of their dates by this reputed conversation of Solon with Croesus. PLU-

TARCH (*Solon*. § 27) speaks of those who on this score had considered the story as fictitious. He adds: ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον ἐνδοξον οὕτω καὶ τοσοῦτους μάρτυρας ἔχοντα καὶ—δ μείζον ἔστι—πρέπειντα τῷ Σόλωνος ἡθεῖ, καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ σοφίας ἄξιον οὐ μοι δοκῶ προήσεσθαι χρονικοῖς τισὶ λεγομένοις κανόσιν, οὐδὲ μὴτοις διορθοῦντες ἔχρι σήμερον εἰς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὁμολογούμενον δύνανται καταστήσαι τὰς ἀντιλογίας. It is quite certain that the same sense of ethopoeic propriety which prevailed with Plutarch exercised very many times more influence in the time of Herodotus, and if taken into account by commentators would save much trouble incurred in the vain attempt to give historical exactness to statements where a historical exactness was never contemplated.

<sup>97</sup> τῶν ἔθετο. This expression (as also θῆται in the next sentence) is considered to be a violation of the rule that *θεῖναι νόμον* is the proper phrase in the case of a legislator who frames a law, and *θεῖσθαι νόμον* in that of the people which accepts and ratifies it. But the exception is more apparent than real. If Solon had been framer of a constitution for another state than the one of which he himself was a citizen, the middle voice would have been undoubtedly inappropriate. But the reverse is suggested by its use on this occasion. The historian sinks the fact of Solon having originated the code in that of his having, as one of the people, put himself under it, and therefore says, not "framed," but "got passed."

<sup>98</sup> καὶ δὴ καὶ. See note 6, above.

His conver-  
sation with  
Croesus.

εἶνεκεν, ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο παρὰ Ἀμασιω, καὶ δὴ καὶ<sup>99</sup> ἐς Σάρδεις παρὰ Κροῖσον ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐξελίκετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κροίσου μετὰ δὲ, ἡμέρῃ τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ, κελεύσαντος Κροίσου, τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περιῆγον κατὰ τοὺς θησαυροὺς, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυσαν πάντα ἔντα μεγάλα τε καὶ ὀλβια· θεησάμενον δὲ μὴ τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεψάμενον, ὥς οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν, εἶρετο ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε· “ξέινε Ἀθηναῖε, παρ’ ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπικταὶ πολλὸς, καὶ σοφίης εἶνεκεν τῆς σῆς” καὶ πλάτης, ὥς φιλοσοφῶν γῆν πολλὰν θεωρήσας εἶνεκεν ἐπελήλυθας νῦν ὅν ἡμερος ἐπείρεσθαι μοι ἐπήλθε, εἴ τινα ἤδη πάντων εἶδες ὀλβιώτατον;” ὁ μὲν ἐλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλβιώτατος, ταῦτα ἐπειράντα· Σόλωνα δὲ οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔντι χρησάμενος, λέγει· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, Τέλλον Ἀθηναῖον” ἀποθουμάσας δὲ Κροῖσος τὸ λεχθὲν, εἶρετο ἐπιστρεφόμενος<sup>100</sup>. “κοίῃ<sup>101</sup> δὴ κρίνεις Τέλλον εἶναι ὀλβιώτατον;” ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “Τέλλω, τοῦτο μὲν, τῆς πόλιος εὐήκουσής, παῖδες ἦσαν καλοὶ τε καὶ γαθοὶ, καὶ σφί εἶδε ἅπασι τέκνα ἐκγενόμενα καὶ πάντα παραμείναντα· τοῦτο δὲ, τοῦ βίου εὐήκοντι<sup>102</sup>, ὥς τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν<sup>103</sup>, τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτῃ ἐπεγένετο· γενομένης γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς Ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσίνι<sup>104</sup>, βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων,

He thinks  
Tellus, the  
Athenian,  
the most  
prosperous  
man;

<sup>99</sup> σοφίης τῆς σῆς. The quality which is denoted by this word, from which, as implying its possession, the word σοφιστής was derived, is well described by a passage in PLUTARCH (*Theaet.* § 2), who, speaking of Mneciphius the Phrearian, from whom Themistocles derived much instruction, describes him as οὗτος ῥήτορος ὅντος οὗτε τῶν φυσικῶν κληθέντων φιλοσόφων, ἀλλὰ τὴν τότε καλουμένην σοφίαν, οὐσαν δὲ δεινότητα πολιτικὴν καὶ βραστήριον σύνεσιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος πεποιημένην, καὶ διασέζοντος ὥστερ ἀφ’ αἵματος ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ Σόλωνος ἦν οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα δικασταὶ μίαντες τέχνῃς καὶ μεταγενόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πρότερον τὴν ἀσκήσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις σοφιστὰι προσσηρομένοι. This is almost exactly what ARISTOTLE (*Nicom.* *Ethica*. vi. p. 1140, v. line 5) defines φρόνησις to be, viz. ἔστι ἀληθὴς μετὰ λόγου πρακτικὴ περὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθὰ. Accordingly he considers φρόνησις to be the especial quality of the statesman. See below, note on ii. 49, σοφιστὰι.

<sup>100</sup> εἶρετο ἐπιστρεφόμενος, “took him up

shortly with the question.” See note on viii. 62, λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπιστρεφόμενος.

<sup>101</sup> κοίῃ. Understand ὁδῷ, “on what sort of principle.”

<sup>102</sup> τοῦ βίου εὐήκοντι. Compare viii. 111, ὅτι θεῶν χρηστῶν εὐήκειαν.

<sup>103</sup> ὥς τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν, “as fortunes go with us,” the standard of wealth being very different in Lydia.

<sup>104</sup> πρὸς τοὺς Ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσίνι. It seems quite a gratuitous supposition that the battle here spoken of must have been against the Megarians, merely because the time in which Athens and Eleusis were rival neighbours lies far back in antiquity. There is no question that at one time there was hostility between them; and probably border feuds continued long after a union had been partially cemented. The Tellus of the story may really have been slain in one of these. But it is quite plain that, of the tale which Herodotus relates, the personal distinctions of the individual concerned must have constituted the main thread. The barrow near Athens gave a locality for his death;

ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα· καὶ μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῇ περ ἔπεσε, καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως.”

Ὡς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον<sup>105</sup> προετρέψατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν 31  
Κροῖσον εἶπας πολλά τε καὶ ὀλβια, ἐπειράτω τίνα δεύτερον μετ’ and next to  
ἐκείνου ἴδοι; δοκέων πάγχυ δευτερεῖα γῶν οἴσασθαι, ὁ δὲ εἶπε· puta Cleobis  
“Κλέοβιν τε καὶ Βίτωννα· ταῦτοισι γάρ, ἐοῦσι γένος Ἀργεῖοισι, and Biton  
βίος τε Ἀρκέων ὑπὴν καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ ῥώμῃ σώματος τοιγῆδε·  
ἀεθλοφόροι τε ἀμφοτέροι ὁμοίως ἦσαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὅδε  
ὁ λόγος· ἐοῦσης ὀρτῆς τῇ Ἡρῇ τοῖσι Ἀργεῖοισι, ἔδεε πάντως τὴν  
μητέρα αὐτῶν ζεύγει κομισθῆναι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· οἱ δὲ σφί βόες ἐκ τοῦ  
ἀγροῦ οὐ παρεγίνοντο ἐν ὥρῃ· ἐκκληνύμενοι δὲ τῇ ὥρῃ<sup>106</sup> οἱ νεηνίαι,  
ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ζεύγλῃν εἰλκον τὴν ἄμαξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς  
ἀμάξης δὲ σφί ὄχετο ἡ μήτηρ· σταδίους δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσαερά-  
κοντα διακομίσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· ταῦτα δὲ σφί ποιήσασι  
καὶ ὀφθεῖσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου ἀρίστη ἐπεγέ-  
νετο· διέδεξέ τε ἐν τούτοισι ὁ θεὸς, ὥς ἄμεινον εἴη ἀνθρώπῳ τε-  
θνῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν<sup>107</sup>. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν γὰρ περιστάντες ἐμακά-  
ριζον τῶν νεηνιέων τὴν ῥώμην· αἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖαι τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν,  
οἶων τέκνων ἐκύρησε· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ περιχαρὴς ἐοῦσα τῷ τε ἔργῳ καὶ  
τῇ φήμῃ, στᾶσα ἀντίον τοῦ ὀγύλματος εὔχετο Κλέοβί<sup>108</sup> τε καὶ  
Βίτωνι, τοῖσι ἐωντῆς τέκνοισι, οἳ μιν ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως, δοῦναι  
τὴν θεὸν τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ τυχεῖν ἀριστόν ἐστι· μετὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν  
εὐχὴν, ὥς ἔθυσάν τε καὶ εὐωχήθησαν, κατακοιμηθέντες ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ  
ἱρῷ οἱ νεηνίαι οὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τέλει τούτῳ ἔσχοντο·  
Ἀργεῖοι δὲ σφῶν εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφοὺς<sup>109</sup>,  
ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων γενομένων.”

but who the *ἀστυγείτορες* may have been which he repulsed was a very unimportant matter.

<sup>105</sup> τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον, “Tellus and his story.”

<sup>106</sup> ἐκκληνύμενοι δὲ τῇ ὥρῃ, “under necessity in the matter of the time,” literally, “shut out from other courses.” Herodotus uses the word *ἐξέργεσθαι* in the same manner, vii. 130: *ἐνθάυτα ἀνωγαίρῃ ἐξέργομαι γνῶμην ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπιφθονον*; ix. 111: *ὅτι τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργάμενος*.

<sup>107</sup> τεθνᾶναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν. PINDAR in a work now lost (see PLUTARCH, *Consolatio ad Apollonem*, p. 109) related

that Trophonius and Agamedes, who were the builders of the pentalithal adytum in the Delphic temple (STEPH. BYZANT. v. Δελφοί), requested a reward from the deity. He told them that he would give them one in seven days’ time, and in the mean time desired them to indulge in festivity. On the seventh night they went to bed, and never woke again. The ethopoeic identity of this legend with that given by Herodotus is patent. See note 116, below.

<sup>108</sup> Κλέοβι. See note 132, below.

<sup>109</sup> ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφοὺς. The statues were probably of brass. In the temple of Apollo Lycius at Argos there was a group in marble, apparently a bas-relief,



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Croesus is offended, and Solon urges the uncertainty of human prosperity.

Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαιμονίης δευτερεῖα ἔνεμε τούτοισι. Κροῖσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς εἶπε· “ὦ ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρη εὐδαιμονίη οὕτω τοι ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδὲν, ὥστε οὐδὲ ἰδιωτῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀξίους ἡμέας ἐποίησας;” ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἔδν φθονερόν τε καὶ παραχῶδες <sup>110</sup>, ἐπειρωτᾶς ἀνθρωπῶν πρηγμάτων πέρι; ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ <sup>111</sup> πολλὰ μὲν ἐστὶ ἰδέειν τὰ μὴ τις ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθέειν. ἐς γὰρ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὐρον τῆς ζῆς ἀνθρώπῳ προτίθημι· οὗτοι ἔοντες ἐνιαυτοὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, παρέχονται ἡμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας καὶ δισμυρίας [ἐμβολίμου μηνὸς μὴ γινομένου. εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐθελήσει τοῦτερον τῶν ἐτέων μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ἵνα δὴ αἱ ὥραι συμβαίνωσι παραγινόμεναι ἐς τὸ δέον, μῆνες μὲν παρὰ τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οἱ ἐμβόλιμοι γίνονται τριήκοντα πέντε ἡμέραι δὲ ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν τούτων, χίλιναι πεντήκοντα <sup>112</sup>]. τούτων [τῶν ἀπασέων ἡμερέων, τῶν ἐς τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα ἐουσέων πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκοσίων καὶ ἐξακισχιλίων καὶ δισμυρίων], ἡ ἐτέρη αὐτέων τῇ ἐτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὁμοῖον προσάγει

representing the same subject, and including the car with the priestess in it (PAUSANIAS, ii. 20, 5). But in the time of Solon no statues existed in any other material than wood or hammered metal. In illustration of the accuracy of temple traditions respecting statues, it may be instructive to observe on the present occasion that, in this same temple of the Lycian Apollo at Argos, there was a figure of a man (said to be *Biton*) carrying a bull on his shoulders, and, according to the fiction of LYCEAS of Naucratis, this commemorated a feat of Biton's in carrying a bull from Argos to Nemea on the occasion of a feast to Zeus. But, in the time of PAUSANIAS, the Argives themselves took a very different view of the matter, and burnt fire before the figure, which they professed to represent *Phoroneus*, who in the Argive traditions took the place of Prometheus as the bestower of that element upon mankind (ii. 19, 5).

<sup>110</sup> τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἔδν φθονερόν τε καὶ παραχῶδες. See note on iii. 40.

<sup>111</sup> ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ, “in the long-run.” Compare SOCR. *Ajac.* 646:

ἄπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς κἀναριθμητὸς χρόνος  
φύει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται.

<sup>112</sup> It is agreed on all hands that this

computation of time by Solon is utterly erroneous; but whether this arises from a corruption of the MSS, or from a misunderstanding on the part of Herodotus, is not clear. The former hypothesis is rendered more probable by the circumstance, that PLUTARCH, in the tract *De Malignitate Herodoti*, does not censure this most patent error. It seems not unlikely that the difficulty mainly arises from the incorporation into the text of a marginal calculation made by an ignorant reader, who, being forgetful of the fact that Herodotus here (as he does in iii. 90, and as he praises the Egyptians for doing in ii. 4) makes the year to consist of 360 days, and, knowing the practice of the Athenians to correct their year (which was a lunar one) by the interpolation of a supplementary month, wrote in the margin the part which has been printed between brackets. This supposition is strengthened by the clause, ἵνα δὴ αἱ ὥραι συμβαίνωσι παραγινόμεναι ἐς τὸ δέον: for the intercalary month, which did effect this end in the Athenian calendar, would only increase the divergency if interpolated as the text requires. For a full explanation of the necessity of an intercalary month and of its operation, see Excursus at the end of this book.

πρήγμα. οὕτω ὦν, ὦ Κροῖσε, πᾶν ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπος συμφορή. ἐμοὶ δὲ σὺ καὶ πλουτέειν μὲν μέγα φαίνεαι, καὶ βασιλεὺς εἶναι πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἐκείνο δὲ τὸ εἶρεό με, οὐκω σε ἐγὼ λέγω, πρὶν ἂν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα πύθωμαι. οὐ γάρ τοι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος<sup>113</sup> μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἔχοντος ὀλβιατέρως ἐστὶ, εἰ μὴ οἱ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο, πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα τελευτήσαι εὖ τὸν βίον. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ζάπλουτοι ἀνθρώπων ἀνόλβιοι εἰσι· πολλοὶ δὲ μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου εὐτυχέες· ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγα πλούσιος, ἀνόλβιος δὲ, δυοῖσι προέχει τοῦ εὐτυχέος μούνοισι· οὗτος δὲ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἀνολβίου πολλοῖσι· ὁ μὲν ἐπιθυμίην ἐκτελέσαι καὶ ἄτην μεγάλην προσπεσοῦσαν ἐνείκαι δυνατώτερος· ὁ δὲ τοιοῦδε προέχει ἐκείνου· ἄτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίην οὐκ ὁμοίως δυνατὸς ἐκείνῳ ἐνείκαι, ταῦτα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίη οἱ ἀπερύκει· ἄπηρος δὲ ἐστὶ, ἄνουσος, ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, εὖπαις, εὐειδής· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοις ἔτι τελευτήσει τὸν βίον εὖ, οὗτος ἐκείνους τὸν σὺ ζητεῖς ὀλβιος κεκλησθαι ἄξιός ἐστι· πρὶν δ' ἂν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχέειν, μὴδὲ καλέειν κω ὀλβιον ἀλλ' εὐτυχέα<sup>114</sup>. τὰ πάντα μὲν νῦν ταῦτα συλλαβεῖν ἀνθρώπον ἔοντα ἀδύνατόν ἐστι, ὥσπερ χώρῃ οὐδεμία καταρκέει πάντα ἐωυτῇ παρέχουσα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο μὲν ἔχει ἑτέρου δὲ ἐπιδέεται· ἡ δὲ ἂν τὰ πλείστα ἔχῃ, ἀρίστη αὕτη· ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα ἐν οὐδὲν αὐταρκές ἐστι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει, ἄλλου δὲ ἐνδεές ἐστι· ὅς δ' ἂν αὐτῶν πλείστα ἔχων διατελέῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα τελευτήσῃ εὐχαρίστως τὸν βίον, οὗτος παρ' ἐμοὶ<sup>115</sup> τὸ οὖνομα

<sup>113</sup> οὐ γάρ τοι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος. The remainder of Solon's speech shows strikingly the influence exerted by the sophistical ἐπιδείξεις which began to be so fashionable in the time of our author. It is a washy essay on the contrast between the πλούσιος and the εὐτυχής, and might have proceeded from the mouth of Protagoras, or Hippias, or any other of the μερμηνηταὶ λόγων alluded to by Euripides in the passage quoted in the next note. A similar sophistical performance in the character of Croesus may be seen in iii. § 36. The words which PLATO puts into the mouth of Hippias, the celebrated sophist, admirably describe the type of that style of composition: καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δι', ὦ Σώκρατες, περὶ γε ἐπιτηδευμάτων καλῶν ἂν χρὴ τὸν λόγον ἐπιτηδεύειν, ἔστι μοι περὶ αὐτῶν πάγκαλος λόγος συγγεμένος, καὶ ἄλλως εὖ διακείμενος καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι.

πρόσχημα δὲ μοί ἐστι καὶ ἀρχὴ τοιαύδε τις τοῦ λόγου· ἐπειδὴ ἡ Τροία ἦλω, λέγει ὁ λόγος ὅτι Νεσπτόλεμος Νέστορα ἔροιτο ποῖά ἐστι καλὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, ἃ ἂν τις ἐπιτηδεύσας νέος ὦν εὐδοκίματος γένοιτο; μετὰ ταῦτα δὴ λέγων ἐστὶν ὁ Νέστωρ καὶ ὑποτιθέμενος αὐτῷ πάμπολλα νόμιμα καὶ πάγκαλα. (Hipp. Maj. p. 286.)

<sup>114</sup> 26. ἀλλ' εὐτυχέα. Compare EURIP. Med. 1225:

τὰ θνητὰ δ' οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ἡγοῦμαι σκιδν· οὐδ' ἂν τρέσας εἴποιμι τοὺς σοφοὺς βροτῶν δοκοῦντας εἶναι καὶ μερμηνητὰς λόγων, τοὺτους μεγίστην μωρίαν ὀφλισκάνειν θνητῶν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ ἔλβου δ' ἐπιβρύεντος εὐτυχέστερος ἔλλου γένοιτ' ἂν ἕλλος, εὐδαίμων δ' ἂν οὐ.

<sup>115</sup> παρ' ἐμοί, "in my judgment." Compare iii. 160, παρὰ Δαρείφῃ κριτῇ.

τοῦτο, ὃ βασιλεῦ, δίκαιός ἐστι φέρεσθαι. σκοπέειν δὲ χρή παν-  
 τὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν<sup>116</sup> κῆ ἀποβήσεται πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ  
 33 ὑποδέξας ἄλβον ὁ θεὸς, προρρίζους ἀνέτρεψε." Ταῦτα λέγων τῷ  
 Κροίσῳ οὐ πως οὔτε ἐχαρίζετο, οὔτε λόγῳ μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδε-  
 νὸς ἀποπέμπεται, κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθέα<sup>117</sup> εἶναι, ὃς τὰ παρούσα  
 ἀγαθὰ μετεῖς τὴν τελευτήν παντὸς χρήματος ὁρᾶν ἐκέλευε.

He is sent  
 away in dis-  
 favour.

Croesus  
 dreams that  
 his son will  
 be slain by  
 a pointed  
 weapon;

34 Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον<sup>118</sup>, ἔλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη  
 Κροίσῳ (ὥς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἐκ τὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάν-  
 των ὀλβιώτατον) αὐτίκα δὲ οἱ εὐδοντι ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, ὃς οἱ τὴν  
 ἀληθινήν ἐφαίνε τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παῖδα.  
 ἦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῳ δύο παῖδες, τῶν οὐτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο, (ἦν γὰρ  
 δὴ κωφός<sup>119</sup>), ὁ δὲ ἕτερος τῶν ἡλικῶν μακρῷ τὰ πάντα πρότερος

<sup>116</sup> σκοπέειν δὲ χρή παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν. This is the most general form of the celebrated ethical sentiment attributed to Solon, which in its more practical shape forms the beginning of one of Sophocles's plays (Trachiniae) and the end of another (Œdipus Tyrannus). It has been supposed that the historian actually derived the sentiment from the writings of the poet; and, if there were no alternative between adopting this view and accepting this narrative in the text as a faithful historical record, the supposition would certainly be the more tolerable of the two courses. But there can be little doubt that gnomic sentiments of this kind had been the common property of the Hellenic people for two or three centuries before the Peloponnesian war. They were attributed in common belief to one or other of the wise politicians who had gained reputation as σοφοί; and sometimes transmitted through the medium of fables (ἀπόλογοι), sometimes embodied in narratives of which the *dramatis personae* were historical or mythological personages. See note 107, above. Some of them were inscribed in the vestibule of the temple at Delphi. Two of them, Μηδὲν ἄγαν and Γνώθι σαῦτον, are mentioned by PLATO (*Protag.* p. 342), who says, half in jest, that the so-called Seven Sages contributed each one as an offering to the god. Another favourite method of giving them publicity was to inscribe them on the Hermæ, which were placed in the streets. Thus we have μνήμα τόδ' Ἰππάρχου στήριξε δίκαια φρονῶν and μνήμα τόδ' Ἰππάρχου μὴ φίλον ἐξαπάτα. Aristotle made a collection of

these proverbs, which is unfortunately lost. He is said to have regarded them as fragmentary remains of ancient wisdom that had been swept away in the great revolutions of the human species, and as owing their own preservation to their brevity and pregnancy. See the note on § 155.

<sup>117</sup> ἀμαθέα. Gaisford and one MS (S) ἀμαθής. The sentence is a very obscure one from the confusion of the construction, if it be not corrupt. The subject of ἐχαρίζετο is Solon; that of ἀποπέμπεται, Croesus. The middle form implies a neglect on the part of the monarch, "has him sent away."

<sup>118</sup> μετὰ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον. See note on ii. 147, and note 127, below.

<sup>119</sup> ἦν γὰρ δὴ κωφός. The rule has been laid down by EUSTATHIUS that by the word κωφός the early Greek writers understood a *dumb* person only, but that the later applied it also to denote a *deaf* one. Herodotus would be an exception to this rule, if the words διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοήν (which occur below, § 38) are genuine. But it seems not improbable that they are an interpretation by a commentator who took the word κωφός in this place to mean *deaf*. It is quite clear from the story of the son miraculously speaking (i. 85) that it was his *dumbness* which was his characteristic in the story concerning him. No doubt he might have been *deaf* too, as total deafness, when congenital, almost invariably produces dumbness. But the rule of Eustathius seems to be only so far well founded, that in the early times κωφός expressed that deficiency of per-

οὐνομα δέ οἱ ἦν Ἄτυς· τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἄτυν σημαίνει τῷ  
 Κροίσῳ ὁ ὄνειρος, ὡς ἀπολέει μιν αἰχμῇ σιδηρῇ βληθέντα· ὁ δὲ  
 ἐπεὶ τε ἐξεγέρθη καὶ ἐωυτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε, καταρρωδήσας τὸν ὄνει- takes mea-  
 ρον, ἄγεται μὲν τῷ παιδί γυναικα· ἐωθότα δὲ στρατηγέειν μιν τῶν sures to pre-  
 Λυδῶν οὐδαμῇ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρήγμα ἐξέπεμπε· ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ vent the  
 δοράτια καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα τοῖσι χρέονται ἐς πόλεμον ἄν- misfortune.  
 θρωποι, ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρεῶνων ἐκκομίσας ἐς τοὺς θαλάμους συνένησε,  
 μή τι οἷ<sup>120</sup> κρεμάμενον τῷ παιδί ἐμπέση. Ἐχοντος δὲ οἱ ἐν χειρσὶ 35  
 τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ἀνὴρ συμφορῇ Adrastus  
 ἐχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας ἐὼν<sup>121</sup>, Φρυξ μὲν γενεῇ, γένεος arrives at  
 Sardis.

ception which is exhibited by those who are both deaf and dumb, ἀνεπαίσθησία. (See *Etymologicum Magnum*, v. κωφός). As dumbness is the most observable phenomenon arising out of this condition, the term at first always referred to this. Afterwards, when the want of perception came to be resolved into its component parts, κωφός was applied to the one or the other defect, because both were included in its original meaning of "senseless."

<sup>120</sup> οἱ. The so-called pleonastic use of the pronoun may be expressed by the familiar English, "lest he should have any thing hanging up fall upon the lad."

<sup>121</sup> συμφορῇ ἐχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας ἐὼν. These words describe the case of a person who had committed an involuntary homicide, and in consequence was a proper subject for the process of purification and ultimate restoration to his civil rights; which would not be the case with a wilful murderer. The idea which formed the foundation of the whole ceremonial, was, that the blood of the slain man clave to the hand of the slayer (μύσος), bringing a curse both upon himself and all who should hold any converse with him. The term which technically expressed this condition was παλαμναῖος. Supposing the homicide to be of a kind falling short of wilful murder, the criminal betook himself to a neighbouring country and applied for protection, not merely as an ordinary suppliant (ἰκέτης), but as one seeking purification (προστρόπαιος). As converse with him would convey the contagion of his guilt, he uttered no words, but entered the house carrying an olive-branch tied with a fillet of wool, and took up his station at the hearth in silence. If the host chose

to comply with the mute request, he was said to compassionate him (αἰδεῖσθαι), but the two held no communication with one another until purification had taken place. The guest had food served to him at a separate table, and ate it in silence. Orestes (who is the mythological representative of a παλαμναῖος) thus describes his reception at Athens:—

οἱ δ' ἔσχον αἰδῶ ξένια μονοτράπεζά μοι  
 παρέσχον, οἶκον δ' ὅτε ἐν ταύτῳ στέγει,  
 σιγῇ δ' ἐτεκτῆσαντ' ἀπόφθεγκτόν μ', ὅπως  
 δαιτὸς γενομένην πάματός τ' αὐτῶν δίχα·

κατὰ ἑλάνγξει μὲν ξένους οὐκ ἤλουν,  
 ἤλουν δὲ σιγῇ καδδόνουν οὐκ εἰδέναι,  
 μέγα στενάζων, ὅνκε' ἦν μητρὸς φονεύς.

EURIPIDES, *Iph. Taur.* 949, seqq.

But after his purification, when he appears at Athens before the statue of Athene (*Æsch. Eumenid.* 445) seeking for further protection, the ban has been removed, and, although still a ἰκέτης, he says of himself:—

οὐκ εἰμι προστρόπαιος, οὐδ' ἔχει μύσος  
 πρὸς χεῖρὶ τῇ 'μὴ τὸ σὺν ἐφημέρῃ βρέτας·  
 τεκμήριον δὲ τῶνδ' σοι λέξω μέγα·  
 ἀφθογγον εἶναι τὸν παλαμναῖον νόμος,  
 ἔς τ' ἂν πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αἵματος καθαρσίου  
 σφαγαὶ καθαμμάξωσι νεοθῆλου βοτοῦ.  
 πάλαι πρὸς ἄλλοις ταῦτ' ἀφιερῶμεθα  
 οἴκοις καὶ βοτοῖσι καὶ ρυτοῖς πόροις.

The form of purification was for the suppliant to stand upon the fleece of a black sheep. A jet of blood from a young sucking-pig was made to fall upon his hand, and this was washed off into the fleece by a stream of water poured upon it. This symbolized the removal of blood-guiltiness, and the fleece with the blood (λόματα) was buried in the earth. Müller (by whom this subject was first thoroughly

δὲ τοῦ βασιλῆτον παρελθὼν δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὰ Κροίσου οἰκία, κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθαροῦ ἐδέετο κυρῆσαι· Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἐκάθηρε (ἔστι δὲ παραπλησίη ἡ κάθαρσις τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι) ἐπεὶ τε δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν τε καὶ τίς εἴη<sup>122</sup>, λέγων τάδε “ὦνθρωπε, τίς τε ἐὼν καὶ κόθεν τῆς Φρυγίης ἦκων ἐπίστιος ἐμοὶ ἐγένεο; τίνα τε ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἐφόνευσας;” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο “ὦ βασιλεῦ, Γορδῖεω μὲν τοῦ Μῖδεω εἰμι παῖς, οὐνομάζομαι δὲ Ἀδρηστος· φονεύσας δὲ ἀδελφεὸν ἐμεωντοῦ ἀέκων, πάρεμι ἐξεληλαμένος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐστερημένος πάντων.” Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε “ἀνδρῶν τε φίλων τυγχάνεις ἔκγονος ἐὼν, καὶ ἐλήλυθας ἐς φίλους· ἔνθα ἀμνηχανήσεις χρήματος οὐδενὸς μένων ἐν ἡμετέρῳ<sup>123</sup>. συμφορὴν δὲ ταύτην ὡς κουφότατα φέρων κερδανέεις πλείστον.” ὁ μὲν δὴ δίαίταν εἶχε ἐν Κροίσου.

36

The Mysians apply for aid against a wild boar, which lays waste their fields.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Οὐλύμπῳ<sup>124</sup> συνὸς χρήμα γίνεται μέγα· ὀρμεώμενος δὲ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρεὸς τούτου τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα διαφθείρεσκε· πολλάκι δὲ οἱ Μυσοὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐξελθόντες, ποιέεσκον μὲν οὐδὲν κακὸν, ἔπασχον δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τέλος δὲ, ἀπικόμενοι παρὰ τὸν Κροῖσον τῶν Μυσῶν ἀγγελοὶ ἔλεγον τάδε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, υἱὸς χρήμα μέγιστον ἀνεφάνη ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὃς τὰ ἔργα διαφθείρει· τούτον προθυμεόμενοι ἐλέειν οὐ δυνάμεθα· νῦν ὦν προσδεόμεθά σευ, τὸν παῖδα καὶ λογάδας νεηνίας καὶ κύνας συμπέμφαι ἡμῖν, ὡς ἂν μιν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας.” οἱ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐδέοντο· Κροῖσος δὲ μνημονεύων τοῦ οὐείρου τὰ ἔπεα ἔλεγε σφί τάδε “παιδὸς μὲν πέρι τοῦ ἐμοῦ μὴ μνησθῆτε ἔτι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν συμπέμφαιμι· νεόγαμός τε γάρ ἐστι, καὶ ταῦτά οἱ νῦν μέλει· Λυδῶν μέντοι λογάδας καὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον πᾶν συμπέμφω, καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοῖσι ἰούσι, εἶναι

elucidated, in his edition of the *Eumenides*) shows very clearly that the whole proceeding is one grafted on to the old Pelasgian worship of Demeter Erinys. A very beautiful description of the purification of Jason and Medea after the slaughter of Absyrtus, is given by APOLLONIUS RHODIUS (iv. 685—717).

<sup>122</sup> ἐπεὶ τε . . . ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν τε καὶ τίς εἴη. It will be observed that Croesus puts no question to him till he has purified him. See the last note.

<sup>123</sup> ἐν ἡμετέρῳ. These words are equivalent to ἐν ἡμῶν, both here and in vii. 8, δάσω οἱ δῶρα τὰ τιμώτατα νομίζεται εἶναι ἐν ἡμετέρῳ.

<sup>124</sup> ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Οὐλύμπῳ. There were no less than four peaks of Mount Ida bearing the name of Olympus. The Mysian Olympus was a fifth, being a mountain continuous with Mount Ida, but not forming a part of it. STRABO (x. c. 3, p. 362).

ὥς προθυμοτάτοισι συνεξέλεειν ὑμῖν τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χώρας." Ταῦτα ἀμείψατο ἀποχρεωμένων<sup>125</sup> δὲ τούτοις τῶν Μουσῶν, ἐπεισ- 37  
 ἔρχεται ὁ τοῦ Κροίσου παῖς ἀκηκοὺς τῶν ἐδέοντο οἱ Μυσοί· οὐ  
 φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου τὸν γε παῖδά σφι συμπέμψειν, λέγει  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νεηνίης τάδε· "ὦ πάτερ, τὰ κάλλιστα πρότερόν κοτε  
 καὶ γενναϊότατα ἡμῖν ἦν, ἐς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἀγρας φοιτέοντας  
 εὐδοκίμειν νῦν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων με τούτων ἀποκληῖσας ἔχεις, οὔτε  
 τινα δειλίην μοι παριδὼν οὔτε ἀθυμίην. νῦν τε τέοισί με χρῆ  
 ὀμμασι ἐς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα<sup>126</sup> φαίνεσθαι ; κοῖος  
 μὲν τις τοῖσι πολιήτησι δόξω εἶναι ; κοῖος δὲ τις τῇ νεογάμφῃ  
 γυναικί ; κοῖφ δὲ ἐκείνῃ δόξει ἀνδρὶ συνοικέειν ; ἐμὲ ὦν σὺ ἡ μέθες  
 ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήρην, ἢ λόγῳ ἀνάπεισον ὅπως μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ ταῦτα  
 οὕτω ποιούμενα<sup>127</sup>." Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος τοῖσδε· "ὦ παῖ, οὔτε 38  
 δειλίην οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παριδὼν τοι ποιέω ταῦτα· ἀλλὰ μοι  
 ὄψις ὄνειρον ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐπιστάσα ἔφη σε ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔσεσθαι·  
 ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης ἀπολέεσθαι. πρὸς ὦν τὴν ὄψιν ταύ-  
 την<sup>128</sup>, τὸν τε γάμον τοι τούτον ἔσπευσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβα-  
 νόμενα<sup>129</sup> οὐκ ἀποπέμπω, φυλακὴν ἔχων εἴ πως δυναίμην ἐπὶ τῆς  
 ἐμῆς σε ζῆς διακλέψαι. εἰς γάρ μοι μούνος τυγχάνεις ἐὼν παῖς·  
 τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον, διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοήν<sup>130</sup>, οὐκ εἶναι μοι λο-  
 γίζομαι." Ἀμείβεται ὁ νεηνίης τοῖσδε· "συγγνώμη μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, 39  
 τοὶ ἰδόντι γε ὄψιν τοιαύτην περὶ ἐμὲ φυλακὴν ἔχειν τὸ δὲ οὐ  
 μαθάνεις ἀλλὰ λέλθῃ σε τὸ ὄνειρον<sup>131</sup>, ἐμὲ τοι δίκαιόν ἐστι

His son obtains permission to go and hunt the boar.

<sup>125</sup> ἀποχρεωμένων, "being satisfied with." The verb is used transitively again in i. 102, οὐκ ἀπεχρέετο. But it is used impersonally and as equivalent to ἀπέχρη in viii. 14, καὶ σφι ἀπεχρέετο κακῶς πρήσσουσι ἡσύχην ἀγειν ἐν τῷ παρόντι.

<sup>126</sup> ἐς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα. The ἀγορά, being the place of resort and greatest publicity in the Hellenic republics, is transferred by the Hellenic narrator to Lydia, without any regard to the propriety of the allusion in the mouth of an Eastern prince. See a similar impropriety, arising from a similar cause, in the speech of Croesus, iii. 36.

<sup>127</sup> ταῦτα οὕτω ποιούμενα. Compare above, i. 34, μετὰ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον.

<sup>128</sup> πρὸς ὦν τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην, "having regard then to this vision."

<sup>129</sup> ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα. Schweig-

häuser interprets this expression to mean, "to the matter I have in hand." A better version would be "to the matter of which news is brought me." παραλαμβάνειν is, quite as much as παραδέχεσθαι, the correlative term of παραδιδόναι, and properly means "to receive any thing which is passed on from others." The identification of the news with the thing which is the subject of the news belongs to the modes of thought of Herodotus's time. See the note on § 209.

<sup>130</sup> διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοήν. See above, note 119.

<sup>131</sup> τὸ δὲ οὐ μαθάνεις ἀλλὰ λέλθῃ σε τὸ ὄνειρον, "but the point which you do not comprehend, and where the vision escapes your interpretation." It is not a true explanation of this construction to say that κατὰ is to be understood with τὸ. The words κατ' ὃ are to be in-

φράζειν. φῆς τοι τὸ ὄνειρον ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς σιδηρῆς φάναι ἐμὲ τελευτήσειν ὑὸς δὲ κοῖαι μὲν εἰσι χεῖρες; κοίη δὲ αἰχμῇ σιδηρῇ, ἦν σὺ φοβέαι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀδόντος τοι εἶπε τελευτήσειν με, ἢ ἄλλου τευ ὃ τι τοῦτ' ἔοικε, χρῆν δὴ σε ποιέειν τὰ ποικίεις· νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς. ἐπεὶ τε ὦν οὐ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἡμῖν γίνεται ἡ μάχη,  
 40 μέθες με." Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος· "ὦ παῖ, ἔστι τῇ με νικᾶς γνώμην ἀποφαίνων περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ὥς ὦν νευκημένος ὑπὸ σέο, μεταγινώσκω· μετήμι τέ σε ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγρην."

41 Εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος μεταπέμπεται τὸν Φρύγα Ἀδρηστον, ἀπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ λέγει τάδε· "Ἀδρηστο, ἐγὼ σε συμφορῇ πεπληγμένον ἀχάρι<sup>132</sup>, τὴν τοι οὐκ ὀνειδίζω, ἐκάθηρα καὶ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος ἔχω, παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπάνην νῦν ὦν (ὀφείλεις γὰρ, ἐμεῦ προποιοῦσαντος χρηστὰ ἐς σέ, χρηστοῖσί με ἀμείβεσθαι) φύλακα παιδός σε τοῦ ἐμοῦ χρηίζω γενέσθαι ἐς ἄγρην ὁρμεομένου μή τινες κατ' ὁδὸν κλῶπες κακοῦργοι ἐπὶ δηλήσει φανέωσι ὑμῖν πρὸς δὲ τοῦτ', καὶ σέ τοι χρεῶν ἔστι ἵεναι ἔνθα ἀπολαμπρύνεται τοῖσι ἔργοισι· πατρῴων τε γὰρ τοι ἔστι καὶ προσέτι ῥώμη ὑπάρχει."  
 42 Ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἀδρηστος· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἄλλως μὲν ἔγωγε ἂν οὐκ ἦια ἐς ἄεθλον τοιόνδε· οὔτε γὰρ συμφορῇ τοιῇδε κεχρημένον οἶκός ἐστι ἐς ὁμήλικας εὐ πρήσσοντας ἵεναι, οὔτε τὸ βούλεσθαι πάρα· πολλαχῇ τε ἂν ἴσχον ἐμεωυτόν. νῦν δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε σὺ σπεύδεις καὶ δεῖ τοι χαρίζεσθαι, (ὀφείλω γὰρ σε ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖσι,) ποιέειν εἰμὶ ἐτοῖμος ταῦτα· παῖδά τε σὸν τὸν διακελεύεαι φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα τοῦ φυλάσσοντος εἵνεκεν προσδόκα τοι ἀπονοστήσειν."

43 Τοιοῦτοισι ἐπεὶ τε οὗτος ἀμείψατο Κροῖσον, ἦσαν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηρτυμένοι λογάσι τε νηνίησι καὶ κυσί. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Οὐλυμπον τὸ ὄρος ἐζήτεον τὸ θηρίον, εὐρόντες δὲ καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ ἐσηκόντιζον· ἔνθα δὲ ὁ ξείνος, οὗτος δὲ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν φόνον καλεόμενος δὲ Ἀδρηστος, ἀκοντίζων τὸν σὺν, τοῦ μὲν ἀμαρτάνει τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροῖσου παιδός. ὁ μὲν δὲ βληθεὶς τῇ αἰχμῇ ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὀνείρου τὴν φήμην<sup>133</sup>. ἔθεε δὲ τις ἀγγελέων τῷ

Adrastus goes with him to protect him,

and by accident kills him with a javelin.

serentially supplied in the second clause, gathered from the sense of the first.

<sup>132</sup> ἀχάρι. This anomalous form of the dative case may perhaps be illustrated by the dative κλέοβι, which appears in

i. 31; but it seems to imply a mode of inflection of ἀχάρις for which there is no authority, viz. ἀχάριος, ἀχάρι.

<sup>133</sup> φήμην. This is the reading of all the MSS but S. This manuscript, both

Κροίσῳ τὸ γεγονός· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, τήν τε μάχην  
καὶ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς μόνον ἐσήμηνέ οἱ. Ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος τῷ θανάτῳ 44  
τοῦ παιδὸς συντεταραγμένος, μᾶλλον τι ἐδεινολογέετο ὅτι μιν Cressus in  
grief in-  
vokes Zeus  
Catharius,  
ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αὐτὸς φόνου ἐκάθηρε περιημεκτέων <sup>134</sup> δὲ τῇ συμ-  
φορῇ δεινῶς, ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία Καθάρσιον, μαρτυρόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ  
τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθὼς εἶη· ἐκάλεε δὲ Ἐπίστιόν τε καὶ Ἐταιρήϊον,  
τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζων θεόν· (τὸν μὲν Ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι  
δὴ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξείνον φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε  
βόσκων τὸν δὲ Ἐταιρήϊον, ὡς φύλακα συμπέμψας αὐτὸν εὐρήκοι  
πολεμώτατον.) Παρήσαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν 45  
νεκρὸν ὅπισθε δὲ εἶπετό οἱ ὁ φονεὺς. στὰς δὲ οὗτος πρὸ τοῦ but pardons  
Adrastus.  
νεκροῦ, παρεδίδου ἑωυτὸν Κροίσῳ προτείων τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπι-  
κατασφάζει μιν κελεύων τῷ νεκρῷ, λέγων τήν τε προτέραν ἑωυτοῦ  
συμφορὴν, καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκὼς εἶη <sup>135</sup>.  
οὐδὲ οἱ εἶη βιώσιμον. Κροῖσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας, τὸν τε Ἄδρη-  
στον κατοικτεῖρει καίπερ ἔων ἐν κακῷ οἰκίῳ τοσούτῳ, καὶ λέγει  
πρὸς αὐτόν· “ἔχω, ὦ ξεῖνε, παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην, ἐπειδὴ  
σεωυτοῦ καταδικάζεις θάνατον· εἰς δὲ οὐ σύ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ  
αἴτιος, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἀέκων ἐξεργάσαιο, ἀλλὰ θεῶν κού τις ὅς μοι καὶ  
πάλαι προεσήμαινε τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι.” Κροῖσος μὲν νυν  
ἔθαψε ὡς οἶκος ἦν τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα <sup>136</sup>. Ἄδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδῖεω  
τοῦ Μῖδεω, οὗτος δὴ ὁ φονεὺς μὲν τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γενόμενος  
φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος <sup>137</sup>, ἐπεὶ τε ἡσυχίῃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων

here and in iii. 163, has the form φῆμιν, which Eustathius notes as especially Ionic. But in v. 72 all the MSS have the common form φῆμη.

<sup>134</sup> περιημεκτέων. This word is used by Herodotus nearly as the equivalent to δυσφορῶν. It may generally be rendered by the English word “chafing,” or the Latin “stomachans.” See iii. 64: περιημεκτέας τῇ ἀπάσῃ συμφορῇ. viii. 109: οὗτοι μάλιστα ἐκπεφηνότων περιημεκτέων, ὁρμέατό τε ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον πλῶειν.

<sup>135</sup> τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκὼς εἶη. A strange difficulty has been found here, from the erroneous supposition that the word ἀπολωλεκὼς expressed necessarily the destruction of animal life. But nothing is more common than for it to mean “having been the ruin of,” as here. The

expression which follows, φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος, is more violent; but, although not literally exact, it is in keeping with the feeling which may be supposed to have animated Adrastus, that he should represent himself as the slayer of the father through the only son.

<sup>136</sup> The Sarcroft MS (S) has here Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ἔθαψε ὡς οἶκος ἦν θάψαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ. The same MS here begins to exhibit some extraordinary variations. In place of what appears in the text, it proceeds, “Ἄδρηστος δὲ τῷ τύμβῳ Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτεα ἐπίνθει. In these variations it is supported by Wesseling's Vienna MS (V). See notes on i. 54. 73. and vi. 118.

<sup>137</sup> φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος. See note 135.



ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ σῆμα, συγγνωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τῶν αὐτὸς ἦειδε <sup>138</sup> βαρυσυμφωρότατος, ἐωντὸν ἐπικατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ. Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτεα ἐν πένθεϊ μεγάλῳ καθῆστο, τοῦ παιδὸς ἐστερημένος. Μετὰ δὲ, ἡ Ἀστυάγειω τοῦ Κναξάρειω ἡγεμονίῃ κατααιρεθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω, καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα, πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσον ἀπέπαυσε· ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα, εἰ κως δύναιτο, πρὶν μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην <sup>139</sup> τὴν δύναμιν.

46

Croesus is diverted from his grief by the growth of the Persian power, and consults the oracles.

Μετὰ ὧν τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην αὐτίκα ἀπεπειράτο τῶν μαντητῶν, τῶν τε ἐν Ἑλλήσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ <sup>140</sup>. διαπέμψας ἄλλους ἄλλῃ, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἰέναι τοὺς δὲ ἐς Ἀβας <sup>141</sup> τὰς Φωκέων τοὺς δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην οἱ δὲ τινες ἐπέμποντο παρὰ τε Ἀμφιάρεω καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον <sup>142</sup>, οἱ δὲ τῆς Μιλησίης ἐς Βραγχίδα. ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μαντήια, ἐς τὰ ἀπέπεμψε μαντευσόμενος Κροῖσος· Λιβύης δὲ παρὰ Ἀμμωνα <sup>143</sup> ἀπέστειλε ἄλλους χρησόμενους. διέπεμπε δὲ πειρώμενος τῶν μαντητῶν ὃ τι φρονόειν, ὥς, εἰ φρονέοντα τὴν ἀληθινήν εὐρεθείη, ἐπειρηταὶ σφεα δεύτερα πέμπων εἰ ἐπιχειροί ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι; Ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι τάδε, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν διάπειραν τῶν χρηστηρίων ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ὀρμηθέωσι ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμερολογέοντας τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, ἑκατοστή ἡμέρῃ χρῆσθαι τοῖσι

He first makes trial of their skill.

47

<sup>138</sup> ἦειδε. This form, which is supported by the best MSS, would be derived from *ἦειδε* (= *ἦειδε*), which is found in *Iliad* xxii. 280. *Odys.* ix. 205), by the elision of the penultimate *e*, just as *ἐξίει* becomes in Herodotus *ἐξλει*. See note on i. 180, *ἐξλει*.

<sup>139</sup> καταλαβεῖν αὐξανομένην, "crush in its growth." See note on v. 21, *κατέλαβε σοφίῃ*.

<sup>140</sup> τῶν τε ἐν Ἑλλήσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ. The manuscripts S and V have τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι (or Δελφίσι) καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ, and then proceed (with § 53) thus: τοῖσι δὲ πεμπομένοισι κήρυξι μετὰ δῶρων τοιαῦτα ἀπετέλλετο ἑρωτῶν εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖσος, κ.τ.λ., in this manner entirely omitting the story relative to the trial of the oracles. See note on i. 53, *ἀμφοτέρων*.

<sup>141</sup> ἐς Ἀβας. The temple of Apollo at Abæ was more ancient than that at Delphi (STEPH. BYZANT. voce Ἀβαι), and

prior to the Persian war seems to have vied with it in importance. See what Herodotus relates of its wealth, viii. 33. Hence the Phocians, after their victory over the Thessalian invaders (viii. 27) divided their thank-offerings equally between the two temples. The oracle was consulted on behalf of Mardonius, while he was in winter-quarters in Thessaly, together with those of Apollo Ismenius and Apollo Ptous, and also, as in the case of Croesus, responses were obtained by him from the shrines of Amphiaraus and Trophonius (viii. 134).

<sup>142</sup> παρὰ τε Ἀμφιάρεω καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον. For the nature of these oracles, see note on i. 52, τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρει.

<sup>143</sup> παρὰ Ἀμμωνα. The affinity of the religious ideas which formed the basis of the worship at Dodona and Ammon appears from the legend related by Herodotus (ii. 55) as to the origin of the two oracles.

χρηστηρίοισι, ἐπειρωτέοντας δ τι ποιέων τυγχάνοι ὁ Λυδῶν βασι-  
 λεὺς Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω; ἄσσα δ' ἂν ἕκαστα τῶν χρηστηρίων  
 θεσπίσῃ συγγραψάμενους ἀναφέρειν παρ' ἑωυτόν· ὃ τι μὲν νυν τὰ  
 λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐθέσπισε, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν<sup>146</sup>. ἐν  
 δὲ Δελφοῖσι ὡς ἐσηλθον τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον οἱ Λυδοὶ χρησά-  
 μενοι τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐπειρώτεον τὸ ἐντεταλμένον, ἡ Πυθίῃ ἐν  
 ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ<sup>148</sup> λέγει τάδε

The answer  
of the rest  
is unknown;  
but the Del-  
phic oracle  
answers suc-  
cessfully,

Οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμον τ' ἀριθμὸν, καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης,  
 καὶ κωφοῦ συνήμι, καὶ οὐ φωνεύοντας ἀκούω.  
 ἄδμή μ' ἐς φρένας ἦλθε κραταιρίνοιο χελώνης  
 ἐφομένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἔμ' ἀρνέοισι κρέεσσι,  
 ᾗ χαλκὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωται, χαλκὸν δ' ἐπίσται<sup>146</sup>.

Ταῦτα οἱ Λυδοὶ θεσπισάσης τῆς Πυθίης συγγραψάμενοι, οἰχοντο 48  
 ἀπιώντες ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὄλλοι οἱ περιπεμφθέντες  
 παρήσαν φέροντες τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος ἕκαστα  
 ἀναπτύσσων ἐπώρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων τῶν μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν προσ-  
 ἱετό μιν ὁ δὲ ὡς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα προσεύχετό τε καὶ  
 προσεδέξατο, νομίσας μῦνον εἶναι μαντήιον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ὅτι οἱ  
 ἐξευρήκεε τὰ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ δὴ διέπεμψε παρὰ τὰ  
 χρηστήρια τοὺς θεοπρόπους<sup>147</sup>, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερέων  
 ἐμψαλίσσατο τοιάδε, ἐπινόησας τὰ ἦν ἀμήχανον ἐξευρεῖν τε καὶ

and Croesus  
regards it  
as the only  
trustworthy  
adviser,

<sup>144</sup> οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν. If the narrative rests on a Delphic tradition, it was to be expected that the response given by that oracle should alone be remembered.

<sup>145</sup> ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ. This phrase is very difficult to explain. The word *τόνος*, as a musical term, is equivalent to the English "pitch;" but there are four passages in Herodotus (viz. i. 62. 174; v. 60, and the present) in which the meaning it requires corresponds to the English "measure." Of three of these passages, it is remarkable that they fall in portions of the text which are not included in the manuscripts S and V, and in all these the reference is to words which were *spoken*. If only these three existed in which the phrase was used, it would be more easily intelligible; for, as the oracles were delivered in a chant, *ἑξάμετρος τόνος* and *τρίμετρος τόνος* might be taken to mean notes in which the voice was pitched, for the recitation of the hexameter and the

senarian iambic severally. But the fourth passage (v. 60) refers not to oral recitation, but to an inscription on a tripod. If, therefore, the words be not an interpolation in that passage (which exists in S and V as well as in the other MSS.), the word *τόνος* must in it be taken as simply equivalent to "metre," notwithstanding the tautologous expression which results therefrom.

<sup>146</sup> ἐπίσται. This form of the perfect passive from *ἐπι-ἔννυμι* is analogous to *ἡμφίσται*. The change of construction renders the passage somewhat obscure. The *χελώνη* is figuratively represented as having a couch of brass on which it reposes, and as having been arrayed in a robe of the same material. The reading *χαλκὸς δ' ἐπίσται* would entirely destroy the figure.

<sup>147</sup> τοὺς θεοπρόπους. Herodotus uses this word in the sense of *theopros* here and in several other places, e. g. i. 67; v. 79; vi. 67.

49 ἐπιφράσασθαι· χελώνην καὶ ἄρνα κατακόνψας, ὁμοῦ ἔψее αὐτοὺς ἐν λέβητι χαλκῆφ· χάλκεον ἐπίθημα ἐπιθείς. Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὕτω τῷ Κροίσῳ ἐχρήσθη· κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμφιάρεω [τοῦ μαντηίου<sup>148</sup>] ἀπόκρισιν, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι ὅ τι τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἔχρησε ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα· οὐ γὰρ ὦν οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ἐνόμισε μαντήιον ἀψευδὲς ἐκτῆσθαι.

50 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν ἱλάσκετο· κτήνέα τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια<sup>149</sup> ἔθυσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρυσούς καὶ ἐπαργύρους καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας καὶ εἴματα πορφύρεα καὶ κιθῶνας, νηήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, κατέκαψε· ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλον τι τοῦτοισι ἀνακτήσεσθαι· Λυδοῖσί τε πᾶσι προεῖπε, θύειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τούτῳ<sup>150</sup> ὅ τι ἔχοι ἕκαστος. ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον<sup>151</sup>, ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαυε<sup>152</sup>. ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα, ποιέων ἐξαπάλαιστα· ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα, τριπάλαιστα· ὕψος δὲ, παλαιστιαῖα· ἀριθμὸν δὲ, ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ τουτέων, ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ<sup>153</sup> τέσσαρα τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἕκαστον ἔλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα [ἡμιπλίνθια] λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ<sup>154</sup> σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποίεετο

<sup>148</sup> τοῦ μαντηίου. These words appear to be a gloss. The use of Herodotus is to speak of Amphiaraus himself, not of his shrine. Thus viii. 134: ἐκέλευσέ σφας ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω διὰ χρηστηρίων ποιούμενος. Above, § 46: ἐπέκοντο παρὰ τε Ἀμφιάρεω καὶ παρὰ Τροφόνιον. Below, § 52: τῷ Ἀμφιάρεω. . . ἀνέθηκε σάκος χρύσεον τῶν. In the text, if τοῦ μ. were not an interpolation, we should probably have τὴν τοῦ Ἀμφ. μαντηίου ἀπόκρισιν. But, even if grammatical usage were consistent with the phrase τ. Ἀ. τ. μ. ἀπ., it would not be in accordance with the idea of Amphiaraus to speak of his oracle as separate from himself. See note on i. 52, τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεω. If the words are not an interpolation, τοῦ μαντηίου ἀπόκρισιν must be taken together as one word signifying "an oracular response."

<sup>149</sup> πάντα τρισχίλια, "three thousand of every kind." See iv. 88, πᾶσι δέκα. ix. 81, Πανσανίη δὲ πάντα δέκα ἐξαιρέθη τε καὶ ἐδόθη, γυναῖκες, ἱπποὶ, τάλαντα, κάμηλοι, ὥς δὲ αὐτὰς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα χρήματα.

<sup>150</sup> τούτῳ, i. e. τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ.

<sup>151</sup> καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον. See

note on v. 92, τοιοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶ ὁμῶν ἢ τυραννίς.

<sup>152</sup> ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαυε. See note on iv. 166, τοῦτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλω εἴη βασιλεί.

<sup>153</sup> ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ, "refined gold," i. e. purified by amalgamation, and, as it were, boiling down.

<sup>154</sup> λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, "white gold," by which is probably meant that compound (one-fifth of silver and four-fifths of gold) to which the name of ἡλεκτρον was given. Sardis was the staple of this commodity, as appears from SOPHOCLES (*Antigone*, 1036), where it is coupled with the gold from India:

κερδαίνει, ἐμπολῶτε τὸν πρὸς Σάρδεων ἡλεκτρον, εἰ βούλεσθε, καὶ τὸν Ἰνδικὸν χρυσόν, κ.τ.λ.

This alloyed mass formed a convenient shape for exporting the gold-dust which was washed down by the Tmolus (v. 101). Gold, too, is sometimes found combined with silver, and this mixture may have acquired a traditional value, and added to the other motives for alloying the pure metal when exported.

with the exception of Amphiaraus.

Offerings of Croesus to the Delphic god;

δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἔλκουνταν σταθμὸν τα-  
 λαυντα δέκα· οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπεὶ τε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι  
 νηὸς<sup>155</sup>, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἴδρυτο  
 καὶ νῦν κείται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ<sup>156</sup>, ἔλκων σταθμὸν  
 ἑβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον· ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον.  
 Ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφούς καὶ τὰδε 51  
 ἄλλα ἅμα τοῖσι κρητῆρας δύο μεγάλῃ μεγάλους<sup>157</sup>, χρύσειον καὶ  
 ἀργύρεον τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσειος ἐκέετο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιόντι ἐς τὸν νηόν,  
 ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά· (μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν  
 νηὸν κατακάεντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσειος κείται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων  
 θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν ἑννατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἑτι δυώδεκα  
 μνέας· ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηίου<sup>158</sup> τῆς γωνίης, χωρέων  
 ἀμφορέας ἑξακοσίους· ἐπικίρνεται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Θεοφανί-  
 οισι<sup>159</sup>. φασὶ δὲ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι<sup>160</sup>,  
 καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω· οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι·) καὶ  
 πίθους\* τε ἀργυρέους τέσσαρας ἀπέπεμψε, οἱ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων

The adulteration accounts for the current application of the epithet *χλωρός*:

τί ποτ' ἐστὶ χλωρὸν, ἀντιβολῶ, τὸ χρυσεόν;  
 δέδουκ' ἐπιβουλευόμενον ὑπὸ πάντων δελ.

(COMICUS INCERTUS *ap. Schol. Aristoph. Plut.* 204.)

<sup>155</sup> ἐπεὶ τε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι νηὸς. This conflagration is placed by Clinton (on the authority of PAUSANIAS) in the year 548 B.C. It is noticed by Herodotus (ii. 180; v. 62), but without any other definition of the time than that it was when Amasis was reigning in Egypt.

<sup>156</sup> ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ. See above, note 57.

<sup>157</sup> μεγάλῃ μεγάλους, "large in size." See ii. 74, μεγάλῃ μικρούς. iv. 52, μεγάλῃ μικρή.

<sup>158</sup> προνηίου. Two MSS have νητον. Perhaps both readings are glosses, and the true text merely ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίης. See viii. 122.

<sup>159</sup> Θεοφανίοισι. See SMITH, *Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities*, v. *Theophania*.

<sup>160</sup> Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι. Herodotus in another passage (iii. 41) speaks of Theodorus the son of Telecles, a Samian, as the artist who made the ring worn by Polycrates; and the question arises whether the Theodorus here spoken of is the same person. Theodorus "the

Samian" is put by PLATO (*Ion*, § 4), together with *Dadaius* and *Epeus*, two artists who belong more to mythical than historical times. PLINY (*N. H.* xxxv. 12. 16) places him "long before" the expulsion of the Bacchiads from Corinth,—an event which Clinton assigns to the year 655 B.C. Plato speaks of him as an *ἀνδριαντοποιός*, and Pliny as one who with *Rhæcus* "plasticen invenit." This last is no doubt an inaccurate expression, as it was metal-casting, and not sculpture, which Rhæcus and the ancient Theodorus invented. The most natural supposition seems to be, that the Delphians attributed the vase Herodotus speaks of to the Theodorus to whom Plato alludes, he being the most celebrated artist of the name. Whether it was really by him is quite another matter. The Lycians exhibited a brazen bowl in the temple of Apollo at Patara, which they asserted to be the offering of Telephus and the work of *Hephæstus*, "forgetting apparently," says PAUSANIAS (ix. 41. 1), "that Theodorus and Rhæcus, the Samians, were the first who cast in brass" (see note 87). The remark which Herodotus himself makes in confirmation of the Delphian account may serve to show the kind of reasoning which would be most operative with his informants.

\* The last of these πίθοι was carried off

θησαυρῷ ἐστᾶσι, καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεόν τε καὶ ἀργύρεον τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπυγέγραπται, ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ, φαμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα· οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες <sup>161</sup>. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροίσου ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίους βουλόμενος χάρισσασθαι, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὐνομα οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι <sup>162</sup>. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι' οὗ τῆς χειρὸς ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστὶ· οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὐδέτερον. ἄλλα τε ἀνάθηματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἅμα τούτοις ὁ Κροῖσος, καὶ χεύματα ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκός εἰδωλον χρύσειον τρίπηχυν, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα <sup>163</sup> λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ, καὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναῖκός τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ τὰς ζώνας. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφούς ἀπέπεμψε· τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεφ <sup>164</sup>, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τε

52  
and to Am-  
phiaraus.

by Sylla. It was so large and heavy that it was broken into pieces for removal. PLUTARCH (*Sylla*, § 12).

<sup>161</sup> οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες. The construction requires *λεγόντων* if the word be applied to the Lacedæmonians. And the irregularity is so gratuitous, that it is difficult to suppose *λέγοντες* genuine. I am inclined to think the text originally ran, τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπυγέγραπται ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ (φαμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα) οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγον (i. e. τὸ ἐπιγράμμα, gathered by inference from the word ἐπιγέγραπται). Then, the two first letters of the word *ἔστι* being repeated by an error of transcription (*λεγονες ἐστι*), the next copyist thought a τ had been omitted, and corrected to the present reading.

<sup>162</sup> οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι. PTOLEMY, the son of Hephæstion (a foolish compiler of the time of Hadrian), gives the name of this Delphian as *Aëtius*. He likewise gives the name of the queen of Candaules, and various other details—some of them contradictory to others—relative to points left undetermined by Herodotus. For a sketch of the nature of the Miscellanies from which details of this sort were drawn, see BLAKESLEY, *Life of Aristotle*, p. 8, and p. 25, note 5.

<sup>163</sup> τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα. PLUTARCH (*Cur Pythia non reddat carmine*, p. 401, E) relates a tradition that Croesus's life was saved by this female, who gave him information of poison having been mixed in his bread by the machinations of a stepmother. But, whether this were the case or not, it seems

impossible that such a story should have prevailed at Delphi in the time of Herodotus, or he would hardly have omitted it. The Delphians probably gathered that the figure represented Croesus's "bread-chipper," from some instrument held in the hand. The story of Plutarch is hardly of better authority than many of those related by Ptolemy Hephæstion (see note 162). There is, however, no reason to object to the word *ἀρτοκόρος* as designating an Asiatic official, or to desire to change it into *ἀρτοποιός* or *ἀρτοποιός*. The duties attaching to the office were probably analogous to those belonging to the "carver" at the baronial tables in feudal times.

<sup>164</sup> τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεφ. It does not appear from the words of Herodotus whether the offering of which he speaks was made at a shrine of Amphiaraus, forming a part of the temple of the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes, or at the place where the response was obtained, and from thence transferred to Thebes. In fact, it is not clear, from this passage or that in § 46, to what locality he refers when he says that Croesus sent to Amphiaraus. In South Boeotia alone there were at least three localities assigned as the spot where Amphiaraus was swallowed up with his chariot; one on the right of the road from Potmize to Thebes (PAUSANIAS, ix. 8. 3), a second at Harma, hard by Mycaleus, on the road from Thebes to Chalcis (ID. ix. 19. 4), and a third twelve stades from Oropus (ID. i. 34. 1). In all these the same legend prevailed, and the

ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσειον πᾶν ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πᾶσαν χρυσέην, τὸ ξυστὸν τῆσι λόγχῃσι<sup>166</sup> ἔδν ὁμοίως χρύσειον τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβῃσι, καὶ Θηβαίων ἐν τῷ νηφ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος<sup>166</sup>.

Τοῖσι δὲ ἄγειν μέλλουσι τῶν Λυδῶν ταῦτα τὰ δῶρα ἐς τὰ ἱρά 53 ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπειρωτᾶν τὰ χρηστήρια, εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖσος, καὶ εἰ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο φίλον; ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπεπέμφθησαν οἱ Λυδοὶ<sup>167</sup> ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἐχρέωντο<sup>168</sup> τοῖσι χρηστηρίοις, λέγοντες· “Κροῖσος, ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεὺς, νομίσας τάδε μαντήα εἶναι μούνα<sup>169</sup> ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ὑμῖν τε ἄξια δῶρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων, καὶ νῦν ὑμέας ἐπειρωτᾶ, εἰ στρατεύηται<sup>170</sup> ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ εἰ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο σύμμαχον;” οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτεον. τῶν δὲ μαντητῶν ἀμφοτέρων<sup>171</sup> ἐς τῷντο αἰ γινῶμαι συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροίσῳ, ἣν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μιν καταλύσαι<sup>172</sup>. τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευόν οἱ ἐξευρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι.

Reply of the oracles to his question, should he go to war?

same mode of consulting the hero, who was supposed to hold communion with his votary in dreams, without the intervention of any πρόμαντις. The ritual of Amphiaras is substantially identical with that of Peaneus (described by VIRGIL, *Æn.* vii. 80—100). Both the one and the other, and indeed Trophonius also, belong to the ancient system of elemental worship,—a pantheism broken up into polytheism,—which prevailed among the earliest population of the Italian and Hellenic peninsulas. In the time of Herodotus,—with the exception of Arcadia and a few insulated spots,—this religion was every where overlaid and much modified by the mythology brought in by the supervening Hellenic tribes; the early ritual being often taken up, and the ancient deities incorporated into the new system by a legend connecting them with the recently imported. The preface of the Pythian priestess in the *Eumenides* of *ÆSCHYLUS* is an excellent example of this.

<sup>166</sup> τῇσι λόγχῃσι. The plural number here seems to refer to the sharp butt of the lance (properly called *σφυρητήρ*), by which it was fixed in the ground, as well as to the point.

<sup>168</sup> ἐν τῷ νηφ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος. See note 141.

<sup>167</sup> ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπεπέμφθησαν οἱ Λυδοί. The manuscripts S and V have ἀπικότο ἐς τ. ἀπ. οἱ κήρυκες. See note 140.

<sup>168</sup> ἐχρέωντο. S and V have καὶ ἔχρεον.

<sup>169</sup> τάδε μαντήα εἶναι μούνα. See note 171.

<sup>170</sup> εἰ στρατεύηται καὶ . . . εἰ . . . προσθέοιτο, “if he must make a warlike expedition against the Persians, and whether (in that case) to take any allies.” On the first or main point the decision of the oracle was imperatively demanded, but the putting the second point was a mere contingency. See note 40. See also ΜΑΤΤΗΙÆ, Gr. Gr. § 516. 3.

<sup>171</sup> ἀμφοτέρων. If S and V represent a different διασκευή of the work from that which the other manuscripts exhibit, and are not derived from the fuller text by a process of excision, this word must in them refer to the two oracles at *Delphi* and the Oasis of *Ammon* (see note 140). In the others, it must be considered to refer to those of *Apollo at Delphi*, and of *Amphiaras*. See i. 52, and the various readings of i. 92.

<sup>172</sup> καταλύσαι. The verse Κροῖσος “Ἄλυν διαβάς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει (which CICERO renders “Crocus Halya penetrans magnam pervertet opum vim”.

54

His gratuity  
to the Del-  
phians.

Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀνευχεθéntα τὰ θεοπρόπια ἐπίθετο ὁ Κροῖσος, ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιληὴν, πέμψας<sup>173</sup> αὐτὶς ἐς Πυθῶ Δελφούς δωρέεται<sup>174</sup>, πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, κατ' ἄνδρα δύο στατήρσι<sup>175</sup> ἕκαστον χρυσοῦ. Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδωσαν Κροίσῳ καὶ Λυδοῖσι προμαντήτην καὶ ἀτελεῖν καὶ προεδρίην, καὶ ἐξέειναι τῷ  
55 βουλομένῳ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον. Δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφούς ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐχρηστηριάζετο τὸ τρίτον. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ δὴ παρέλαβε τοῦ μαντήτου ἀληθινήν, ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ<sup>176</sup>. ἐπειρώτα δὲ τὰδε χρηστηριαζόμενος, εἴ οἱ πολυχρόνιος ἔσται ἡ μουναρχίη. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ τὰδε

Third re-  
sponse of  
the Del-  
phian oracle  
as to the  
duration of  
his power.

Ἄλλ' ὅτ' ἂν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοισι γένηται,  
καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρὲ<sup>177</sup>, πολυψήφιδά παρ' Ἑρμῶν  
φεύγειν, μὴδὲ μένειν, μῆδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.

56 Τούτοις ἐλθοῦσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ὁ Κροῖσος πολλὸν τι μάλιστα πάν-

*De Div.* ii. 56) is given by DIODORUS SICULUS; and other later writers, as the actual oracle. It seems, however, most probable that this hexameter is merely made up out of the phrase which Herodotus gives as containing the ambiguous portion of the answer received by Croesus. The aorist καταλύσειν, instead of the future καταλύσειν, shows that the *substance*, and not the very words in the form in which they were uttered, is related: "telling Croesus beforehand of his pulling down a great empire, supposing him to attack the Persians." If the future be adopted, the passage must be rendered, "that he *would* pull down," &c.

<sup>173</sup> πέμψας αὐτὶς ἐς Πυθῶ Δελφούς δωρέεται. It will be observed, that Herodotus does not recognize any city "Delphi." In his time the Delphians lived scattered in several hamlets (κωμηδόν) in the recesses of Parnassus. Pytho (the temple and oracle of the god) was their central point (*caput gentis*), and the object of their care (Φοίβου Δελφοὶ θέραπες. EUCLIPIDES, *Ion*, 94). This present of Croesus perhaps gave a form to the story related by PLUTARCH, quoted in note on ii. 134: κηρυσσόντων Δελφῶν.

<sup>174</sup> πέμψας . . . ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ. All this passage is omitted in the manuscripts S and V, which join the middle of § 54

to that of § 55 thus, ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι τάχῃ τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιληὴν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς χρηστηριαζόμενος ἐπηρώτα, κ.τ.λ., thus leaving out all mention of the present to the Delphians, and of the privileges in consequence conferred upon the Lydians, and producing an extremely loose and slovenly construction. See note 136.

<sup>175</sup> δύο στατήρσι. See note on iv. 166, τοῦτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλω εἶη βασιλίδι.

<sup>176</sup> ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ, "he took his fill of it;" a metaphor derived from persons eating greedily.

<sup>177</sup> ποδαβρὲ. Tenderness of foot was regarded in ancient times as a characteristic of luxury. Thus EUCLIPIDES makes Hecuba say:

Ἄγετε τὸν ἄβρὸν δῆπον' ἐν Τροίᾳ πόδα  
νῦν δ' ὄντα δούλον (*Troad.* 506).

Compare *Deuteronomy* xxviii. 56, ἡ τρυφερά, ἥς οὐχὶ πείραν ἔλαβεν ὁ τοὺς αὐτῆς βαίνειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς διὰ τὴν τρυφερότητα. And, contrariwise, to go without shoes was the most obvious exponent of asceticism. See ARISTOPHANES (*Nub.* 103):

τοὺς ὠχρίαντας, τοὺς ἀνυποδήτους λέ-  
γεις,  
ὧν ὁ κακοδαίμων Σωκράτης καὶ Χαιρεφῶν.

των ἡσθη, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον οὐδαμὰ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύσειν  
 Μήδων οὐδ' ὦν αὐτὸς, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, παύσεσθαι κοτε τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων, τοὺς ἂν Ἑλλήνων  
 δυνατωτάτους ἔοντας προσκτῆσαιτο φίλους. ἱστορέων δὲ εὗρισκε  
 Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους προέχοντας, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ  
 γένεος, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ. ταῦτα <sup>178</sup> γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα τὸ  
 ἀρχαῖον, ἔοντα τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος· καὶ τὸ  
 μὲν οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώρησε <sup>179</sup> τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα· ἐπὶ μὲν  
 γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλῆος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν· ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου  
 τοῦ Ἑλλήνος, τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Οὐλυμπον χώραν,  
 καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστιαιώτιν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος ὡς ξανάστη

Digression  
 respecting  
 the Pelas-  
 gian and  
 Hellenic  
 races.

<sup>178</sup> ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα τὸ  
 ἀρχαῖον, ἔοντα τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν τὸ δὲ  
 Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. The manuscripts S and  
 V omit these words and all that follows  
 until the beginning of § 69, which they  
 connect with what precedes thus: Ἰωνι-  
 κοῦ· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐξέπεμψεν ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγ-  
 γέλου ἵα τε φέροντας δῶρά τε φέροντας,  
 κ.τ.λ.

Gaisford reads, with the other MSS.,  
 ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα ἔοντα τὸ  
 ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν, τὸ δὲ Ἑλ-  
 ληνικὸν ἔθνος. For ἔοντα, Dobree and  
 Porson proposed to read ἔθνεα. But the  
 transposition of two words and a corrected  
 punctuation remove all the difficulty.  
 Translate, "for these were the leading  
 nations of olden time, being, the one a  
 Pelasgian, the other a Hellenic tribe."  
 The word προκεκριμένος corresponds to  
 the German *vornehm*.

That the first part at least of the pas-  
 sage omitted in S and V is an *addition*,  
 incorporated subsequently, seems indis-  
 putable, from the circumstance that, as  
 the text stands, the word Πελασγικὸν  
 ought (according to the usage of lan-  
 guage) to refer to the Doric race, and  
 Ἑλληνικὸν to the Ionic, whereas in fact  
 the author intends the reverse. But it  
 by no means follows that it is to be re-  
 garded as an *interpolation* by another  
 hand. It may very well be an extract  
 from the collections of the author, written  
 in the manner of a note in an interleaved  
 copy by himself.

<sup>179</sup> τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώρησε. A  
 good deal of difficulty has been occasioned  
 unnecessarily by the application of these  
 words to the Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, whereas  
 they are in fact referred to the Ἰωνικὸν γένος,

and of these especially to the Athenians,  
 whose pride in their professed aboriginal  
 character is well known. Hence the  
 orator, in vii. 161, speaks of his country-  
 men as *μοῖνοι ἐόντες οὐ μετανάσται* Ἑλ-  
 λήνων. But, even if the expression were  
 necessarily referable to the Pelasgians,  
 the difficulty would not be so great as has  
 been supposed. The word ἐξεχώρησε  
 does not express the kind of migration  
 which takes place when a swarm is thrown  
 off, but that when a whole people moves  
 away from one territory into another.  
 And this last character is not attached to  
 the Pelasgians by Herodotus. It was so,  
 perhaps first of all, by Ephorus, the  
 popularity of whose work made it the  
 basis of all subsequent histories of Greece  
 (mediately or immediately) even down to  
 the last generation. But, from the ac-  
 count which STRABO (v. cap. 2, p. 357,  
*segg.*) gives of Ephorus's statements, it is  
 plain that his view rested on no positive  
 authority, but was a mere hypothesis to  
 account for the existence of Pelasgian tra-  
 ditions in many widely scattered places.  
 There is nothing related of the Pelasgians  
 by Herodotus which is incompatible with  
 the theory that they were a primitive  
 people, who long antecedently to the his-  
 torical times overspread a great portion  
 of what was afterwards called Hellas (at  
 which period the Athenians themselves  
 were Pelasgian, and called ΚΡΑΝΑΙ, viii.  
 44). In the time of Herodotus, all traces  
 of them were obliterated in the greater  
 part of Hellas; but a few insulated popu-  
 lations remained, in Arcadia, Acte, Lem-  
 nos, Imbros, Creston, Placie, Scylace,  
 Antandros;—and Pelasgian names and  
 rituals in many other places.



ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἵκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδόνων καλούμενον ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὶς ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα<sup>180</sup> μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτως<sup>181</sup> ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἔλθον, Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη.

57  
Language  
of the Pe-  
lasgians.

Ἦν τινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἔσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι. εἰ δὲ χρεόν<sup>182</sup> ἐστὶ τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι εἰσὶν Πελασγῶν, τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστώνων πόλιν<sup>183</sup> οἰκεόντων, οἱ ὁμοῦροί κοτε ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι· οἴκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην καὶ τῶν<sup>184</sup> Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκισάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι<sup>185</sup>, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἔοντα πόλιν<sup>186</sup> τὸ οὖνομα μετέβαλε· εἰ τούτοις τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἱέντες<sup>187</sup>. εἰ τοῖνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀτ-

<sup>180</sup> Δρυοπίδα. Herodotus describes this region as the *metropolis* of the Dorians (viii. 31). It is ποδεὼν σπεινὸς ὡς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστά κη εἶρος, κείμενος μεταδὲ τῆς τε Μιλήδος καὶ τῆς Φωκίδος χώρας. The population of it, expelled (according to the tradition) by Heracles and the Melians, founded Hermione in Argolis (viii. 43).

<sup>181</sup> οὕτως, "direct, without more ado." See note 22.

<sup>182</sup> χρεόν. Gaisford, with most MSS, has χρεών.

<sup>183</sup> τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστώνων πόλιν. NIEBUHR considered that this name was corrupt, and wished to read Κροτών, regarding the city as Cortona. But, independently of the boldness of this alteration, it seems unlikely that Cortona in Tuscany should be coupled together with Scylace and Placie in the Hellespont. The solution of the difficulty is not easy if we retain Κρηστώνων (see the note on v. 3, Κρηστυναίων), unless we take Τυρσηνῶν to mean the Tyrrhene Pelasgians of Athos. See note 186.

<sup>184</sup> τῶν. An emendation of Dobree's. Gaisford with the MSS has τῆν.

<sup>185</sup> οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι. In another passage (ii. 51) the Pelasgian immigrants into Attica are represented as coming from *Samothrace*. If it be considered that the populations of all these Pelasgian localities were ethnically identical, it is not strange that one should take the place of another in traditions orally transmitted. It is more probable that two legends should vary from one another

in this way, than that the true view should be that which results from the mechanical combination of the two. Here, for instance, it may be said, the immigration was of a multitude coming partly from Placie and Scylace and partly from Samothrace. But, if so, why should the author have omitted the mention of one half of the colonists in the one case, and the other half in the other? See the note on ii. 51, *ad fin.*

<sup>186</sup> ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἔοντα πόλιν<sup>186</sup> σματα. The towns referred to are perhaps those mentioned by THUCYDIDES (iv. 109) as lying in Acte, the peninsula terminating in the mountain Athos, separated from the main by Xerxes' canal. This was filled with small towns inhabited by a mixed race of barbarians *speaking two languages*. "There was a small element of Chalcidians among them, but they were mostly Pelasgians, some of the Tyrrhenians who formerly inhabited Lemnos and Athens, and Bisaltæ, Crestonians, and Edones" (THUCYD. i. c.).

<sup>187</sup> ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἱέντες. This observation must not be taken for more than it is worth, and used to prove that the Pelasgian language differed etymologically from the Greek. The language of these towns doubtless sounded strange to the ear of Herodotus, as the dialect of Coniston does to an East Anglian. But, although differing so much from the current Hellenic as to necessitate the use of two languages (see the last note), it should be remembered that whatever is common to the Latin and

τικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὼν Πελασγικόν, ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρητικῶν οὐδ' αὖτις τῶν νῦν σφεας περιοικούντων εἰς ὁμόγλωσσοι, οὔτε οἱ Πλακηνοὶ σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι δηλοῦσί τε, ὅτι, τὸν ἡνέικαντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαλόντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ. Τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν 58  
γλῶσση μὲν, ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένετο αἰεὶ κοτε τῇ αὐτῇ διαχρέεται, ὥς ἐμοὶ καταφαίνεται εἶναι ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ ἐὼν ἀσθενὲς, ἀπὸ μικροῦ τεο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρμεῶμενον, αὖξεται ἐς πλῆθος [τῶν ἐθνέων] πολλόν<sup>100</sup>, μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βαρβάρων συγχών. ὥς<sup>100</sup> δὴ ὦν ἐμοὶ γε δοκεῖ οὐδὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὼν βάρβαρον, οὐδαμὰ μεγάλως αὖξηθῆναι.

The Hellenic race from its first origin has always retained its language. Has been increased by assimilating many barbarous nations.

Τούτων δὴ ὦν τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενον τε καὶ 59  
διεσπασμένον<sup>100</sup> ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ

History of Athens

Greek languages as they exist must have existed in their common parent. What was this if not Pelasgian? If the dialect of Placie and Scylace differed only as much from the Hellenic of commerce in the time of Herodotus as the Dutch of the present day does from English, a traveller would not hesitate to call it foreign, although a philologist would consider the connexion an extremely close one. Possibly Herodotus may have formed his judgment of the dialect of Scylace and Placie from natives of those places which he met with at Cysicus, in the immediate neighbourhood of which Scylace was (Hecataeus ap. Steph. Byzant. sub v.), or even may have taken the word of the Cysicenes for its character.

<sup>100</sup> ἐς πλῆθος πολλόν. The MSS have ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνέων πολλῶν (or πολλῶν). If τῶν ἐθνέων be genuine, it must be interpreted of "the nations of which the Hellenic race is notoriously composed." But the words seem to be a gloss from the hand of some one who supposed that the aggregation of barbarous tribes presently mentioned was referred to.

<sup>100</sup> ὥς δὴ ὦν ἐμοὶ γε. Gaisford has πρὸς δὴ ὦν ἐμοὶ γε. Aldus and one MS have ὥς for πρὸς, and all the MSS have γε for γε. But the passage is unintelligible unless some variation be made. The construction of the sentence is dif-

ficult. It would naturally have ended with ἡξήθη, but the infinitive has taken the place of the subjunctive as if the sentence had begun ἐμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ. But it is not easy to find a motive for such slovenliness of writing. See note 136 and the variations in the manuscripts S and V there noted.

<sup>100</sup> διεσπασμένον. The Athenians may be said to have been "divided by Pisistratus" from the circumstance of his having exiled the Alcmaeonid faction, and thus crippled the resources of the state. See below, i. 64; v. 62. But it is a common idiom in Greek to construct grammatically two phrases in the same combination with a third, although in point of sense only one of them can, strictly speaking, be combined with it. Thus SOPHOCLES, *Aj.* 1034:—

ἀρ' οὐκ Ἐρινὸς τοῦτ' ἐχάλεευσε ξίφος  
κακείνον [sc. ζωστήρα] Ἰδίων δημι-  
ουργὸς ἄγχιος;

and *Elect.* 435:—

—ἡ πρῶσιςιν ἡ βαθυκαφεὶ κόρυς  
κρύβον νιν.

So, in vi. 43, Mardonius comes from Susa to the Cilician seaboard πολλὸν μὲν κάρτα περὶ δὲ ἀγόμενος πολλὸν δὲ ναυτικόν, where Casaubon endeavours to explain ναυτικόν as "sailors," στρατὸν being

under the  
Pisistratids.

Birth of  
Pisistratus  
foretold by  
a portent.

Ἴπποκράτεος τούτον τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος Ἀθηναίων. Ἴπποκράτει γὰρ, ἔοντι ἰδιώτῃ καὶ θεωρούντι τὰ Ὀλύμπια, τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα· θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱρά, οἱ λέβητες ἐπεστεῶτες, καὶ κρεῶν τε ἔοντες ἔμπλεοι καὶ ὕδατος, ἄνευ πυρὸς ἔξεσαν, καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. Χίλων δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος<sup>191</sup> παρατυχὼν καὶ θεσάμενος τὸ τέρας συνεβούλευε Ἴπποκράτει πρῶτα μὲν γυναῖκα τεκνοποιῶν μὴ ἀγεσθαι ἐς τὰ οἰκία, εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δεύτερα τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκπέμπειν καὶ εἴ τις οἱ τυγχάνει ἔων παῖς, τοῦτον ἀπείπασθαι οὐκων<sup>192</sup> ταῦτα παραινέσαντος Χίλωνος πεῖθεσθαι θέλειν τὸν Ἴπποκράτεα, γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισίστρατον τοῦτον δς, στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν μὲν προεστεῶτος Μεγακλῆος τοῦ Ἀλκμαίωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Λυκούργου Ἀριστολαίδεω, καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα<sup>193</sup>, ἤγειρε τρίτην στάσιν. συλλέξας δὲ στασιώτας, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστὰς<sup>194</sup>, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε

understood. But it would have been scarcely more difficult for him to find ships in Persia than sailors. The true solution is to infer ἔχων from ἀγόμενος. See note on vi. 97, ἀλλὰ πέρην.

<sup>191</sup> Χίλων ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος. The advice given by the sage on this occasion must not be allowed to deprive him of the reputation which attaches to him as a person of political sagacity. See the note on ii. 49, σοφιστάς.

<sup>192</sup> οὐκων ταῦτα . . . . Πεισίστρατον. For the use of the word οὐκων, which is equivalent to καὶ, οὐ γὰρ, see note on v. 59, ult. The oblique forms θέλειν τὸν Ἴππ. and γενέσθαι instead of the direct ἤθελε δ' Ἴππ. and ἐγένετο are used to show that the connexion of the birth of Pisistratus with the portent was a matter of hearsay. "And, as it seems that Hippocrates, when Chilo gave this advice, was unwilling to obey it, they say that afterwards, this, the notorious [τὸν] Pisistratus, was born to him," &c. Then follows the direct form, δς . . . . ἤγειρε, because the circumstances related are regarded as a part of authentic history.

<sup>193</sup> καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα. The use of καταφρονήσας as equivalent to φρονήσας is not sanctioned by either of the two passages (i. 66; viii. 10) which have been cited in defence of it. The passage is corrupt, possibly from a com-

pression of two different readings (καταφρονήσας and φρονήσας τὴν τυρ.) into one.

<sup>194</sup> τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστὰς, "professing himself the representative of the highland party." Herodotus represents this as a new party watchword assumed for the occasion by Pisistratus. There appears no sufficient reason for supposing that the revolution effected by him consisted (according to the account followed by Herodotus) in the elevation of a distinct tribe to higher political privileges than it had hitherto enjoyed. On the contrary, the opposite seems to follow from the expression, οὐτε τιμὰς τὰς εὐσας συνταράξας οὐτε θέσμις μεταλλάξας. ARISTOTLE too is most decisive in representing the opportunity of usurpation as furnished to Pisistratus by his success in war, and the confidence of the commonalty as being reposed in him from the hostility he exhibited to the rich. οἱ προστάται τοῦ δήμου, οἱ πολέμιοι γίνονται, τυραννίδι ἐπετίθεντο· πάντες δὲ τοῦτο ἔδραν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πιστευθέντες, ἡ δὲ πᾶσις ἦν ἡ ἀπέχθεια ἢ πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους, ὅσον Ἀθήνησι Πεισίστρατος στασιάζας πρὸς τοὺς πεδιακοὺς (Polit. v. p. 1306, A, line 20). These expressions of Aristotle are quite compatible with the statement of Herodotus, if we suppose that the troops with which Pisistratus was successful were mainly highlanders

τρωματίσας ἐαυτὸν τε καὶ ἡμίονους, ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ  
 ζεύγος ὡς ἐκπεφευγὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, οἳ μιν ἐλαύνοντα ἐς ἀγρὸν  
 ἠθέλησαν ἀπολέσαι δῆθεν ἐδέετό τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακῆς τινὸς  
 πρὸς αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι, πρότερον εὐδοκίμησας ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας  
 γενομένη στρατηγίῃ<sup>195</sup>, Νίσαιάν τε ἐλὼν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδεξάμενος  
 μεγάλα ἔργα· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπατηθεὶς, ἔδωκε οἱ  
 τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας ἄνδρας τούτους<sup>196</sup>. οἱ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ  
 ἐγένοντο Πεισιστράτου κορυνηφόροι δὲ ξύλων γὰρ κορύνας ἔχοντες  
 εἶποντό οἱ ὅπισθε· συνεπαναστάντες δὲ οὗτοι ἅμα Πεισι-  
 στράτῳ ἔσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἦρχε  
 Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε τιμὰς τὰς ἐούσας συνταράξας οὔτε θέσμις μεταλ-  
 λάξας ἐπὶ τε τοῖσι κατεστεῶσι ἔνεμε τὴν πόλιν, κοσμέων καλῶς  
 τε καὶ εὖ. Μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τὰντὸ φρονήσαντες οἳ τε  
 τοῦ Μεγακλέως στασιῶται καὶ οἱ τοῦ Λυκούργου, ἐξελαύνουσί μιν.  
 οὕτω μὲν Πεισίστρατος ἔσχε τὸ πρῶτον Ἀθήνας, καὶ τὴν τυραν-  
 νίδα οὐκω κάρτα ἐρριζωμένην ἔχων ἀπέβαλε· οἱ δὲ ἐξελάσαντες  
 Πεισίστρατον, αὐτὶς ἐκ νῆς ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐστασίασαν· περι-  
 ελαυνόμενος δὲ τῇ στάσει ὁ Μεγακλῆς, ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισι-  
 στράτῳ<sup>197</sup>, εἰ βούλοιντο οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῇ

He becomes  
 dynast, but  
 reigns with  
 great mo-  
 deration ;

60

is banished  
 by the  
 coalition of  
 Megacles  
 and Ly-  
 curgus ;

organized as infantry, a comparatively new arm of war (see note on v. 77). Such, most useful in the mountainous Megaris, would of all others be most likely to be hampered with debt to the wealthy plainsmen, just as the small freeholders of the Roman commonwealth were to the patricians. In this case Pisistratus would be likely to advocate the interests of his followers, as Cromwell did those of his troopers, and thus profess himself as τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστάτης. But such a view is a very different one from that of PLUTARCH (*Solon*. § 13). It is worth remarking that Philaidæ, the *deme* to which Pisistratus belonged (PLUTARCH, *Solon*. § 10) was probably *not* in the highlands of Attica, but in the immediate neighbourhood of Brauron, as Phileus (its eponymous hero) was said to be buried there. The site of *Brauron* is fixed by LEAKE at the head of a marsh near the harbour *Livadhi*, on the east coast, about lat. 37° 55'.

<sup>195</sup> ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας γενομένη στρατηγίῳ. The details of this war are most uncertain. Herodotus does not attempt to describe them. PLUTARCH, who does,

gives the most varying accounts, showing decisively that popular tradition was the only authority for them existing, long after the conclusion of the war (*Solon*. §§ 8, 9). The only part which he makes Pisistratus play in reference to them is the encouraging the Athenians to listen to the advice of Solon.

<sup>196</sup> τούτους, i. e. τοὺς στασιώτας, mentioned above.

<sup>197</sup> ὁ Μεγακλῆς, ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισιστράτῳ. The eponymous ancestor of the Alcmaeonidæ (Alcmaeon) was said to have been a descendant of Nestor, and, on the invasion of Peloponnesus by the Heraclidæ, to have migrated to Athens (PAUSANIAS, ii. 8). Pisistratus also is said by Herodotus to have been originally a Pylian and Neleid (v. 65). But it is singular that Pausanias, who brings *all* the other Nestorids to Athens, should specially except *Pisistratus*. Perhaps this results from the circumstance, that after the expulsion of the Pisistratids from Athens, and the growth of democratic feeling, it became an object to obliterate all traces of the important position which they once held. See note 201.

is restored  
through an  
alliance  
with Me-  
gacles.

τυραννίδι; ἐνδεξαμένοι δὲ τὸν λόγον καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος ἐπὶ  
τούτοις Πεισιστράτου, μηχανῶνται δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῃ πρῆγμα  
εὐθιθέστατον, ὡς ἐγὼ εὐρίσκω, μακρῷ ἐπεὶ τε<sup>198</sup> ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ  
παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεος τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἐὼν καὶ δεξιώ-  
τερον καὶ εὐθιῆς ἡλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον εἰ καὶ τότε γε  
οὔτοι ἐν Ἀθηναίοις, τοῖσι πρῶτοις λεγομένοις εἶναι Ἑλλήνων  
σοφίην, μηχανῶνται τοιάδε. ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Παιανίῃ<sup>199</sup> ἦν γυνὴ  
τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Φύη, μέγαθος ἀπὸ τεσσέρων πηχέων ἀπολείπουσα  
τρεις δακτύλους, καὶ ἄλλως εὐειδής· ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα σκευά-  
σαντες πανοπλίῃ, ἐς ἄρμα ἐσβιβάσαντες, καὶ προδέξαντες σχῆμα  
οἷον τι ἔμελλε εὐπρεπέστατον φανέεσθαι ἔχουσα<sup>200</sup>, ἤλανον ἐς  
τὸ ἄστυ<sup>201</sup>, προδρόμους κήρυκας προπέμψαντες, οἱ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα  
ἡγόρευον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἀπικόμενοι, λέγοντες τοιάδε· “ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι,  
δέκεσθε ἀγαθῷ νόμῳ Πεισιστράτου, τὸν αὐτὴ ἡ Ἀθηναίη τιμήσασα  
ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα, κατὰγει<sup>202</sup> ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῆς ἀκρόπολιν.” οἱ μὲν  
δὴ ταῦτα διαφουιτέοντες ἔλεγον· αὐτίκα δὲ ἔς τε τοὺς δήμους φάτις  
ἀπικέτο, ὡς Ἀθηναίη Πεισιστράτου κατὰγει· καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστυ

<sup>198</sup> ἐπεὶ τε. Gaisford and all the MSS ἐπεὶ γε. But, if the reading and punctuation of Gaisford be adopted, a very slovenly construction results. ἐπεὶ τε is equivalent to ἐξ οὗ (as in vii. 8, οὐδαμὰ καὶ ἡτρεμήσαμεν ἐπεὶ τε παρελάβομεν τὴν ἡγεμονίην τήνδε, and elsewhere). Translate, “they contrive, in fine, in order to effect the restoration, a proceeding by far the most foolish that I know of since the separation, long ago, of the Hellenic from the barbarian race,” &c.

<sup>199</sup> ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Παιανίῃ. This deme was, according to ΛΕΑΚΕ, in the immediate neighbourhood of Philaidæ, the deme of Pisistratus.

<sup>200</sup> ἔχουσα. All the MSS have ἔχουσα, and so has Gaisford. I should be rather disposed to change it to the dative case. The final letter of ἐχούσῃ might have dropped out in an uncial MS, where the *s* adscript is rarely written.

<sup>201</sup> ἤλανον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. In order to get to Athens from Peania, they would have to pass through the deme Pallene, which was situated at the foot of the north-east extremity of Hymettus, where the Mesogæan plain, on which the demes Peania and Philaidæ lie, joins the plain of Athens. At Pallene was a temple of Athens celebrated in Attic legends (EURI-  
P.

HeracL. 849). The procession, therefore, in which Phye took part was probably regarded as symbolizing a progress of Athens from the temple at Pallene to that on the Acropolis (see the note 73 on i. 21). If this procession was attended by a formidable demonstration of the inhabitants of the Mesogæan villages on the eastern side of Hymettus (which, according to Leake, is very thickly covered with ancient remains), the reception of Pisistratus may not have taken place solely on superstitious grounds. See the note 210, on i. 62. But, perhaps, the truer way of looking at this extraordinary procession is to regard it as a pageant in honour of the return of Pisistratus. That Athens should be the deity selected on the occasion as the patron of the dynast, harmonizes with the circumstance that the institution of the greater Panathenæa has been ascribed to him, probably with justice. But in later times the memory of Pisistratus was at that festival as much as possible extruded by the special celebration of Harmodius and Aristogiton. See the note 197, above.

<sup>202</sup> κατὰγει. See note on v. 92, κατὰγει.

πειθόμενοι τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι αὐτὴν τὴν θεὸν, προσεύχοντό τε τὴν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐδέκοντο τὸν Πεισίστρατον.

Ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ὁ Πεισί-  
στρατος, κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίην τὴν πρὸς Μεγακλέα γενομένην  
γαμέει τοῦ Μεγακλέους τὴν θυγατέρα. οἱ δὲ παίδων τέ οἱ  
ὑπαρχόντων νεηνίων<sup>205</sup>, καὶ λεγομένων ἐναγέων εἶναι τῶν Ἀλ-  
κμαιωνιδέων<sup>206</sup>, οὐ βουλόμενός οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς νεογάμου γυ-  
ναϊκὸς τέκνα, ἐμίσητό οἱ οὐ κατὰ νόμον. τὰ μὲν νυν πρῶτα  
ἔκρυπτε ταῦτα ἢ γυνή· μετὰ δὲ, εἴτε ἱστορεῦσθαι εἴτε καὶ οὐ,  
φράζει τῇ ἐωυτῆς μητρὶ· ἢ δὲ, τῷ ἀνδρὶ. τὸν δὲ δεινὸν τι ἔσχε,  
ἀτιμάζεσθαι πρὸς Πεισιστράτου ὀργῇ δὲ, ὡς εἶχε, καταλλάσσετο  
τὴν ἔχθρην τοῖσι στασιωτῇσι. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Πεισίστρατος τὰ  
ποιούμενα ἐπ' ἐωυτῷ, ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας τὸ παράπαν  
ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἑρέτριαν ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα τοῖσι παισὶ. Ἴππλεω  
δὲ γνώμῃ<sup>207</sup> νικῆσαντος, ἀνακτᾶσθαι ὀπίσω τὴν τυραννίδα, ἐνθαῦτα  
ἤγειρον δωτίνας<sup>208</sup> ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν, αἵ τινές σφι προηδέατο<sup>209</sup> κού  
τι· πολλῶν δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων χρήματα, Θηβαῖοι ὑπερ-  
εβάλλοντο τῇ δόσει τῶν χρημάτων. μετὰ δὲ, οὐ πολλῷ λόγῳ  
εἰπεῖν, χρόνος διέφυ καὶ πάντα σφι ἐξήρτυτο ἐς τὴν κάτοδον  
καὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μισθωτοὶ ἀπίκοντο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Νάξιος

61

Family dis-  
cord pro-  
duces a  
breach with  
Megacles,  
and Pisi-  
stratus retires  
to Eretria.

A confe-  
deracy is  
formed to  
restore  
him;

<sup>205</sup> παίδων οἱ ὑπαρχόντων νεηνίων. There is a good deal of difficulty in assigning the date of this first return of Pisistratus. Hippias was an old man, with his teeth loose, at the time of the battle of Marathon (vi. 107; THUCYD. vi. 59), which happened B.C. 490. This was thirty-seven years after the death of Pisistratus, and to this period must be added ten complete years for the time of his second exile (i. 62), and the periods (whatever they amounted to) during which the second and third intervals of his tyranny lasted. A closer definition of the time than this cannot be gathered from Herodotus's statements alone; but this would bring the marriage with Megacles' daughter up at least as early as B.C. 539 or 540. If we admit the notice of ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* v. 1315, v. line 30) that "the whole time from the usurpation of Pisistratus to his death was thirty-three years, and that of this his two exiles took up sixteen years;" as a statement belonging to the same account

as that followed by Herodotus, we shall get the marriage with Megacles' daughter as happening not earlier than B.C. 553 or 552. Between these two limits the assignment of the date is a matter of pure conjecture. For the varying accounts of the fortunes of the Pisistratidæ, and an attempt to explain them, see note on v. 65, παρέστησαν . . . ἐκχωρήσαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

<sup>206</sup> λεγομένων ἐναγέων εἶναι τῶν Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων. See v. 71.

<sup>207</sup> γνώμῃ. Gaisford and some MSS have γνώμην. But γνώμῃ is more likely to have been changed into γνώμην than the converse, from the next word beginning with ν. The accusative, however, might stand.

<sup>208</sup> ἤγειρον δωτίνας, "collected subscriptions." The word δωτινάζειν is used by Herodotus in the same sense, ii. 180.

<sup>209</sup> προηδέατο. This word is again used in the same sense, iii. 140, τίς ἐστι Ἑλλήνων εὐεργέτης φ' ἐγὼ προαδιδύμαι, where see the note.

62

and in the  
eleventh  
year of his  
exile he  
seizes on  
Marathon  
as a base of  
operations.

σφι ἀνὴρ ἀπυγμένος ἐβελοντήs, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λύγδαμης<sup>308</sup>, προθυ-  
μίην πλείστην παρείχετο, κομίσας καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνδρας. Ἐξ  
Ἑρετρίης δὲ ὀρμηθέντες<sup>309</sup>, διὰ ἑνδεκάτου ἔτους ἀπίκοντο ὀπίσω.  
καὶ πρῶτον τῆs Ἀττικῆs ἰσχυοσι Μαραθῶνα· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ  
χώρῳ σφι στρατοπεδευόμενοισι, οἳ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος στασιῶται  
ἀπίκοντο ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν δήμων<sup>310</sup> προσέρρεον οἷσι ἡ τυραννὶς  
πρὸ ἐλευθερίης ἦν ἀσπαστότερον. οὔτοι μὲν δὴ συνηλίζοντο·  
Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, ἕως μὲν Πεισίστρατος τὰ χρήματα  
ἤγειρε, καὶ μεταῦτις ὡς ἔσχε Μαραθῶνα, λόγον οὐδένα εἶχον·  
ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθῶνος αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ  
ἄστυ, οὕτω δὴ βοηθέουσι ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ οὔτοι τε πανστρατιῇ  
ἤισαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατιόντας· καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον, ὡς ὀρ-  
μηθέντες ἐκ Μαραθῶνος ἤισαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ἐς τῶντ' ἐκ συνιόντες  
He gains a ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἱρὸν<sup>311</sup>, καὶ ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ

<sup>308</sup> Λύγδαμης. See below, i. 64, note 214.

<sup>309</sup> ἐξ Ἑρετρίης δὲ ὀρμηθέντες. See note on v. 74. There seems to have been a Persian party (probably the representatives of the Pisistratid faction) in Eretria at the time of the expedition of Datis and Artaphernes (vi. 100).

<sup>310</sup> ἐκ τῶν δήμων, "out of the demes."

The boroughs here referred to were probably those lying in that part of Attica called *Mesogæa*, which would seem to have been favourable to the cause of Pisistratus. If a line be drawn along the axis of Mount Hymettus, and produced, Marathon, as well as Pæania and Philaidæ, will lie on the eastern side of it, and all the plain of Athens on the western; and Pallene will form the natural point for the concentration of Pisistratus's forces in order to march upon Athens, on the supposition that a considerable portion of them was collected in the demes under Hymettus. But, if he had moved in full force from Marathon, the entrance into the plain of Athens would have been at the modern *Stamata*, considerably to the north (see LEAKE, *Appendix to Athens and the Demes of Attica*, vol. ii. p. 210). Thus the inaction of the Athenians may be accounted for. If they had marched to Marathon by *Stamata*, they would have exposed themselves to be taken in the rear by the force issuing from *Mesogæa* by Pallene. But, after the expulsion of the Pisistra-

tids and the complete triumph of the other party, no account of the war which made a large portion of the population of Attica favourable to the cause of the tyrant would be palatable, and the adherence of a number of villages would be represented as the act only of individuals among them, who "preferred despotism to liberty." See note 214, below.

<sup>311</sup> ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἱρὸν. This would be quite out of the direct road from Marathon to Athens, but would be a proper movement for taking in the rear the Athenian force marching into *Mesogæa* by Pallene. The position of the armies, and their operations will be excellently described by the oracle, if we suppose, first, the Pisistratids from *Mesogæa* marching upon Pallene; next, the Athenian force advancing to meet *these*, and opposing an obstacle to their advance; thirdly, the Pisistratids from *Marathon*, by a night-march from *Stamata* round the foot of Mount Brilessus, coming upon them about dinner-time. Then the *Mesogæan* force would be aptly denoted by the δίκτυον (or seine), the *Marathonian* corps by the βόλος (or drop-net), and the Athenians by the shoal of tunny-fish. The brightness of the mid-day, the critical time for the attack, is symbolized by the epithet *σεληναία* applied to νύξ: night (not a *bright*, but a *dark* one) being the proper time for fishing, after the manner common in Greece, where the

ὄπλα· ἐνθαῦτα θείῃ πομπῇ χρεώμενος παρίσταται Πεισιστράτῳ <sup>decisive victory at</sup>  
 Ἀμφίλυτος ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν, χρησμολόγος ἀνὴρ, ὃς οἱ προσίων χρᾶ ἐν <sup>Palleno,</sup>  
 ἑξαμέτρῳ τόμφ, τάδε λέγων

Ἐρρίπται δ' ὁ βόλος, τὸ δὲ δίκτυον ἐκπεπέτασται·  
 θάνοι δ' οἰμήσουσι σεληναίης διὰ νυκτός.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐνθεάζων χρᾶ τάδε Πεισίστρατος δὲ συλλαβὼν τὸ 63  
 χρηστήριον καὶ φὰς δέκεσθαι τὸ χρησθέν, ἐπῆγε τὴν στρατιήν.

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος πρὸς ἄριστον τετραμμένοι ἦσαν δὴ  
 τηνικαῦτα <sup>112</sup>, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν

πρὸς κύβους οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὕπνον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον ἐσπε-  
 σόντες, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τρέπουσι· φευγόντων δὲ τούτων, βουλὴν

ἐνθαῦτα σοφωτάτην Πεισίστρατος ἐπιτεχνᾷται, ὅπως μήτε ἀλ-  
 σθεῖεν ἔτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, διεσκεδασμένοι τε εἶεν ἀναβιβάσας τοὺς

παῖδας ἐπὶ ἵππους προέπεμπε· οἱ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς φεύ-  
 γοντας, ἔλεγον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου, θαρσέειν τε

κελεύοντες <sup>113</sup> καὶ ἀπιέναι, ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ. Πειθομένων 64

δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὕτω δὴ Πεισίστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχὼν Ἀθήνας,

and takes  
measures  
for securing  
his power.

ἐρρίξωσε τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπικούροισι τε πολλοῖσι, καὶ χρημάτων  
 συνόδοισι, (τῶν μὲν αὐτόθεν τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ

συνιόντων,) ὁμήρους τε τῶν παραμεινάντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ μὴ  
 αὐτίκα φυγόντων παῖδας λαβὼν καὶ καταστήσας ἐς Νάξον (καὶ

γὰρ ταύτην ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατεστρέψατο πολέμῳ καὶ ἐπέτρεψε  
 Λυγδάμῳ <sup>114</sup>), πρὸς τε ἔτι τούτοις, τὴν νῆσον Δῆλον καθήρας <sup>115</sup> ἐκ

in pur-  
suance of

shoal is attracted by a torch (held over the stern of a boat) into the entrance of the net prepared for them.

<sup>112</sup> πρὸς ἄριστον τετραμμένοι ἦσαν δὴ τηνικαῦτα. The particle δὴ serves to mark the particular feature in the narrative to which the attention of the reader is directed. See note 6, above.

<sup>113</sup> θαρσέειν τε κελεύοντες. It may throw some light on the value of popular traditions, to remark that the orator ANTOCIDES, pleading before the Athenians in the year 400 B.C., speaks of this battle as one in which Pisistratus's faction were defeated, and by which the party of the commonalty (under the leading of the speaker's great-grandfather Leogoras, and his son-in-law Charias) recovered Athens. (*De Myst.* § 106.) This is the same thing as if a Frenchman in the year 1968 should

represent Louis Napoleon as becoming president of the French Republic, in consequence of the victory of General Changarnier over the allies at the battle of Waterloo; yet it was not for want of more correct representations of the matter. See the first note on v. 65.

<sup>114</sup> καὶ ἐπέτρεψε Λυγδάμῳ. ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* v. p. 1305, A. l. 41) gives the fate of the oligarchy of Naxos as an instance of the destruction which awaits such governments, when the members of them indulge in outrages upon the commonalty,—who, to revenge themselves, readily join any leader, especially when they can find one among the members of the oligarchy itself; “as in the case of Lygdamis, ὃς καὶ ἐτυράννευσεν ἐστέρων τῶν Ναξίων.” The outrage to which he alludes here, he described more fully in



an oracle  
he purifies  
the island  
Delos.

τῶν λογίων, καθήρας δὲ ὦδε ἐπ' ὅσον ἔποψις τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἶχε, ἐκ  
τούτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς, μετεφόρεε ἐς  
ἄλλον χώρον τῆς Δήλου· καὶ Πεισιστράτος μὲν ἐτυράννευε  
Ἀθηναίων· Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεπτώκεσαν οἱ δὲ  
αὐτῶν μετὰ Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων<sup>216</sup> ἔφευγον ἐκ τῆς οἰκῆτης.

65

History of  
Lacedæmon  
for the  
period just  
preceding  
the time of  
Crcæsus.

Lycurgus's  
institutions  
were the  
beginning  
of Sparta's  
greatness.

Τοὺς μὲν νῦν Ἀθηναίους τοιαῦτα τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἐπυνθάνετο  
ὁ Κροῖσος κατέχοντα· τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ κακῶν τε μεγάλων  
πεφευγότες, καὶ ἔοντας ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ κατυπερτέρους  
Τεγεατέων. ἐπὶ γὰρ Λέοντος βασιλεύοντος καὶ Ἡγησικλέος ἐν  
Σπάρτῃ, τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὐτυχεύοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,  
πρὸς Τεγεάτας μόνους προσέπταιον. τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τούτων,  
καὶ κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν σχεδὸν πάντων Ἑλλήνων, κατὰ τε σφέας  
αὐτοὺς, καὶ ξεινοῖσι ἀπρόσμικτοι. μετέβαλον δὲ ὦδε ἐς εὐνομίην  
Λυκούργου, τῶν Σπαρτιητέων δοκίμου ἀνδρὸς, ἐλθόντος ἐς Δελ-  
φοῦς ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὡς ἐσήϊε ἐς τὸ μέγαρον εὐθὺς ἢ Πυθίῃ  
λέγει τάδε·

Ἥκεις, ὦ Λυκόργε, ἐμὸν ποτὶ πῶνα νῆδν,  
Ζηνὶ φίλος, καὶ πᾶσιν ὀλύμπια δόματ' ἔχουσι.  
διζῶ ἢ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι, ἢ ἄνθρωπον·  
ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν ἔλπομαι, ὦ Λυκόργε.

οἱ μὲν δὴ τινες πρὸς τούτοις λέγουσι καὶ φράσαι αὐτῷ τὴν  
Πυθίην τὸν νῦν κατεστεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρτιήτησιν· ὡς δ' αὐτοὶ  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λυκούργον ἐπιτροπεύσαντα Λεωβώτῳ<sup>217</sup>,

his Naξίων πολιτεία (ap. *Athen.* viii. p. 348). A number of drunken young men made an attack as a *kōmos* upon a popular individual named Telestagoras, and grossly ill-treated himself and two marriageable daughters. The Naxians, in indignation, took up arms, προστατούντες αὐτῶν Λυγδάμιδος, ὃς ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς στρατηγίας τύραννος ἀνεφάνη τῆς πατρίδος. According to this view of the Naxian revolution, Lygdamis would appear rather as a successful dynast or general in the way to become such, assisting an ally embarked in a kindred cause; and such a view is in keeping with the way he is mentioned above (§ 61). But doubtless, in after-times, Athenian vanity would be piqued at such a representation of the relation of Pisistratus to Lygdamis, and a new turn (such as that in the text) would be given to the story (see the first note on v. 31). Po-

LYCENUS (i. 23, 2) represents Polycrates as acquiring the dynasty of Samos by the aid of Lygdamis's troops, but nothing of this kind appears from Herodotus's account. With reference to the chronology of the Naxian revolutions, see the first note on v. 30.

<sup>216</sup> τὴν νῆσον Δήλον καθήρας. THUCYDIDES (iii. 104) confirms Herodotus's statement relative to Pisistratus's purgation of a portion of the island. The Athenians repeated the operation much more thoroughly in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war.

<sup>216</sup> Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων. Gaisford and the MSS have Ἀλκμαιωνιδεω, which is referred to Megacles. But the *gentile* name could never be applied, without some previous explanation, to denote an *individual* of the *gens*.

<sup>217</sup> ἐπιτροπεύσαντα Λεωβώτῳ. This passage is quoted by PAUSANIAS (iii.

ἀδελφιδέου μὲν ἑωυτοῦ βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτιηγέων, ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγαγέσθαι ταῦτα. ὥς γὰρ ἐπετρόπευσε τάχιστα, μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα, καὶ ἐφύλαξε ταῦτα μὴ παραβαίνειν μετὰ δὲ, τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας καὶ τριηκάδας καὶ συσσίτια, πρὸς τε τούτοις τοὺς ἐφόρους<sup>218</sup> καὶ γέροντας ἔστησε Λυκοῦργος. Οὕτω 66

2. 3), who identifies Leobotes with the more common form Labotas, the son of Echestratus, king of Sparta. CLINTON (from the difficulties, chronological and genealogical, which result) considers the text corrupted. But in fact Herodotus appears here to be following the same *data* which were followed by ERATOSTHENE and APOLLODORUS (the Alexandrine chronologers) in determining the succession of the Spartan kings; for they made Lycurgus much more ancient than the first Olympiad. Still no doubt these *διαδοχαὶ* were not based on contemporaneous records; for, otherwise, ARISTOTLE would not, as he did (*Plutarch. Vit. Lyc.* § 1), have considered the fact of Lycurgus's name appearing on the *discus* of Iphitus at Elis as conclusive of the date of his life. If the *διαδοχαὶ* had furnished a certain basis for chronology, such a kind of argument would have been quite superfluous. The uncertainty of the whole matter is obvious from the direct testimony of PLUTARCH in the opening sentence of the *Life*: *περὶ Λυκοῦργου, τοῦ νομοθέτου καθόλου μὲν οὐδὲν ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ἀναμφισβήτητον, οὗ γε καὶ γένος καὶ ἀποδημία καὶ τελευτὴ καὶ πρὸς ἅπασιν ἢ περὶ τοῦ νόμου αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν πραγματεία διαφόρους ἔσχεν ἱστορίας. ἥκιστα δὲ οἱ χρόνοι, καθ' οὓς γέγονεν ὁ ἀνὴρ, ὁμολογοῦνται.* Under these circumstances it ought not to surprise that ARISTOTLE should make Charillus the king to whom Lycurgus was guardian (*Polit.* ii. p. 1271, line 25), in which he seems to agree with the native *Cretan* traditions (ERPHOUS *ap. Strabon.* x. p. 382), while here *Leobotes* should be represented as his ward and nephew; or, again, that in some of the lists of Spartan kings *Leobotes* should appear as an *Eurytheneid*, and Lycurgus as a *Procleid*. Before the reigns of Leon and Hegesicles, just mentioned by Herodotus, the history of Sparta is in the highest degree uncertain, and it is not until the reign of Leonidas (*i. e.* just before the battle of Marathon) that the chronology becomes perfectly definite. Even Eratosthenes and

Apollodorus, although they both adopted the same basis (*i. e.* the *διαδοχαὶ*) varied in the date they assigned to Lycurgus by no less than sixty years, the former placing it as high as B.C. 884 (see CLINTON, *F. H.* vol. ii. *Appendix*, p. 409). The only points relative to the date of Lycurgus, which seem made out beyond all question, are the following: (1). That Lycurgus, and Iphitus, the restorer of the Olympian festival, were contemporaneous. This was asserted by ARISTOTLE (*ap. Plutarch.* l. c.), and was also the universal belief of antiquity (ATHENÆUS, xiv. p. 635). (2) That the institutions with which Lycurgus's name was popularly identified had existed in Lacedæmon for a little more than four centuries at the end of the Peloponnesian war (THUCYDIDES, i. 18). (3) That, in the belief of the Eleans, the restoration of the Olympian festival by Iphitus was followed by a regular registration of the victors, of which the first was *Coræbus*, B.C. 776 (PAUSANIAS, v. 7. 5, *seqq.*). But, as the Lacedæmonian *διαδοχαὶ* made Lycurgus much older, TIMÆUS the Locrian endeavoured to reconcile the varying accounts by supposing *two* Lycurguses (*Plutarch. Lycurg.* § 1) just as Clinton endeavours to achieve the same result by the machinery of *two* Iphituses. It is worth remarking, that Aristotle nowhere expresses the relationship of Lycurgus to his ward Charilaus, neither does Simonides. Aristotle, indeed, in one passage (*Polit.* iv. p. 1296), calls Lycurgus, like Solon and Charondas, a man *τῶν μέσων πολιτῶν*, although he qualifies this strange phrase by adding (if the words be not an interpolation) *οὗ γὰρ ἦν βασιλεὺς.*

<sup>218</sup> *πρὸς τε τούτοις τοὺς ἐφόρους.* ARISTOTLE (*Polit.* v. p. 1313, line 27) makes the Ephorality to have been an institution, not of Lycurgus, but of Theopompus (of whom Herodotus makes mention, viii. 131, as the grandson of Charillus, and, consequently, two generations at least later than Lycurgus). He relates that the king, having been reproached by his wife with leaving the kingly office to his children in an inferior condition to

He is reputed a hero after his death.

Lacedæmonian designs on Arcadia.

Their defeat at Tegea, and captivity.

μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν. τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἱρὸν εἰσάμενοι, σέβονται μεγάλως. οἶα δὲ ἐν τε χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ, καὶ πληθεὶ οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθνήθησαν· καὶ δὴ σφι οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρο-  
νῆσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι, ἐχρηστηρίαζοντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χώρῃ<sup>219</sup>. ἡ δὲ Πυθίῃ σφι χρᾶ τάδε

Ἀρκαδίην μ' αἰτεῖς; μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς· οὐ τοι δάσω.  
πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ βαλανηφόγοι ἄνδρες ἔασι,  
οἱ σ' ἀποκαλέσουσιν. ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὐ τι μεγάλα  
δάσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι,  
καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.

Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀρκάδων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέιχοντο· οἱ δὲ, πέδας φερόμενοι, ἐπὶ Τεγεῖτας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησμῷ κιβδηλῶ πίσυνοι ὡς δὴ ἐξανδραποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγεῖτας· ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐζωγρήθησαν<sup>220</sup>, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐτοὶ καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγεγτέων, ἐργάζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαί αὐται, ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέεατο, ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σῶαι ἐν Τεγέῃ περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης<sup>221</sup> κρεμάμεναι.

that in which he received it, replied, οὐ δῆτα· παραδίδωμι γὰρ πολυχρονιωτέραν.

<sup>219</sup> ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χώρῃ. Herodotus here seems to represent the Arcadian wars as growing out of the elation of the Spartans at their prosperity under Lycurgus's institutions. ARISTOTLE, on the other hand, distinctly represents the wars with the Argives, and afterwards with the Arcadians and Messenians as having produced such an effect on the Lacedæmonians as to render the legislation of Lycurgus more easy: ἔξω γὰρ τῆς οἰκίας διὰ τὰς στρατείας ἀπεξενούντο πολλὸν χρόνον, πολεμούντες τὸν τε πρὸς Ἀργείους πόλεμον καὶ πάλιν τὸν πρὸς Ἀρκάδας καὶ Μεσσηνίους· σχολάσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς μὲν παρέιχον τῷ νομοθέτῃ προφθορεῖν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν στρατιωτικὸν βίον (πολλὰ γὰρ ἔχει μέρη τῆς ἀρετῆς)· τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας φασὶ μὲν ἔχειν ἐπιχειρήσαι τὸν Λυκούργον ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους, ὥς δ' ἀντέκρουον, ἀποστῆναι πάλιν (Polit. ii. p. 1270, line 1). Herodotus scarcely mentions the early Messenian wars at all (see note on iii. 47), neither does he any with either Argos or Arcadia antecedent to the Lyncæan legislation.

<sup>220</sup> ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐζωγρήθησαν. PAUSANIAS (x. 9. 5) describes a large group of statues set up at Delphi by the Tegeæ in commemoration of this event. He ascribes them to four artists, who are placed by SILLIG (*Catalogus Artificum*, v. v. *Pausanias, Dædalus of Sicyon, Antiphanes, and Samotus*) quite at the end of the fifth century B.C. It is not likely, therefore, that the monument existed at Delphi at the time of Herodotus's visit there; and his account of the war appears on other accounts to be taken from a Tegeæ tradition. Perhaps this monument, and also the Argive one (on which see note on i. 82), was set up during the hollow truce between Athens and Sparta (B.C. 421—417) at a time when the diplomatic arts of Alcibiades were employed in the attempt to organize Arcadia and Argos against Lacedæmon. See note on viii. 27, οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες.

<sup>221</sup> Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης. The goddess Athene was worshipped under this name at Mantinea and at Alea (hard by Stymphalus) as well as at Tegea. The temple at this last place was an ancient sanctuary for the whole of Peloponnesus. Two La-

Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον συνεχῶς αἰεὶ κακῶς ἀέθλεον 67  
 πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεῖτας, κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν  
 Ἀναξανδριδεὴν τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιληΐην<sup>221</sup> ἐν Λακεδαίμονι,  
 ἤδη οἱ Σπαρτιῆται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγεγονέσαν, τρόπῳ  
 τοιῷδε γενόμενοι· ἐπεὶ αἰεὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐσσοῦντο ὑπὸ Τεγεγέτων,  
 πέμψαντες θεοπρόπους<sup>222</sup> ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτεον, τίνα ἂν θεῶν  
 ἰλασάμενοι κατίπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεγέτων γενολάτο; ἡ δὲ Πυθίη  
 σφί ἔχρησε, τὰ Ὁρέστω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὅστέα<sup>224</sup> ἐπαγαγομέ-  
 νους· ὥς δὲ ἀνευρεῖν οὐκ οἶοι τε ἐγινέατο τὴν θήκην τοῦ Ὁρέστω,  
 ἔπεμπον αὐτὶς τὴν<sup>225</sup> ἐς θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ  
 κέοιτο ὁ Ὁρέστης· εἰρωτῶσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι λέγει ἡ  
 Πυθίη τάδε·

The Py-  
thian oracle  
commands  
them to  
bring home  
the bones  
of Orestes,

Ἔστι τις Ἀρκάδις Τεγὴ λευρὴ ἐνὶ χάρῃ,  
 ἐνθ' ἄνεμοι πνέουσι δύο κρατερῆς ὅτ' ἀνάγκης,  
 καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ' ἐπὶ πῆματι κεῖται.  
 ἐνθ' Ἀγαμέμνονιδην κατέχει φυσίχους ἀλᾶ  
 τὸν σὺ κομισσάμενος, Τεγῆς ἐπιτάβροθος ἔσση<sup>226</sup>.

cedæmonian kings, Leotychnes and Pausanias, found refuge there; and so also did Chryseis, the Argive priestess, when the Heraeum was burnt down owing to her falling asleep (PAUSANIAS, iii. 5. 6). In Laconia she was worshipped at Therapne. As a divinity she was undoubtedly of the time antecedent to the Heraclide invasion. The image of the Tegean Athene which Pausanias found there (viii. 47. 1) had been brought from Manthya, a village in Arcadia, where it had the surname not of *Alea*, but of *Hippia*. But the Athene Hippia (worshipped at Colonos and Acharnæ in Attica, and at Elis) is, from the combination in which she is found with Poseidon, the Dioscuri, and Pan, obviously Achæan. See note on v. 72, *ἥτις ἐς τὸ εἶναι τῆς θεοῦ*, and the next to it.

<sup>221</sup> Ἀναξανδριδεὴν τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιληΐην. Anaxandrides was the son of Leon. He was dead at the time Aristagoras arrived in Sparta to solicit the aid of the Lacedæmonians against Persia (v. 39). By the comparison of this passage with § 65, it appears that Herodotus places the unsuccessful expedition against Tegea in the reign of Leon. Ariston was the father of Demaratus, respecting whose birth Herodotus tells the strange story (vi. 61, *seqq.*).

<sup>222</sup> θεοπρόπους. See note 147, above.

<sup>224</sup> τὰ Ὁρέστω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὅστέα. A Spartan local legend made Orestes king of Lacedæmon in addition to his paternal dominions, and he was said to have brought from the Tauri the wooden image (*ἔδανον*) of Artemis Orthia, in the Limnæum of Sparta, in honour of whom, before the time of Lycurgus, human victims were sacrificed, and subsequently youths were scourged, in accordance with the command of an oracle "to shed human blood on her altar" (PAUSANIAS, iii. 16. 7). But the *Arcadias* traditions made Orestes emigrate from Mycenæ, not to Sparta, but to Arcadia (PAUSANIAS, viii. 5. 4). From the circumstance of Herodotus bringing his bones thence, and from that of his mentioning the fetters hanging up in the temple of Athene Alea, it seems that in this insulated story he is following a local Tegean tradition.

<sup>225</sup> τὴν, i. e. *θεοπρίαν*.

<sup>226</sup> Τεγῆς ἐπιτάβροθος ἔσση. This expression occasions a good deal of difficulty, as *ἐπιτάβροθος* (or its equivalent *ἐπιβροθος*) signifies "a helper" or "defender," especially in the case of a deity who assists in war, whereas here the sense of a victor over the city seems required. But there is no authority for the word possessing such a sense; and perhaps the passage may be explained without resorting to it. The meaning of the oracle seems to be,

H

68  
which are  
discovered  
by Lichas  
at Tegea,  
and by him  
fraudul-  
ently car-  
ried off;

ὥς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀπείχον τῆς ἐξευρέσιος οὐδὲν ἔλασσαν, πάντα διζήμενοι· ἐς οὐ δὴ Λίχης, τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν καλεομένων Σπαρτιηγέων, ἀνεύρε. (οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοεργοὶ εἰσὶ τῶν ἀστῶν, ἐξιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων αἰεὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, πέντε ἔτεος ἐκάστου τοὺς δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἂν ἐξίωσι ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων, Σπαρτιηγέων τῷ κοινῷ διαπεμπομένους μὴ ἐλανύειν<sup>227</sup> ἄλλους ἄλλη). Τοῦτων ὦν τῶν ἀνδρῶν Λίχης ἀνεύρε ἐν Τεγῇ καὶ συντυχίῃ χρησάμενος καὶ σοφίῃ· εἰσῆς γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιμυξίης πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, ἐλθὼν ἐς χαλκῆιον<sup>228</sup> ἐθηεῖτο σιδήρον ἐξελαυνόμενον, καὶ ἐν θάμνατι ἦν ὁρέων τὸ ποιούμενον· μαθὼν δὲ μιν ὁ χαλκεὺς ἀποθωμάζοντα, εἶπε παυσάμενος τοῦ ἔργου· “ἦ κου ἂν, ὦ ξεῖνε Λάκων, εἰ περ εἶδες τό περ ἐγὼ, κάρτα ἂν ἐθώμαζες ὅκου νῦν οὕτω τυγχάνεις θάυμα ποιούμενος τὴν ἐργασίην τοῦ σιδήρου· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῇδε θέλων τῇ αὐλῇ φρέαρ ποιήσασθαι, ὁρύσσω ἐπέτυχον σορῶ ἑπταπῆχεϊ· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπιστίας μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι μηδαμὰ μέζοντας ἀνθρώπους τῶν νῦν, ἀνῶξα αὐτήν, καὶ εἶδον τὸν νεκρὸν μήκει ἴσον ἔοντα τῇ σορῶ μετρήσας δὲ συνέχωσα ὀπίσω.” ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἔλεγε τά περ ὁπάπτε· ὁ δὲ ἐνκώσας τὰ λεγόμενα, συνεβάλλετο τὸν Ὀρέστεα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τοῦτον εἶναι, τῇδε συμβαλλέμενος· τοῦ χαλκεὸς δύο ὁρέων φύσας, τοὺς ἀνέμους εὗρισκε ἔοντας· τὸν δὲ ἄκμονα καὶ τὴν σφύραν, τὸν τε τύπον καὶ τὸν ἀντίτυπον τὸν δὲ ἐξελαυνόμενον σιδήρον, τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ πῆματι κείμενον κατὰ τοιούδε τι εἰκάζων, ὥς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σιδήρος ἀνεύρηται. συμβαλλόμενος δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Σπάρτην ἔφραζε Λακεδαιμονίοισι πᾶν τὸ πρῆγμα· οἱ δὲ ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ ἐπενεῖκαντες<sup>229</sup> οἱ αἰτήν, ἐδίωξαν· ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Τεγῆν καὶ φράζων τὴν

that the possession of the bones of Orestes would put the Lacedæmonians in the position of θεοὶ ἐπιτάγροθοι as regarded Tegea; i. e. they would have it in their hands to let it stand or destroy it. It is a curious circumstance, that the “cineres Orestis” were one of the seven sacred fetishes, which were considered as securing the *imperium Romanum* (SEAVIUS *ad Virg. Æn.* vii. 188). This, if there were nothing else, would be an indication that one of the elements of the population of early Rome was ethnically identical with

the race which in the time of Herodotus remained in Arcadia.

<sup>227</sup> μὴ ἐλανύειν. These words, which are equivalent to σπένδειν, perhaps are a portion of the formula of instructions to the Agathoergi.

<sup>228</sup> χαλκῆιον, “a smithy.” The etymology of the name shows the truth of what LUCÆTIUS (v. 1292) says:

“Nam prior aris erat quam ferri cognitus usus.”

<sup>229</sup> ἐπενεῖκαντες. See note on iv. 154, ἐπενεῖκασα.

ἔωυτοῦ συμφορὴν πρὸς τὸν χαλκία, ἐμισθοῦτο παρ' οὐκ ἐκδιδόν-  
τος <sup>220</sup> τὴν αὐλήν χρόνῳ δὲ ὡς ἀνέγνωσε, ἐνοικίσθη ἀνορούξας δὲ  
τὸν τάφον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα συλλέξας, οἷχετο φέρων ἐς Σπάρτην καὶ  
ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου <sup>221</sup>, ὅπως περφόατο ἀλλήλων, πολλῶ κατ-  
υπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἤδη δὲ σφι καὶ  
ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμμένη <sup>222</sup>.

after which  
they get the  
better of the  
Tegeans.

Ταῦτα δὴ ὦν πάντα πυνθανόμενος ὁ Κροῖσος ἔπεμπε ἐς Σπάρ- 69  
την ἀγγέλους δῶρά τε φέροντας <sup>223</sup> καὶ δεησομένους συμμαχίης,  
ἐντειλάμενός τε τὰ λέγειν χρῆν. οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον “ἔπεμψε  
ἡμέας Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεὺς, λέγων  
τάδε· ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χρῆσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ἕλληνα <sup>224</sup> φίλον  
προσθέσθαι, ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος,  
ὑμέας ὦν κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον προσκαλέομαι, φίλος τε θέλων  
γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης.” Κροῖσος μὲν  
δὴ ταῦτα δι' ἀγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἑσθλὰς  
καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τὸ Κροίσῳ γενόμενον, ἥσθησάν τε τῇ  
ἀφίξει τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἐποίησαντο ὅρκια ξεινίης πέρι καὶ ξυμμα-  
χίης· καὶ γὰρ τινες αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίαι εἶχον ἐκ Κροίσου πρότερον  
ἔτι γεγονυῖαι· πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς Σάρδις,  
χρυσὸν ὠνέοντο, ἐς ἄγαλμα <sup>225</sup> βουλόμενοι χρήσασθαι τοῦτο τὸ

A treaty is  
entered into  
between  
Cresus and  
the Lacedæ-  
monians.

He had former-  
ly pre-  
sented them  
with some  
gold for a  
statue,

<sup>220</sup> παρ' οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος, “from him refusing to sell it outright.”

<sup>221</sup> ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου. The dedication of a fane to Orestes would not be without political significance. He was a hero belonging to the Tyndaride mythology; in other words, he was an object of reverence to the Achæan or ante-Dorian population of Laconia. These were, in a great measure, of the same blood as the Arcadians, and possibly the previous want of success arose from their indifference to the cause. But, soon after the event mentioned in the text, it is certain that the Achæan element in the Lacedæmonian population acquired considerable importance. (See notes on v. 72, and v. 75.) It is far from unlikely that the dedication in question was the formal inauguration of some changes in the constitution by which this portion of the community was elevated,—perhaps some modification of the royal marriage-laws. (See the third note on v. 41.)

<sup>222</sup> κατεστραμμένη. The historical no-

tices of the Lacedæmonians are resumed in v. 39.

<sup>223</sup> δῶρά τε φέροντας. The manuscripts S and V connect these words with § 56. See the note 178, above.

<sup>224</sup> τὸν Ἕλληνα, “the Greek.” Possibly this was the exact phrase of the oracle, of which the expression τοὺς Ἕλληνας δυνατωτάτους (§ 53) may be a paraphrastic explanation.

<sup>225</sup> ἐς ἄγαλμα βουλόμενοι χρήσασθαι. It does not follow from these words, as some have supposed, that the Lacedæmonians wished to form the gold into an image. THEOPOMPUS (ap. ALEX. vi. p. 231) says that they wanted it “to gild the face (χρυσᾶσαι τὸ πρόσωπον) of the image of Apollo at Amyclæ.” The oldest images of the gods in the Hellenic temples were of wood, and, when the taste for art sprang up, it was opposed by an unwillingness to substitute new forms of a nobler material for the old idols, to which a peculiar sanctity was attributed. A union of the two principles was attempted

70

and they  
now send  
him a bowl,  
which finds  
its way to  
the Heræum  
at Samos.

νῦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνακι <sup>225</sup> ἴδρυνται Ἀπόλλωνος Κροῖσος δὲ σφι ὠνεομένοισι ἔδωκε δωτίνην. Τούτων τε ὧν εἵνεκεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν συμμαχίην ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ πάντων σφέας προκρίνας Ἑλλήνων αἰρέετο φίλους. καὶ, τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐτόιμοι <sup>227</sup> ἐπαγγεῖλαντι τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάμενοι κρητῆρα χάλκεον, ζωδίων τε ἐξωθεν πλήσαντες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος <sup>228</sup>, καὶ μεγάλῃ τριηκοσίους ἀμφορέας χωρέοντα ἦγον, δῶρον βουλόμενοι ἀντιδοῦναι

by draping the ancient figure, and affixing head, hands, and feet of marble (what PAUSANIAS calls ἀκρόλιστοι). A very archaic specimen of this kind is the statue of Apollo at Phigalia, described by STACKELBERG (*Der Apollo Tempel zu Basse*, p. 98). Another method was to cover a portion, or the whole of the original figure, with a crust of gold or ivory. These are what the chorus in EURIPIDES (*Troades*, 1074) allude to when they speak of χρυσίων ζώδων τύποι. It must be remembered that, when Theopompus speaks of gilding the face of the Apollo statue, he does not mean the application of gold-leaf, but of a solid mask, beaten by the hammer into shape. Neither must this practice be confounded in its origin with one which grew up under the Roman emperors, of making moveable head-dresses for the portrait-statues, in order that they might, like their originals, follow the fashion of the day. The gold and ivory were in the early times intended to be fixtures, and Phidias was the first (in the case of the Athene Parthenos, a new statue) who contrived that they should be moveable. The ancient idol was preserved under the influence of the same feeling which induced the more lax Christians of Germany to allow the images of the pagan idols to remain in the *masonry* of their church-walls. (See GRIMM, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 691.) St. Gallus found three such in an oratory of St. Aurelia at Bregenz, and broke them up and threw them into the lake of Constance. The people said of them, "Isti sunt dii veteres et antiqui hujus loci tutores, quorum solatio et nos et nostra perdurant usque in præsens."

<sup>226</sup> ἐν Θόρνακι. The image of Apollo here was of the same kind with that at Amyclæ, which latter was more highly venerated by the Lacedæmonians; and PAUSANIAS states, that the gold which Croesus sent for the former statue was

appropriated by the Lacedæmonians to the decoration of the latter (iii. 10. 8). This one he describes as being extremely archaic and rude, and except for the countenance, the hands, and the extremities of the feet, resembling a column of brass. (See the account of the Paphian Aphrodite in the note on i. 105.) He adds, *ἐχει δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνος, λόγχην δὲ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τόξον*. It was apparently about thirty cubits in height. If it was any thing like this, a considerable amount of gold must have been requisite for the face, and the conjecture of Quatremère de Quincy, that it was used for ornamenting the throne on which the idol was placed (which was more recent, and of a highly elaborate character), becomes perfectly gratuitous.

<sup>227</sup> ἦσαν ἐτόιμοι ἐπαγγεῖλαντι. "Closed with his proposition." *ἐτόιμος εἶναι* implies, not merely the existence of an inclination to do a thing, but the expression of it in words. Thus Gyges (i. 10): *ὡς οὐκ ἔδυνάτο διαφυγέειν ἦν ἐτόιμος*, "consented." SOPHOCLES, *Antig.* 264, seqq.:

ἦμεν δὲ ἔτοιμοι καὶ μύδρους ἀρεῶν  
χεροῖν  
καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν, καὶ θεοὺς ὀρακμοτεῖν  
τὸ μῆτε δρᾶσαι μῆτε τῷ ξυνειδέειναι.

"we offered to take hot iron in our hands." This idiom seems to have arisen from *ἐτοιμός εἰμι*, being a colloquial phrase to denote consent.

<sup>228</sup> ζωδίων τε ἐξωθεν πλήσαντες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος, "having filled up the circle of the rim with figures outside." The word *ζώδιον* in the description of plastic or architectural works means figures of any kind. The *Zophorus* is the frieze of a building,—the member of the entablature which carries the decorations. The word *ζῶα* is used for the figures on the Eastern printed stuffs in i. 203, and for the hieroglyphics on the Egyptian temples, ii. 4. 148.

**Κροίσφ.** οὗτος ὁ κρητῆρ οὐκ ἀπύκετο ἐς Σάρδεις, δι' αἰτίας διφασίας λεγομένης τάσδε· οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, ὡς ἐπεὶ τε ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ὁ κρητῆρ ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὴν Σαμίην, πυθόμενοι Σάμιοι ἀπελοάτο αὐτὸν νηυσὶ μακρῇσι ἐπιπλώσαντες. αὐτοὶ δὲ Σάμιοι λέγουσι, ὡς ἐπεὶ τε ὑστέρησαν οἱ ἄγοντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸν κρητῆρα, ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ Σάρδεις τε καὶ Κροίσον ἠλωκέναι, ἀπέδοντο τὸν κρητῆρα ἐν Σάμφ' ἰδιώτας δὲ ἄνδρας πριαμένους ἀναβείναι μιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον. τάχα δὲ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς ἀπαιρεθελήσαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων. κατὰ μὲν νυν τὸν κρητῆρα οὕτως ἔσχε.

**Κροίσος** δὲ ἀμαρτὰν τοῦ χρησμοῦ, ἐποιέετο στρατηγὴν ἐς 71  
**Καππαδοκίην**, ἐλπίσας καταρῆσειν Κῦρόν τε καὶ τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν.

**Παρασκευαζομένου δὲ Κροίσου στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, τῶν** Cresus, preparing to attack the Persians, is dissuaded by Sandanis, a Lydian.  
**τις Λυδῶν, νομιζόμενος καὶ πρόσθεν εἶναι σοφὸς ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ κάρτα οὖνομα ἐν Λυδοῖσι ἔχων, συνεβούλευσε Κροίσφ τάδε·** (οὖνομά οἱ ἦν Σάνδανις) “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπ’ ἄνδρας τοιοῦτους στρατεύεσθαι παρασκευάζει οἱ σκυτῖνας μὲν ἀναξυρίδας<sup>339</sup>, σκυτῖνῃν δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἐσθῆτα φορέουσιν· σιτεύονται δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐθέλουσι ἀλλ’ ὅσα ἔχουσι, χώρην ἔχοντες τρηχέην<sup>340</sup>. πρὸς δέ, οὐκ οἶνφ διαχρέονται ἀλλὰ ὑδροποτεύουσιν· οὐ σῦκα δὲ ἔχουσι τρώγειν, οὐκ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ, εἰ νικήσεις, τί σφεας ἀπαιρήσεται τοῖσί γε μὴ ἐστι μηδέν; τοῦτο δέ, ἦν νικηθῆς, μάθε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἀποβαλέεις· γευσάμενοι γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν περιέξονται, οὐδὲ ἀπωστοὶ ἔσονται. ἐγὼ μὲν νυν θεοῖσι ἔχω χάριν, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον ποίεουσιν Πέρσησι<sup>341</sup> στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ

<sup>339</sup> ἀναξυρίδας. The general use by the Asiatic mountaineers of this article of dress seems to have particularly struck both Greeks and Romans. Thus Aristagoras is made to describe them to the Lacedæmonians (v. 49) that ἀναξυρίδας ἔχοντες ἐρχονται ἐς τὰς μάχας καὶ κυρ-  
**βασίας ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι**, and PERSIUS, speaking of the ποικίλη στοὰ at Athens, which was painted with a representation of the battle of Marathon, calls it “*braccatis illita Medis Porticus*” (iii. 53).

<sup>340</sup> χώρην ἔχοντες τρηχέην. This is only a true description of a portion even

of Persia Proper. And, after the transfer of the resources of the Medes to the Persians, it was impossible to continue using the argument of Sandanis. Neither does Persia Proper lie outside the region of Asia where the vine is cultivated. This insulated narrative therefore seems rather to belong to the same class of stories as those on which XENOPHON based his *Cyropædia*. Of the same kind is the anecdote related ix. 121.

<sup>341</sup> ἐγὼ μὲν νυν θεοῖσι ἔχω χάριν, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον ποίεουσιν Πέρσησι. The same expression occurs in another dialogue with Croesus, above, § 27, at γὰρ τοῦτο θεοὶ



Λυδούς." ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Κροῖσον. Πέρσῃσι γάρ, πρὶν Λυδοὺς καταστρέψασθαι, ἦν οὔτε ἄβρὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν.

72

Cappadocians (by the Greeks called Syrians) on the east bank of the Halys, which divides the Lydian from the Median empire.

Οἱ δὲ Καππαδόκαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σύριοι<sup>242</sup> ὀνομάζονται· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Σύριοι οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἢ Πέρσας ἄρξαι Μήδων κατήκοοι, τότε δὲ Κύρου ὁ γὰρ οὗρος ἦν τῆς τε Μηδικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς Λυδικῆς ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμός· δς ῥέει ἐξ Ἀρμενίου οὐρέος διὰ Κιλικίων<sup>243</sup>, μετὰ δὲ Ματινηοῦς<sup>244</sup> μὲν ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχει ῥέων ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου Φρύγας· παραμειβόμενος δὲ τούτους καὶ ῥέων ἄνω πρὸς βορρῇ ἄνεμον, ἔνθεν μὲν Συρίους<sup>245</sup> Καππαδόκας ἀπέργει, ἐξ εὐωνύμου δὲ Παφλαγόνας. οὕτω ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμός ἀποτάμναι σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀντίου

ποίησειαν ἐπὶ νόον νησιώτησι, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Λυδῶν παῖδας σὺν ἱστικοῖσι. Compare iii. 21, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον τρέπουσι Λιθίωνων παῖσι, &c.

<sup>242</sup> Σύριοι. The MSS here all have this form, but in i. 6 and vii. 72 are equally unanimous in giving the form Σύροι. Below, they vary between the two (note 245).

<sup>243</sup> δς ῥέει ἐξ Ἀρμενίου οὐρέος διὰ Κιλικίων. It is impossible to reconcile the aggregate notices by Herodotus of the course of the river Halys with geographical facts, and not easy to understand the origin of his errors, except by supposing that he not only confuses two rivers, but confounds two ranges of mountains. The Halys really rises in the ridge called Anti-Taurus, and, after flowing a considerable distance in a w. s. w. direction, takes a turn to the north-west, to about 40° N. lat. Thence it runs towards the N.E., falling into the Black Sea something east of Sinope. But between the ridge where it takes its rise, and the range of Taurus which runs along the south coast of Asia Minor, is an extensive plain entirely surrounded by mountains, the waters from which have no outlet, but terminate in inland lakes of large size, some of them extremely salt. Through this tract (Lycaonia or Tyanitis) the great military road of the Persians ran, two points of which were *Critalla* (supposed to be *Ercle*, lat. 37° 30', long. 31° 20') and *Celanea*, where the Meander rose; and between these two places Herodotus makes the road pass the Halys, at a place where there was a strong fort and a barrier (v. 52; vii. 26). It is impossible to suppose that *here* one of the rivers of the central plain is not meant;

and, if we take it to be a stream terminating in the lake near *Ercle*, perhaps we have a clue to the error of Herodotus. He apparently supposed the river crossed to be the real Halys, and he knew that river to be the boundary of the two empires. The *Ercle* river, on which is *Bor* (πόρος?), does really flow from that chain of mountains which belong to Armenia, and also διὰ Κιλικίων, for anciently the Cilicians inhabited both sides of Taurus. (See LEAKE, *Asia Minor*, pp. 62–64.) It is indeed too small to be itself mistaken for the real Halys, but it seems not unlikely that the word *Halys* contains the same root as the Hellenic ἅλς, and signified (like the African *Bahr*) either a river or any other large quantity of water. Thus PLINY places *Archelaïs* upon a *Halys* (vi. 3); and it seems quite certain that the true emplacement of this site is the modern *Ak-Serai* (lat. 38° 20'), which is upon a stream called the Bayán Sú, flowing from the south into the great salt lake of Lycaonia. FIRUZABADI, too, the author of the Arabic Lexicon Kámus, gives *Alis* as the name of a river in Cilicia, one day's journey from the city Tarsus. The word *Al* also is said to mean in Persian the *mirage*, or the appearance resembling water often seen in the desert. It, therefore, appears far from improbable that the authorities followed by Herodotus mistook an appellative for a proper name. See note 256, below, and on ii. 111, φερῶν.

<sup>244</sup> Ματινηοῦς. See note on § 202, ἐκ Ματινηῶν ὄθεν περ ὁ Γύνδης.

<sup>245</sup> Συρίους. The MSS vary between this form and Σύρους. See note 242.

Κύπρου ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνιον πόντον. ἔστι δὲ αὐχὴν οὗτος<sup>246</sup> τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπάσης· μήκος ὁδοῦ<sup>247</sup> εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ πέντε ἡμέραι ἀναισιμούνται.

Ἔστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίην τῶνδε εἵνεκα· καὶ γῆς<sup>248</sup> ἡμέρῳ, προσκτῆσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐώντου μοῖραν βουλόμενος, (καὶ μάλιστα, τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πῖσυνος ἐών,) καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυάγεος Κῦρον. Ἀστυάγεα γὰρ τὸν Κναξάρω, ἔοντα Κροίσου μὲν γαμβρὸν<sup>249</sup> Μήδων δὲ βασιλέα, Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσειω καταστρεφάμενος εἶχε, γενόμενον γαμβρὸν Κροίσῳ ὧδε. Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων εἴλη ἀνδρῶν<sup>250</sup> στασιάσασα, ὑπεξῆλθε ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Μήδων Κναξάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηϊόκεω ὃς τοὺς Σκύθας τούτους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περιεῖπε εὖ, ὡς ἔοντας ἰκέτας ὥστε δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος αὐτοὺς, παῖδάς σφι παρέδωκε τὴν γλῶσσάν τε ἐκμαθέειν καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων<sup>251</sup>. χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ αἰεὶ φοιτούντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπ' ἄγρην καὶ αἰεὶ τι φερόντων, καὶ κοτε συνήνευκε ἐλεῖν σφεας μηδὲν νοστήσαντας δὲ αὐτοὺς κεινῇσι χερσὶ ὁ Κναξάρης, (τὴν γὰρ, ὡς διέδεξε, ὀργὴν ἄκρος,) τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε ἀεικελίῃ· οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Κναξάρω παθόντες, ὥστε ἀνάξια σφέων αὐτῶν πεπονθότες ἐβούλευσαν<sup>252</sup> τῶν παρὰ

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Astyages, the son-in-law (?) of Croesus.

How the alliance was formed.

An outrage of some Scythians on Cyaxares

<sup>246</sup> ἔστι δὲ αὐχὴν οὗτος. The isthmus meant may, I conceive, be the distance from the river Halys, or what Herodotus took to be such, to the sea-coast; which might be about five days' journey from the passage of the Erclé river, if that was near Bor (see note 243), a site in the immediate neighbourhood of the ancient Tyana. For Tyana was considered as half-way between Mazaca and the Cilician gates, and from Mazaca to Tyana was about ninety-four miles (LEAKE, l. c.). If from the passage to the coast was near the same distance, the calculation would be fairly correct. It should be remembered that, if Herodotus's authority for this distance was an ordinary mercantile traveller, he would reckon, not to the nearest point of the coast, as the crow flies, but to the nearest port. See also the next note.

<sup>247</sup> μήκος ὁδοῦ. Herodotus reckons the day's journey at 200 stades in one estimate of distances (iv. 101), at 150 in another estimate (v. 53).

<sup>248</sup> γῆς. The manuscripts S and V

have γῆν ἐπιθυμῶν ἡμερον προσκτῆσασθαι, and then proceed with ἡμέρῳ, &c.

<sup>249</sup> Κροίσου μὲν γαμβρὸν. The narrative that follows makes Astyages not the son-in-law, but brother-in-law of Croesus, as he marries Aryenis, the daughter of Halyattes. Hence, if the story left out in S and V be regarded as drawn from the same historical source as what precedes, the word γαμβρὸς must be used in the general sense of a "connexion by marriage."

<sup>250</sup> εἴλη ἀνδρῶν. The manuscripts S and V leave out these words and all that follows until § 75, ὥς δὲ ἀπῆκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄλυν. See note 136, above.

<sup>251</sup> τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. This characteristic of the Scythian race is indicated in the legendary account of their origin from Heracles, which Herodotus gives (iv. 9), and also in the present which they send to Darius (iv. 131, 132).

<sup>252</sup> ἐβούλευσαν. Some MSS have the medial form ἐβουλεύσαντο, which is defended by ἐβουλεύετο (viii. 101) and τὸ

σφίσι διδασκομένων παιδων ἕνα κατακόψαι σκευάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἐώθησαν καὶ τὰ θηρία σκευάζειν, Κνωξάρει δούναι φέροντες ὡς ἄγρην δῆθεν, δόντες δὲ, τὴν ταχίστην κομίζεσθαι παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα τὸν Σαρδυνάττεω ἐς Σάρδις. ταῦτα καὶ δὴ ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ Κνωξάρης καὶ οἱ παρεόντες δαιτυμόνες τῶν κρεῶν τούτων ἐπάσαντο· καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ταῦτα ποιήσαντες Ἀλυάττεω ἰκέται ἐγένοντο. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα (οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐξεδίδου τοὺς

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leads to a war between the Lydians and Medes, which lasted five years, and is ended in the sixth in consequence of a total eclipse of the sun (Sept. 30th, 610 B.C.) foretold by Thales. Peace made

Σκύθας ἐξαίτεοντι Κνωξάρει) πόλεμος τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι<sup>253</sup> καὶ τοῖσι Μῆδοις ἐγεγόνεε ἐπ' ἕτεα πέντε· ἐν τοῖσι πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐνίκησαν, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τοὺς Μῆδους· ἐν δὲ, καὶ νυκτομαχίην τινα ἐποιήσαντο. διαφέρουσι δὲ σφί ἐπὶ ἰσῆς τὸν πόλεμον, τῷ ἕκτῳ ἔτει συμβολῆς γενομένης, συνήνεκε ὥστε τῆς μάχης συνεστεώσης τὴν ἡμέρην ἐξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι<sup>254</sup>. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖσι Ἰωσὶ προηγόρευσε ἔσεσθαι<sup>255</sup>, οὐρον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τούτου, ἐν ᾧ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι ἐπεὶ τε εἶδον νύκτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρης γινομένην, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπαύσαντο,

εἰδὼς βουλεύεσθαι (vii. 10). But the active form, which is supported by the majority of MSS, appears in vi. 52, *Λακεδαιμονίους . . . βουλευσαί βασιλέα τὸν πρεσβύτερον τῶν παίδων ποιήσασθαι*. In iii. 84, the two forms are so used that it seems impossible to draw a distinction between them, except, perhaps, that where the notion of *making* a proposition or *adopting* a proposition predominates the active form is preferable to the medial; and that where mere deliberation, without any reference to distinct propositions made or adopted, is intended to be described, the medial form is more appropriate than the active.

<sup>253</sup> πόλεμος τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι. A brief statement of this fact appears above, § 16. But no details whatever of the war are given, whether it be that Herodotus is there closely following an authority in which these details did not appear (see note 52, above), or whether he advisedly deferred them till he should come to speak more of the Median dynasty.

<sup>254</sup> τὴν ἡμέρην ἐξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. IDLER (*Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. p. 209) says, that since the calculations of Oltman it is absolutely certain that the

solar eclipse here mentioned must have happened on September 30th, in the year 610 B.C. It furnishes, therefore, a fixed point for a chronology of Herodotus' narrative.

<sup>255</sup> Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος . . . ἔσσεια. There is no antecedent improbability in this statement, but at the same time it should not be forgotten how strong the tendency was with the Greeks to attribute to great names a share in every thing remarkable. Thus, in the next section, a great engineering work (or one supposed to be such) is attributed to Thales. And his reputation was not confined to matters of physical science. ERPHORUS (*ap. Strabon.* x. c. 4, p. 380) says that the pæans and other local chants of *Crete* were ascribed to Thales. This tradition probably grew up in a colony from Miletus (of the same name), which existed on the north-east coast of the island. It is curiously illustrative of the plastic nature of popular traditions, that in it Thales' character as a physical philosopher is entirely ignored, and he is represented as a *μελοποιὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ νομοθετικὸς*, and as the contemporary and instructor of Lycurgus the Spartan legislator.

καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἔσπευσαν καὶ ἀμφοτέροι εἰρήνην ἐωντοῖσι γενέσθαι, οἱ δὲ συμβιβάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἦσαν οἶδε Σύννεσις τε ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ Λαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος<sup>256</sup>. οὗτοί σφι καὶ τὸ ὄρκιον οἱ σπεύσαντες γενέσθαι ἦσαν καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγὴν ἐποίησαν Ἀλυάττα γὰρ ἔγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀρύνην Ἀστυάγῃ τῷ Κναξάρῳ παιδί. ἄνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσεις ἰσχυραὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν<sup>257</sup>. ὄρκια δὲ ποίεσθαι ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα τὰ περ τε Ἕλληνας καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ἐπεὰν τοὺς βραχίονας ἐπιτάμωνται ἐς τὴν ὁμοχροίην, τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων<sup>258</sup>.

by the mediation of Syennesis, the Cilician, and Labynetos, the Babylonian, and cemented by the marriage of Astyages with the daughter of Halyattes.

Τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἀστυάγεα Κύρος, ἐόντα ἐωντοῦ μητροπάτορα, καταστρεφόμενος ἔσχε δι' αἰτίην τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπίσω λόγοις σημανέω· τὰ Κροίσος ἐπιμεμφόμενος τῷ Κύρῳ, ἔς τε τὰ χρηστήρια ἔπεμπε εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας<sup>259</sup>, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπικομένου χρησμοῦ κιβδήλου ἐλπίσας πρὸς ἐωντοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐστρατεύετο ἐς τὴν Περσέων μοῖραν. ὥς<sup>260</sup> δὲ ἀπῆκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ὁ Κροίσος, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, κατὰ τὰς ἐούσας γεφύρας<sup>261</sup> διεβίβασε τὸν στρατὸν ὥς δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος Ἑλλήνων, Θαλῆς οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιος διεβίβασε. ἀπορέοντος γὰρ Κροίσου ὅπως οἱ διαβήσεται τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατὸς, (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰς γεφύρας ταύτας,) λέγεται παρῶντα τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ῥέοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥέειν<sup>262</sup>.

Cresus passes the Halys.

Reputed engineering exploit of Thales.

<sup>256</sup> Σύννεσις τε ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ Λαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος. See notes on i. 188; v. 118.

<sup>257</sup> οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν. The idiom is analogous to that of *ambo* (= *soleo*) in Latin. HORACE:—

"Qua pinus ingens albaque populus  
Umbram hospitalem consociare amant  
Ramis." (*Od.* ii. 3. 10.)

See note on i. 109, *θελέσει*.

<sup>258</sup> τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων. TACITUS describes a similar practice as prevailing in Armenia (*Annal.* xii. 47): "Mos est regibus, quoties in societatem coeant, implicare dexteras pollicisque inter se vincire nodoque praestringere: mox ubi sanguis artus extremos suffuderit, levi ictu cruorem eliciunt atque invicem lambunt." Compare the practice of the Scythians (*iv.* 70).

<sup>259</sup> εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας. These

words are governed by the words, *ἐς τὰ χ. ἔπεμπε*, which are equivalent, or nearly so, to *ἐχρησθησάμετο*.

<sup>260</sup> The manuscripts S and V here resume the thread of the narrative which was broken off in § 73. See note 260, above.

<sup>261</sup> κατὰ τὰς ἐούσας γεφύρας. It can scarcely be doubted that Herodotus here is speaking of the same place of transit he describes in v. 52; but this would not have brought Croesus any where near to Sinope. See note 243.

<sup>262</sup> ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς . . . ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥέειν. From this phrase it would appear that, in the mind of the narrators of this story, the river on which the operation was performed could not have been the real Halys, at least at its first passage. Croesus, marching from Sardis to *that* river, would find it *ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥέοντα*, and consequently the effect of the engineering of Thales would be to make it *καὶ ἐξ ἀρι-*

ποιῆσαι δὲ ὧδε ἄνωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀρξάμενον, διώρυχα βαθέην ὀρύσσειν ἄγοντα μηνοειδέα, ὅπως ἂν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰδρύνον κατὰ νότου λάβοι ταύτη κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα ἐκτραπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥέεθρων, καὶ αὐτὶς παραμειβόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐσβάλλοι· ὥστε, ἐπεὶ τε καὶ ἐσχίσθη τάχιστα ὁ ποταμὸς, ἀμφοτέρῃ διαβατὸς ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ παράπαν λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηραυθῆναι· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσέλει· κῶς γὰρ ὅπισω πορευόμενοι διέβησαν αὐτόν;

76 Κροῖσος δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε διαβὰς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀπῖκετο τῆς Καπαδοκίης ἐς τὴν Πτερίην καλεομένην<sup>263</sup>. (ἡ δὲ Πτερίη ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης τὸ ἰσχυρότατον, κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν τὴν ἐν Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ μάλιστα κη κειμένη) ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύετο, φθείρων τῶν Συρίων τοὺς κλήρους. καὶ εἰλε μὲν τῶν Πτερίων τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἡνδραποδίσατο· εἰλε δὲ τὰς περιοικίδας αὐτῆς πάσας· Συρίους<sup>264</sup> τε οὐδὲν ἔοντας αἰτίους ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε<sup>265</sup>. Κῦρος δὲ ἀγείρας τὸν ἐνωτοῦ στρατὸν καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς μεταξὺ οἰκούντας πάντας, ἡντιούτο Κροίσῳ πρὶν δὲ ἐξελαυνεῖν ὀρμῆσαι τὸν στρατὸν, πέμψας κήρυκας ἐς τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐπειράτο σφεας ἀπὸ Κροίσου ἀπιστάμεναι· Ἴωνες μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐπειθόντο<sup>266</sup>. Κῦρος δὲ ὡς ἀπῖκετο καὶ ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο Κροίσῳ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ χώρῃ ἐπειρώατο κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἀλλήλων. μάχης

Croesus takes Pteria near Sinope, and harries the neighbouring Syrians.

Cyrus attacks him after a fruitless attempt to detach the Ionians.

στέρης ῥέειν. But the expression would be a natural one if the river, like that which falls into the lake near Erclè (see note 243) ran from north to south. If, however, the Erclè river is intended, this story cannot have been found by Herodotus in connexion with the operations which he makes follow it; for the river in the neighbourhood of Sinope is the real Halys.

<sup>263</sup> τὴν Πτερίην καλεομένην. This is the only place in which this town is mentioned. From Croesus attacking it, we may suppose that it was inhabited not by a Hellenic, but by a Cappadocian population. And its name is probably significant in the Aramaic languages, as Πτερά was the name (according to some authorities) of the "acropolis" (i. e. citadel) of Babylon, and Πτέριον or Πτερία the name of a Median city (STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS *sup* v., who adds that the ethnic ad-

jective of the Median city was Πτερινός, but that of the town near Sinope Πτέριος). The vagueness of the description in the text is unfavourable to the supposition that Herodotus himself was at Pteria; nor does it appear that he was even at Sinope. But he undoubtedly was at Phasis (ii. 104), which was in commercial communication with Sinope (see notes on i. 104; ii. 34), and might there have heard the account of the battle at Pteria.

<sup>264</sup> Συρίους. The use of this word, instead of Καπαδόκας, indicates a Hellenic source of the narrative. See above, note 28.

<sup>265</sup> ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε, "utterly destroyed." See § 97, οὐδὲ ὅπ' ἀνομήν ἀνδύσται· ἐσόμεθα: § 155, δέσας μὴ ἀναστάτους ποιῆσαι τὰς Σάρδεις: § 178, Νίνου ἀναστάτου γενομένης.

<sup>266</sup> Ἴωνες μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐπειθόντο. See, however, the last note on § 141.

δὲ καρτερῆς γενομένης καὶ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, τέλος οὐδέτεροι νικήσαντες διέστησαν, νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. After a drawn battle

Καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατόπεδα ἀμφοτέρα οὕτως ἡγωνίσαστο, Κροῖσος δὲ μεμφθεὶς<sup>267</sup> κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἐνωτοῦ στρατεύμα· (ἦν γὰρ οἱ ὁ συμβαλὼν στρατὸς πολλὸν ἐλάσσων ἢ ὁ Κύρου) τοῦτο μεμφθεὶς, ὡς τῇ ὑστεραίῃ οὐκ ἐπειρᾶτο ἐπὶ ὁ Κύρος, ἀπήλαινε ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἐν νόφ ἔχων, παρακαλέσας μὲν Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ τὸ ὄρκιον, (ἐποιήσαστο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Ἀμασιὺν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου συμμαχίην πρότερον ἢ περὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους,) μεταπεμφάμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους<sup>268</sup>, (καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποίητο συμμαχίην ἐτυράνευε δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Δαβύνητος<sup>269</sup>.) ἐπαγγέλλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους παρῆναι ἐς χρόνον ῥητὸν, ἀλίσας<sup>270</sup> τε δὴ τοὺτους καὶ τὴν ἐνωτοῦ συλλέξας στρατιήν, ἐνένωτο τὸν χειμῶνα παρὲς ἅμα τῷ ἡρι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα φρονέων, ὡς ἀπύκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἔπεμπε κήρυκας κατὰ τὰς συμμαχίας προερέοντας ἐς πέμπτου μηνὸς συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδεις, τὸν δὲ παρῶντα καὶ μαχεσάμενον στρατὸν Πέρσῃσι, δὲ ἦν αὐτοῦ ξεινικός, πάντα ἀπείλεις διεσκέδασε, οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίσας μή κοτε ἄρα ἀγωνισάμενος οὕτω παραπλησίως Κύρος ἐλάσει ἐπὶ Σάρδεις. 77 he returns to Sardis, and plans an expedition on a grander scale in the next spring;

Ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενῳ Κροίσῳ τὸ προάστειον πᾶν ὄφλιν ἐν-  
επλήσθη φανέντων δὲ αὐτῶν, οἱ ἵπποι μετιέντες τὰς νομάς  
νέμεσθαι φοιτέοντες κατήσθιον. ἰδόντι δὲ τοῦτο Κροίσῳ, ὥσπερ  
καὶ ἦν, ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι. αὐτίκα δὲ ἔπεμπε θεοπρόπους ἐς τῶν 78 Portent occurs at Sardis, on which Croesus consults the Telmessaeans,

<sup>267</sup> μεμφθεὶς. This word is used in the sense of *μεμφόμενος* not only here, but in iii. 13; vii. 146.

<sup>268</sup> μεταπεμφάμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους. This phrase is appropriate to the sending for levies from Babylon to form a part of the invading army, which was to rendezvous at Sardis in five months (*ἐς πέμπτου μηνὸς συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδεις*). But a glance at the map will show the impossibility of such a plan of operations, as in fact the Babylonians would have had to pass through the enemies' country for many hundred miles to get to Sardis. The real service which Croesus would have expected from the Babylonians (and probably from the Egyptians also) would have been to divert the attention of the Persians by a simultaneous advance into their territory. But strategics of this

kind were unfamiliar to the Greeks; and the authority here followed by Herodotus seems to have conceived a gathering like that which the Lacedæmonians used to arrange before making one of their expeditions. (See the contemptuous description of the Hellenic tactics put into the mouth of Mardonius, vii. 9.) And from this circumstance, and the Lacedæmonians being named together with such very disparate allies as Egypt and Babylon, one is led to conjecture that the author is here following a Lacedæmonian authority, or that of some one connected, in some relation or other, with Lacedæmon.

<sup>269</sup> Δαβύνητος. See the first note on i. 181.

<sup>270</sup> ἀλίσας. See note 268.

but is a prisoner when he gets the answer.

ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων<sup>271</sup>. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι, καὶ μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελμησσέων τὸ θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἐξεγένετο Κροίσῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι πρὶν γὰρ ἢ ὀπίσω σφέας ἀναπλῶσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις<sup>272</sup>, ἤλω ὁ Κροῖσος. Τελμησσέες μὲν τοι τάδε ἔγνωσαν, στρατὸν ἀλλόθροον προσδόκιμον εἶναι Κροίσῳ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, ἀπικόμενον δὲ τοῦτον καταστρέφεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους· λέγοντες ὄφιν εἶναι γῆς παῖδα, ἵππον δὲ πολέμιον τε καὶ ἐπήλυδα. Τελμησσέες μὲν νυν ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο Κροίσῳ ἤδη ἡλωκότι, οὐδέν κω εἰδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδεις τε καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον.

79

Cyrus follows up the retreat of Croesus.

Κῦρος δὲ, αὐτίκα ἀπελαύνοντος Κροίσου μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ Περίῃ, μαθὼν ὡς ἀπελάσας μέλλοι Κροῖσος διασκεδᾶν τὸν στρατὸν, βουλευόμενος εὗρισκε πρῆγμά οἱ εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ὡς δύναιτο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις, πρὶν ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ἀλισθῆναι τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν δύναμιν<sup>273</sup>. ὥς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίηε κατὰ τάχος· ἐλάσας γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Λυδίην, αὐτὸς

<sup>271</sup> ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων. There is an ellipse of *μαντείον* or some equivalent word. Herodotus appears here to refer to a kind of college of diviners, situated sixty *stadēs* from Halicarnassus (POLEMO *ap. Etym. Magn.* v. Τελμησσέες). There was also a *Telmessus* on the borders of Caria and Lycia, and a *Termessus* (which is probably only another form of *Telmessus*) near the pass which led through Taurus into the interior. That the tutelary deity of these cities was identical with the possessor of the oracle to which Herodotus refers is very likely. The coins of *Telmessus* have on the one side the Sun-god with head surrounded with rays, and on the reverse Apollo stoled, sitting on a tripod on which his left hand rests, the right holding a bow. Behind his shoulder are two arrows (HOFFMANN, *Griechenland*, p. 1745). The eponymous ancestor of the *Telmessians* was said to be the son of Apollo and a daughter of Antenor (*Etym. Magn.* l. c.), a genealogy which gives an Asiatic origin for the *Telmessian* deity; and accounts both for a Lydian king consulting the oracle, and for the circumstances which has been observed by travellers, that there is a great resemblance between the monumental remains at *Termessus* and at *Persepolis*. The MSS

vary in this passage between the forms Τελμισσέων, Τελμισέων, Τελμυσέων, and Τελμησσέων.

<sup>272</sup> ἀναπλῶσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις. This expression indicates that the narrator was ignorant of the geographical bearing of Sardis with respect to the *μαντείον*. The real messengers could hardly have returned otherwise than by land. But of the general consulters of the oracle,—the Hellenic settlers along the coast of Asia Minor,—the expression would be appropriate. Perhaps Herodotus is telling the tale as he heard it at the fane, and retains the very expression used by the narrator.

<sup>273</sup> πρὶν ἢ τὸ δεύτερον . . . τὴν δύναμιν. This clause stands very variously in the MSS. The Sancroft MS has *ὅπως πρὶν ἢ τὴν δύναμιν ἀλισθῆναι τὸ δεύτερον* τῶν Λυδῶν αὐτὸς ἐπικαταλάβοι, and the Vienna Codex, which almost always agrees with it, although omitting the words *αὐτὸς ἐπικαταλάβοι*, exhibits the trace of them by retaining *ὅπως* at the beginning of the clause. Other MSS agree with S, except in placing *δύναμιν* as it stands in the text, one of them too having *καταλάβοι* instead of *ἐπικαταλάβοι*. It is so unlikely that one of these readings should have been altered into the other, that it is easier to suppose the two genuine.

ἄγγελος Κροίσω ἐληλύθει<sup>274</sup>. ἐνθαῦτα Κροῖσος ἐς ἀπορίην πολ-  
λὴν ἀπυγμένος, ὥς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν<sup>275</sup> ἔσχε τὰ πρήγματα ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς  
κατεδόκεε, ὅμως τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐξήγε ἐς μάχην. ἦν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν  
χρόνον ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ οὔτε ἀνδρείωτερον οὔτε ἀλκιμώ-  
τερον τοῦ Λυδοῦ ἢ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἦν ἀπ' ἵππων<sup>276</sup>, δούρατά  
τε ἐφόρεον μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἱππεύεσθαι ἀγαθοί. Ἐς τὸ 80  
πεδῖον δὲ συνελθόντων τοῦτο τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἐστὶ τοῦ Σαρ- Battle of  
δινησοῦ, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ψιλόν, (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες καὶ Sardis.  
ἄλλοι καὶ ἴλλος<sup>277</sup> συρρηγνύσι ἐς τὸν μέγιστον, καλεόμενον δὲ  
Εἰρμον, ὃς ἐξ οὐρεὸς ἱεροῦ Μητρὸς Δινδυμῆνης<sup>278</sup> ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς  
θάλασσαν κατὰ Φωκαίην\* πόλιν,) ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ὡς εἶδε τοὺς  
Λυδοὺς ἐς μάχην τασσομένους, καταρρωδήσας τὴν ἵππον ἐποίησε,  
'Αρπάγου ἱποθεμένου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου, τοιούδε· ὅσαι τῷ στρατῷ Stratem  
τῷ ἐνωτοῦ ἐποντο σιτοφόροι τε καὶ σκευοφόροι κάμηλοι, ταύτας of Cyrus to  
πάσας ἀλίσας καὶ ἀπελὼν τὰ ἄχθεα, ἀνδρας ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀνέβησε frighten the  
ἱππάδα στολὴν ἐνεσταλμένους· σκευάσας δὲ αὐτοὺς, προσέταξε Lydian cav-  
τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς προΐεναι πρὸς τὴν Κροίσου ἵππον, τῇ δὲ valry by his  
καμήλῳ<sup>279</sup> ἐπεσθαι τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευε· ὅπισθε δὲ τοῦ camels.

<sup>274</sup> αὐτὸς ἄγγελος Κροίσω ἐληλύθει. The length of the marches of which the Persians of the present day are capable is almost incredible. In the end of May 1831, a force consisting of three regiments of foot, five guns, a howitzer and 1000 horse, accompanied by a British detachment, marched between the parallels of 29° and 30°, no less than 112 miles in five days, being too at the time ill supplied with provisions. The cavalry at a later period (June 14th—16th) returned to Kirman from whence the expedition set out, performing 106 miles in two days and a half, and arriving before mid-day. The reason of these long marches is, that the only alternative to them is to encamp half-way in some place destitute of water. In the great plains of Persia the villages are very widely scattered, and the necessity of conveying the produce of their lands (usually upon asses) for sale or barter to distant villages makes the peasantry unrivalled for the endurance of fatigue. (*Journal of the London Geographical Society*, Vol. ix. pp. 136—156.)

<sup>275</sup> παρὰ δόξαν. The sentence is ended as if instead of these words Herodotus had written ἄλλως.

<sup>276</sup> ἢ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἦν ἀπ' ἵππων. See note 91, above.

<sup>277</sup> ἴλλος. This river and the Hermus are combined in *Iliad* xi. 392, where the hero Iphition, the son of Otryntes and a Naiad, is said to have been born 'in Hydē, under snowy Tmolus,' ἐπὶ λίμνῃ Γυγαίῃ, ὅθι τοι τέμενος πατρώϊον ἐστίν, "ἴλλω ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντι καὶ Ἑρμῷ διήεντι. (See note on i. 93, καλεῖται δὲ αὕτη Γυγαίη.)

<sup>278</sup> Μητρὸς Δινδυμῆνης. From the variation of the MSS between Δήμητρος, Δινδυμῆνης, and Δινευμῆνης (of which, however, the two first are the only genuine varieties), a suspicion arises that both are glosses. Herodotus, when he speaks of the same goddess (iv. 76), calls her ἡ μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν. It may be observed, that the local name of the goddess at Sardis was Κυβήβη (see note on v. 102), from which one may gather that Herodotus gained his information of the source of the Hermus from some other locality than Sardis; perhaps from Cyzicus, the centre of the Cybele-worship in his time.

\* Φωκαίην. See note on § 142, Φά-καία.

<sup>279</sup> τῇ καμήλῳ, "the camel-brigade," an analogous expression to ἡ ἵππος, "the cavalry."



πεζοῦ ἐπέταξε τὴν πᾶσαν ἵππον. ὥς δέ οἱ πάντες διετετάχατο, παραίνεσε τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Λυδῶν μὴ φειδομένους κτείνειν πάντα τὸν ἐμποδῶν γινόμενον, Κροῖσον δὲ αὐτὸν μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἦν συλλαμβανόμενος ἀμύνηται. ταῦτα μὲν παραίνεσε. τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἔταξε ἀντία τῆς ἵππου τῶνδε εἵνεκεν καμήλων ἵππος φοβέεται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὔτε τὴν ἰδέην αὐτῆς ὁρέων οὔτε τὴν ὁδμὴν ὁσφραυνόμενος· αὐτοῦ δὴ ὦν τούτου εἵνεκεν ἐσεσόφιστο, ἵνα τῷ Κροίσῳ ἄχρηστον ᾖ τὸ ἵππικόν, τῷ δὲ τι καὶ ἐπέιχε ἐλλάμψεσθαι ὁ Λυδός<sup>280</sup>. ὥς δὲ καὶ συνήεσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἐνθαῦτα ὥς ὁσφραντο τάχιστα τῶν καμήλων οἱ ἵπποι καὶ εἶδον αὐτὰς, ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, διέφθαρτό τε τῷ Κροίσῳ ἡ ἐλπίς. οὐ μέντοι οἷ γε Λυδοὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δειλοὶ ἦσαν ἀλλ', ὥς ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον, ἀποθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων πεζοὶ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συνέβαλλον. χρόνῳ δὲ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, ἐτράποντο οἱ Λυδοί, κατείληθέντες δὲ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπολιορκέοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων.

Croesus is defeated, and besieged in Sardis.

81

He sends urging his allies to assist him.

Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ κατεστήκεε πολιορκίη. Κροῖσος δὲ δοκέων οἱ χρόνον ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἔσεσθαι τὴν πολιορκίην, ἔπεμπε ἐκ τοῦ τεύχεος ἄλλους ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς συμμαχίας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον διεπέμποντο ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα προερέοντες συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδις· τούτους δὲ ἐξέπεμπε τὴν ταχίστην δέεσθαι βοηθεῖν, ὥς πολιορκεομένου Κροίσου. Ἔς τε δὴ ὦν τὰς ἄλλας ἔπεμπε συμμαχίας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. τοῖσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖσι [τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι<sup>281</sup>] κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον συνεπεπτώκεε ἕρις ἐούσα πρὸς Ἀργεῖους, περὶ χώρου καλεομένου Θυρέας.

82

The Lace-

Τὰς γὰρ Θυρέας ταύτας<sup>282</sup>, ἐούσας τῆς Ἀργολίδος μόλης, ἀπο-

<sup>280</sup> τῷ δὲ τι καὶ ἐπέιχε ἐλλάμψεσθαι ὁ Λυδός. The words τὸν νῦν are to be understood after ἐπέιχε. See below, § 153, ἐπ' οὓς ἐπέιχε στρατηλάτειν: vi. 96, ἐπὶ ταύτην γὰρ δὴ πρῶτην ἐπέιχον στρατεύεσθαι.

<sup>281</sup> [τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι]. Some MSS omit the article. The words appear to have crept in from a marginal comment made by some person who wished to explain the construction.

<sup>282</sup> τὰς γὰρ Θυρέας ταύτας. The use of the plural form *Thyreae* in immediate juxtaposition with the singular form *Thyrea* is very strange, and suggests the conjecture that the narrative of the battle

may be a subsequent addition, perhaps by the hand of the author himself,—although here, as in many other places, the last polish remains to be given, and the addition is still to be regarded rather in the light of a note than as incorporated into the text. The phrase ἡ μέχρι Μαλεῶν ἡ πρὸς Ἐσπέρην is a singular one. The narrator speaks as a Lacedæmonian might do in describing the coast between *Helos* and *Maleæ*. 'The western bank of the Eurotas was always ours. But cross the river, and then the coast as far as Maleæ, west of the cape, formerly belonged to the Argives, not merely on the main but also in Cythera, and the other islands too.'

ταμόμενοι ἔσχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ μέχρι Μαλεῶν dæmonians  
are at war  
with the  
Argives  
respecting  
Thyres.  
Battle of  
the six  
hundred,  
ἢ πρὸς ἑσπέρην Ἀργείων, ἥ τε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ χώρῃ καὶ ἡ  
Κυθηρή<sup>252</sup>, καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν νήσων. βοηθησάντων δὲ Ἀρ-  
γείων τῇ σφετέρῃ ἀποταμνομένη, ἐνθαῦτα συνέβησαν ἐς λόγους  
συνελθόντες, ὥστε τριηκοσίους ἑκατέρων μαχέσασθαι, ὁκότεροι  
δ' αὖ περὶ γένωνται τούτων εἶναι τὸν χῶρον· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος  
τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἑκάτερον ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ, μηδὲ  
παραμένειν ἀγωνιζομένων, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα μὴ παρεόντων τῶν  
στρατοπέδων, ὀρώντες οἱ ἕτεροι ἑσσομένους τοὺς σφετέρους  
ἐπαμύνουεν. συνθέμενοι ὦν ταῦτα, ἀπαλλάσσοντο· λογάδες δὲ  
ἑκατέρων ὑπολειφθέντες συνέβαλλον. μαχομένων δὲ σφῶν καὶ  
γινομένων ἰσοπαλέων, ὑπελείποντο ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων τρεῖς·  
Ἀργείων μὲν, Ἀλκίνορ τε καὶ Χρόμιος Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ,  
Ὀθρυάδης. ὑπελείφθησαν δὲ οὗτοι νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. οἱ μὲν  
δὴ δύο τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς νενικηκότες ἔθεον ἐς τὸ Ἄργος· ὁ δὲ τῶν  
Λακεδαιμονίων Ὀθρυάδης, σκυλεύσας τοὺς Ἀργείων νεκροὺς καὶ  
προσφορήσας τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τὸ ἑωυτοῦ στρατόπεδον, ἐν τῇ τάξει  
εἶχε ἑωυτόν<sup>254</sup>. ἡμέρῃ δὲ δευτέρῃ παρήσαν πυρρὰν ὀνομαζομένην ἀμ-  
φότεροι. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔφασαν νικᾶν, λέγοντες οἱ  
μὲν ὡς ἑωυτῶν πλεῖνες περιγεγύνασι<sup>255</sup>, οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀποφαί-  
νουτες πεφευγῶτας τὸν δὲ σφέτερον παραμένειν αὐτὰ καὶ σκυλεύ-  
σαντα τοὺς ἐκείνων νεκρούς. τέλος δὲ, ἐκ τῆς ἔριδος συμπεσόντες  
ἐμάχοντο· πεσόντων δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, ἐνέκων Λακεδα-  
μόνιοι. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν νυν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου κατακειράμενοι  
τὰς κεφαλὰς, πρότερον ἐπάναναγκες κομῶντες, ἐποιήσαντο νόμον τε  
καὶ κατάρτην, μὴ πρότερον θρέψειν κόμην Ἀργείων μηδένα, μηδὲ

<sup>252</sup> καὶ ἡ Κυθηρή. Gaisford and the MSS add νῆσος. But the form which Herodotus uses for the name of the island is always τὰ Κύθηρα. See below, i. 105; vii. 235. In this passage the word is an adjective agreeing with χώρῃ. See the last note. The "other islands" perhaps include those on the east coast of the Peloponnese, mentioned as being Argive, like Cythera, although they are not a portion of the πρὸς ἑσπέρην χώρῃ.

<sup>254</sup> ἐν τῇ τάξει εἶχε ἑωυτόν. STRABO (viii. c. 6, p. 207) makes Othryades the leader of the Spartan three hundred. In the course of time the picturesque feature

was added to this story, that Othryades inscribed the trophy with his own blood (LUCIAN, *Contempl.* § 24). Hence STATIUS says, "Lacedæmonium Thyre lectura cruorem" (*Theb.* iv. 48). See the first note on vi. 105.

<sup>255</sup> ὡς ἑωυτῶν πλεῖνες περιγεγύνασι. PAUSANIAS (x. 9. 12) mentions a brazen horse among the offerings at Delphi, set up by the Argives, as having been victors in this battle. It was said to be the work of Antiphanes the Argive, and, if so, would hardly have been set up at the time of Herodotus's visit to the temple. See note 220.

τὰς γυναῖκάς σφι χρυσοφορήσειν, πρὶν ἂν Θυρέας ἀνασώσωνται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἔθεντο νόμον, οὐ γὰρ κομῶντες πρὸ τούτου, ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν<sup>286</sup>. τὸν δὲ ἓνα λέγουσι τὸν περιλειφθέντα τῶν τριηκοσίων, Ὀθρυάδην, αἰσχυνόμενον ἀπονοστέειν ἐς Σπάρτην, τῶν οἱ συλλοχιτέων διεφθαρμένων, αὐτοῦ μιν ἐν τῇσι 83 Θυρέσσι καταχρήσασθαι<sup>287</sup> ἑωντόν. Τοιούτων δὲ τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἐνεστέωντων πρηγμάτων ἦκε ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς κήρυξ, δεόμενος Κροίσῳ βοηθέειν πολιορκεομένῳ· οἱ δὲ ὁμῶς ἐπεὶ τε ἐπίϋοντο τοῦ κήρυκος, ὁρμέατο βοηθέειν καὶ σφι ἤδη παρσκευασμένοισι, καὶ νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐτοίμων, ἦλθε ἄλλη ἀγγελίη, ὡς ἡλώκοι τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἔχουτο Κροῖσος ζωγρηθείς. οὕτω δὴ οὗτοι μὲν, συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι μεγάλην, ἐπέπαιντο.

contem-  
poraneously  
with the  
capture of  
Sardis.

84 Way in  
which Sar-  
dis was  
taken.

Σάρδιες δὲ ἦλωσαν ὧδε. ἐπειδὴ τεσσσερεσκαυδεκάτῃ ἐγένετο ἡμέρῃ πολιορκεομένῳ Κροίσῳ, Κύρος τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἑωντοῦ διαπέμψας ἱππέας προεῖπε, τῷ πρώτῳ ἐπιβάντι τοῦ τεύχεος δῶρα δώσειν μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, πειρησαμένης τῆς στρατιῆς ὡς οὐ προεχώρει, ἐνθαῦτα τῶν ἄλλων πεπαυμένων, ἀνὴρ Μάρδος<sup>288</sup> ἐπειράτο προσβαίνων<sup>289</sup>, τῷ ὄννομα ἦν Ἰτροιάδης, κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τῇ οὐδεὶς ἐτέτακτο φύλακος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸν κατὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἁλῶ κοτὲ ἀπότομός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ ταύτῃ ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἄμαχος· τῇ οὐδὲ Μήλης, ὁ πρότερον βασιλεὺς Σαρδίων, μούνη οὐ περιήνευκε τὸν λέοντα τὸν οἱ ἡ παλλακὴ ἔτεκε, Τελμησσέων δικασάντων<sup>290</sup> ὡς περιενειχθέντος τοῦ λέοντος τὸ τεῖχος ἔσονται Σάρδιες ἀνάλωτοι.

<sup>286</sup> ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν. A festival (the *Gymnopædia*) was instituted at Lacedæmon in honour of this battle, at which a chorus of beautiful youths, and another of men distinguished for valour, sang the songs of *Thales* (see note 256) and *Alcman* and the pæans of *Dionysodotus* the Lacedæmonian. The officials who superintended wore crowns of palm-leaves called *θυρεατικοὶ στίφανοι* (*Sosibius, De Sacrifictis ap. Athenæum*, xv. p. 678). In the poetical effusions of these occasions it is not difficult to recognize the source of many of Herodotus's tales. *Thyreæ* is the Hellenic "Otterburn," and the details of the battle probably are about on a par, historically, with those of "Chevy-Chase."

<sup>287</sup> καταχρήσασθαι. See above, i. 24; and below, i. 167.

<sup>288</sup> Μάρδος. The *Mardi* are represented as one of the four nomad Persian tribes (below, § 126). The word also occurs as the termination of the name Ἀριόμαρδος in *Æschylus*:

δ' ἑσθλὸς Ἀριόμαρδος Σάρδεσι  
κένθος παρασχόν. (*Persæ*, 321.)

<sup>289</sup> ἐπειράτο προσβαίνων. "Made a trial of getting up." So *πειράσθω ἀποσχίζων*, vi. 9.

<sup>290</sup> δικασάντων. The use of this word for the promulgation of an oracular saying is derived from the time when diviners were resorted to for purposes of civil life, and when they decided all cases in which religious considerations had any weight. Hence the continual resort to Delphi for *arbitration*: as, for instance, after the

ὁ δὲ Μήλης κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τεῖχος περιμενέας τῇ ἡν ἐπίμαχον τὸ χωρίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, κατηλόγησε τούτου<sup>291</sup>, ὡς ἐὼν ἄμαχόν τε καὶ ἀπότομον ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου τετραμμένον τῆς πόλιος<sup>292</sup>. ὁ ὢν δὴ Ἱτροιάδης αὐτὸς<sup>293</sup> [ὁ Μάρδος,] ἰδὼν τῇ προτεραιῇ τῶν τινα Λυδῶν κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καταβάντα ἐπὶ κυνέην ἄνωθεν κατακυλισθεῖσαν, καὶ ἀνελόμενον, ἐφράσθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἐβάλετο. τότε δὲ δὴ ὁ αὐτὸς τε<sup>294</sup> ἀναβεβήκεε, καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν<sup>295</sup> ἄλλοι Περσέων ἀνέβαινον προσβάντων δὲ συχνῶν, οὕτω δὴ Σάρδιές τε ἠλώκεσαν<sup>296</sup> καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορθέετο.

Κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ Κροῖσον τάδε ἐγένετο. ἦν οἱ παῖς, τοῦ καὶ πρό- 85  
τερον ἐπεμήσθη<sup>297</sup>, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικῆς ἄφωνος δέ. ἐν τῇ ὢν  
παρελθούσῃ εὐεστοῖ<sup>298</sup> ὁ Κροῖσος τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεποιήκεε, Miraculous  
recovery of  
speech by  
the son of

murder of Candaules. In fact the idea of the oracle as a *judgment-seat* is perhaps the earliest of all. Thus Deborah, "the prophetess," "judged Israel."

<sup>291</sup> κατηλόγησε τούτου. Bekker reads τούτο. The accusative is used below, § 144; and iii. 121; but the circumstance that the construction would, by its adoption here, run more regularly is a presumption against the change having been made by transcribers to the genitive.

<sup>292</sup> ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου τετραμμένον τῆς πόλιος. The sense is not the same as would be required if the article τὸ were inserted after δέ. That would be, "and it is *that part* of the city which looks in the direction of Tmolus." The real meaning is, "and it looks towards Tmolus in its bearing from the city." (See notes on § 110 and vi. 22.) The place in question is a sort of ridge or "striding-edge," called from its configuration *πρίων*, which connected the citadel with Tmolus. The city, according to COCKERELL (*ap. Leake, Asia Minor*, p. 342), was built on one of the roots of Tmolus, looking northward over the valley of the Hermus. South of the city, in a small plain watered by the Pactolus, stood the temple of *Cybele*. The western front was on the bank of the river, the eastern under the impending heights of the Acropolis. See v. 101, 102.

<sup>293</sup> αὐτὸς. This is the reading of all the MSS, but is altered by Gaisford to οἷος. But the change is unnecessary. The words ὁ Μάρδος seem to be a gloss; and αὐτὸς ἰδὼν to mean, "having seen with his own eyes."

<sup>294</sup> ὁ αὐτὸς τε. Bekker omits the ar-

ticle. If any change were made, I should rather be disposed to read οἷος. But by the expression ὁ αὐτὸς Herodotus seems rather to express that it was that same Hyroïades who had observed the descent of the Lydian after his helmet, who the next day led the scaling party.

<sup>295</sup> κατ' αὐτὸν. "Observing his way," "treading in his footsteps."

<sup>296</sup> οὕτω δὴ Σάρδιές τε ἠλώκεσαν. The account given by CTESIAS of the capture of the town is different from that of Herodotus, but not incompatible with it. He represents the garrison as being scared from their quarters by the stratagem of elevating on long poles the armour of some Persians, so that it appeared as if a force had already scaled the walls. If we conceive a considerable body of men stealing up unperceived in the way Herodotus describes, and forming a lodgment under the wall (while a diversion was made in another part), and, when mounted in sufficient force, making use of the stratagem which Ctesias and Polyænus relate, the two accounts are compatible with one another and with probability. The garrison quitting their quarters for the moment in a panic would give the scaling party time to establish themselves on the rampart, and then the town would be won. LICYMNUS and HERMESIANAX in after-times adopted another form of the story more favourable to poetical requirements; viz. that the town was betrayed by Nanis, a daughter of Croesus, on condition of Cyrus marrying her.

<sup>297</sup> τοῦ καὶ πρότερον ἐπεμήσθη. See i. 34, 38.

<sup>298</sup> εὐεστοῖ. Some of the MSS have

Croesus on  
seeing his  
father's  
danger.

ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ  
ἐπεπόμφεε χροισομένους· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ εἶπε τάδε

Λυδὲ γένος, πολλῶν βασιλεῦ, μέγα νήπιε Κροῖσε,  
μὴ βούλευ<sup>299</sup> πολέουκτον ἴην<sup>300</sup> ἀνὰ δόματ' ἀκούειν  
παῖδός φθεγγομένου. τὸ δέ σοι πολλὸν λάϊον ἔμφις  
ἔμμεναι· αὐθήσει γὰρ ἐν ἡματι πρῶτον ἀνόλβῃ.

ἀλίσκομενοι δὴ<sup>301</sup> τοῦ τείχεος, ἥϊε γὰρ τῶν τις Περσέων ἄλλο-  
γνώσας Κροῖσον ὡς ἀποκτενέων, Κροῖσος μὲν μιν<sup>302</sup> ὀρέων ἐπιόντα  
ὑπὸ τῆς παρεούσης συμφορῆς παρημελήκει, οὐδέ τι οἱ διέφερε  
πληγῆντι ἀποθανέειν ὁ δὲ παῖς οὗτος ὁ ἄφρωνος ὡς εἶδε ἐπιόντα  
τὸν Πέρσῃν, ὑπὸ δέους τε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε φωνήν, εἶπε δέ  
“ὠνθρωπε, μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσον.” οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον  
ἐφθέγγετο· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη ἐφώνεε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς  
ζῆς<sup>303</sup>. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τὰς τε δὴ Σάρδις ἔσχον, καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖ-  
σον ἐξώγρησαν ἄρξαντα ἕτα τεσσσερεσκαῖδεκα καὶ τεσσσερεσκαί-  
δεκα ἡμέρας πολιορκηθέντα, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν τε καταπαύσαντα  
τὴν ἐαυτοῦ μεγάλην ἀρχὴν λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἤγαγον  
παρὰ Κῦρον· ὁ δὲ συνήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, ἀνεβίβασε ἐπ’  
αὐτὴν τὸν Κροῖσόν τε ἐν πέδῃσι δεδεμένον, καὶ δις ἑπτὰ  
Λυδῶν παρ’ αὐτὸν παῖδας<sup>304</sup>, ἐν νόφ’ ἔχων εἶτε δὴ ἀκροθίνια  
ταῦτα καταγιεῖν θεῶν ὅτεφ’ δὴ, εἶτε καὶ εὐχὴν ἐπιτελέσαι

86

Capture of  
Croesus after  
having  
reigned  
fourteen  
years and  
been be-  
sieged four-  
teen days.  
He is placed  
on a pile to  
be burnt  
with twice-

εὐθηνίᾳ, obviously from a gloss. The word εὐεστὰ is a poetical one, and is used by ÆSCHYLUS (*Agam.* 647, χαίρουσαν εὐεστοί πόλιν). The form ἀπεστὰ, in the sense of “exclusion from,” is used in ix. 85, unless the passage be corrupt. συνεστὰ in vi. 128 can hardly be considered the true reading.

<sup>299</sup> μὴ βούλευ. This is Gaisford’s reading, but there is at least equal manuscript authority for the common form βούλου.

<sup>300</sup> ἴην. This word is used by ÆSCHYLUS (*Pers.* 934, κακομέλετον ἰὰν Μαρνανδνοῦ θρηνητήρος). It is an appropriate term for the oracle to use, for it was the cry used in the invocations of Apollo (ἡ παῖων). Its use in the *Rhesus* (553, σύριγγος ἡ) is very suspicious, as all trace of the original meaning seems lost.

<sup>301</sup> δῆ. Gaisford δέ, with the majority of the MSS.

<sup>302</sup> μὲν μιν. Most of the MSS and Gaisford have μὲν νυν. S μὲν νιν. A

similar substitution of μὲν νυν is found in i. 183 in several of the MSS.

<sup>303</sup> τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζῆς. PAUSANIAS relates as a Delphic story, that Battus, the colonizer of Cyrene, gained the use of his voice in a similar manner. He came suddenly upon a lion in the Libyan desert, and the panic made him βοῆσαι σαφὲς καὶ μέγα (x. 15. 7). This narrative he gives on the occasion of describing a statue of Battus there placed. GELLIIUS (v. 9) also relates that a Samian athlete, who was dumb, recovered his voice through indignation at seeing foul play used in drawing the lots for a contest in which he was to be engaged. He called out that he saw what was doing, and retained his voice for ever afterwards.

<sup>304</sup> δις ἑπτὰ Λυδῶν παῖδας. The poetical character of the expression Λυδῶν παῖδας (which also occurs above, § 26) is heightened by δις ἑπτὰ for τεσσσερεσκαῖδεκα.

θέλων εἶτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον εἶναι θεοσεβέα, τοῦδε seven Lydians.  
 εἵνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν βουλόμενος εἶδέναι εἴ τις  
 μιν δαιμόνων ῥύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζῶντα κατακαυθῆναι. τὸν μὲν δὴ  
 ποιέειν ταῦτα· τῷ δὲ Κροίσῳ ἐστεῶντι ἐπὶ τῆς πυρῆς ἐσελθεῖν,  
 καὶ περ ἐν κακῷ ἔοντι τοσοῦτω, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος, ὥς οἱ εἶη Remembers  
 τὸν θεῷ εἰρημένον τὸ “μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ζώντων ὀλβιον” ὥς the saying  
 δὲ ἄρα μιν προστῆναι τοῦτο, ἀνενεκάμενόν<sup>365</sup> τε καὶ ἀνασθενά- upon him.  
 ξαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἡσυχίης ἐς τρεῖς ὀνομάσαι Σόλωνα· καὶ τὸν  
 Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα, κελεύσαι τοὺς ἑρμηνέας ἐπείρεσθαι τὸν Κροῖ-  
 σον, τίνα τοῦτον ἐπικαλείτο; καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας ἐπειρωτᾶν,  
 Κροῖσον δὲ τέως μὲν συγὴν ἔχειν ἐρωτεώμενον, μετὰ δὲ, ὡς  
 ἠναγκάζετο, εἰπεῖν “τὸν ἂν ἐγὼ πᾶσι τυράννοισι προετίμησα  
 μεγάλων χρημάτων ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν.” ὡς δὲ σφί ἄσσημα ἔφραζε,  
 πάλιν ἐπειρώτεον τὰ λεγόμενα. λιπαρέοντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὄχλον  
 παρεχόντων, ἔλεγε δὴ, ὡς ἦλθε ἀρχὴν ὁ Σόλων, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ  
 θεησάμενος πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ ὀλβον ἀποφλαυρίσειε, οἷα δὴ εἶπας<sup>366</sup>.  
 ὥς τε αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβεβήκοι τῇ περ ἐκεῖνος εἶπε, οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον  
 ἐς ἑωυτὸν λέγων ἢ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς  
 παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δοκέοντας ὀλβίους εἶναι. τὸν μὲν Κροῖσον  
 ταῦτα ἀπηγγέσθαι, τῆς δὲ πυρῆς ἤδη ἀμμένης καλεσθαι τὰ περι-  
 ἔσχατα· καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα τῶν ἑρμηνέων τὰ εἶπε Κροῖ- After the  
 σος, μεταγνόντα τε καὶ ἐννώσαντα ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν pile is  
 ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον ἑωυτοῦ εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐλάσσω ζῶντα alight he is  
 πυρὶ διδοίη, πρὸς τε τούτοις, δείσαντα τὴν τίσιν καὶ ἐπιλεξά- reprieved by  
 μενον ὡς οὐδὲν εἶη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀσφαλῶς ἔχον, κελεύειν<sup>367</sup> Cyrus,  
 σβεννύναι τὴν ταχίστην τὸ καίόμενον πῦρ, καὶ καταβιβάζειν  
 Κροῖσόν τε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Κροῖσον καὶ τοὺς πειρωμένους οὐ  
 δύνασθαι ἔτι τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι. Ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ 87  
 Λυδῶν<sup>368</sup>, Κροῖσον μαθόντα τὴν Κύρου μετάγνωσιν, ὡς ὦρα πάντα but only  
 saved by the

<sup>365</sup> ἀνενεκάμενον. The word understood after this is τοῦτο. “Upon this thought then occurring to him, he gave vent to it with a groan following a deep silence, calling Solon thrice by name.”

<sup>366</sup> καὶ θεησάμενος πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ ὀλβον ἀποφλαυρίσειε, οἷα δὴ εἶπας. “And, after seeing all his wealth, held it but cheap, saying in such and such wise.”

<sup>367</sup> κελεύειν. Gaisford κελεύει, with the MSS.

<sup>368</sup> ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν. The account given by Ctesias (who drew from Persian sources, although probably modified by Hellenic intercourse) of the rescue of Croesus by Apollo is equally miraculous in its character. On Sardis being taken, Croesus flies to the temple of Apollo within the city. He is put in chains there, but three times released by an invisible hand. Afterwards he is removed from the temple and loaded with irons in the royal palace; but

intervention  
of Apollo,  
whom he  
invokes.

μὲν ἄνδρα σβεννύντα τὸ πῦρ δυναμένους δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν<sup>309</sup>, ἐπιβώσασθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπικαλούμενον, εἴ τι οἱ κεχαρισμένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήθη, παραστήναι καὶ ῥύσασθαι μιν ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος κακοῦ· τὸν μὲν δακρύνοντα ἐπικαλέεσθαι τὸν θεόν· ἐκ δὲ αἰθρήης τε καὶ ἡνεμῆς συνδραμέειν ἐξαπίνης νέφεα, καὶ χειμῶνά τε καταρραγῆναι καὶ ὕσαι ὕδατι λαβροτάτῳ, κατασβεσθῆναι τε τὴν πυρὴν οὕτω δὴ μαθόντα τὸν Κῦρον ὥς εἴη ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ θεοφιλῆς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, καταβιβάσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πυρῆς εἶρεσθαι τάδε· “Κροῖσε, τίς σε ἀνθρώπων ἀνέγνωσε ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν ἐμὴν στρατευσάμενον πολέμιον ἀντὶ φίλου ἐμοὶ καταστήναι;” ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἔπραξα τῇ σῇ μὲν εὐδαιμονίῃ τῇ ἐμεωυτοῦ δὲ κακοδαιμονίῃ· αἴτιος δὲ τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἑλλήνων θεὸς ἐπαείρας ἐμὲ στρατεύεσθαι. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνόητός ἐστι ὅς τις πόλεμον πρὸ εἰρήνης αἰρέεται· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ οἱ παῖδες τοὺς πατέρας θάπτουσι· ἐν δὲ τῷ, οἱ πατέρες τοὺς παῖδας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δαίμοσι κου φίλον ἦν οὕτω γενέσθαι.”

88  
Cyrus takes  
him into his  
confidence.

Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε. Κῦρος δὲ αὐτὸν λύσας κάτισέ τε ἐγγὺς ἐωυτοῦ<sup>310</sup> καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλῇ προμηθίᾳ εἶχε, ἀπεθώνμαξέ τε ὀρέων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ περὶ ἐκείνον ἔοντες πάντες. ὁ δὲ συννοῖα ἐχόμενος<sup>311</sup> ἥσυχος ἦν μετὰ δὲ, ἐπιστραφεὶς τε καὶ ἰδόμενος τοὺς Πέρσας τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἄστει κερατίζοντας, εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, κότερα λέγειν πρὸς σὲ τὰ νοέων τυγχάνω, ἢ σιγᾶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι χρῆ;” Κῦρος δὲ μιν θαρσέοντα ἐκέλευε λέγειν ὃ τι βούλοιντο· ὁ δὲ

his release again follows, accompanied with earthquakes and thunderings. (Compare the release of Dionysus in the *Bacchæ* of EURIPIDES.) Cyrus, recognizing in this the favour of the gods for Croesus, makes him ruler over a great city (Barene) in the neighbourhood of Agbatana. It is to be remarked that in Ctesias's account the expedition of Cyrus against the Sacæ was represented as taking place before that against Sardis (*ap. Photium, Biblioth.* p. 36).

The burning of the captives is rather in harmony with the Belus-worship of Babylon than with the *Persian* religion of Cyrus's time. (See below, § 132.) Many centuries afterwards (in the time of Hadrian) human sacrifices appear to have been offered to Mithras (CREUZER, *Symbolik* i. p. 258), but then not by vivi-combustion. The proceeding therefore can hardly be explained as a trait out of the

*Median* ritual. It is much more in keeping with the notions of an Asiatic Greek. Thus Achilles sacrifices twelve Trojan captives on the pyre of Patroclus (*Iliad* xxiii. 175). I should look for the origin of the narrative in some Apollo-worshipping city which was in commercial relations with Lydia. See note on § 109.

<sup>309</sup> *δυναμένους δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν*. The same use of *καταλαμβάνω* is found in *Joh. Evang.* i. 8, τὸ δὲ σκότος αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβε, where the English version is very bad.

<sup>310</sup> *κάτισέ τε ἐγγὺς ἐωυτοῦ*. This phrase is an oriental feature in the tale. To sit near the sovereign at table would be the most significant mark of favour in an Eastern court. See 1 *Sam.* xx. 25; 2 *Sam.* ix. 7. 11; 1 *Kings* xviii. 19.

<sup>311</sup> *συννοῖα ἐχόμενος*, “pondering.” So below, § 141, ὀργῇ ἐχόμενος, “angry.”

αὐτὸν εἰρώτα, λέγων “οὗτος ὁ πολλὸς ὄμιλος τί ταῦτα σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐργάζεται;” ὁ δὲ εἶπε “πόλιν τε τὴν διαρπάξει καὶ χρήματα τὰ σὰ διαφορέει” Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμείβετο “οὔτε πόλιν τὴν ἐμὴν οὔτε χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάξει· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἐτι τούτων μέτα· ἀλλὰ φέρουσί τε καὶ ἄγουσι τὰ σά.” Κύρῳ δὲ 89 ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε μετασθησάμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, εἶρετο Κροῖσον ὃ τι οἱ ἐνορῶν ἐν τοῖσι ποιευμένοισι; ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ἐπεὶ τε με θεοὶ δῶκαν δούλῳ σοι, δικαίῳ εἴ τι ἐνορέω πλέον σημαίνειν σοι. Πέρσαι φύσιν ἔοντες ὕβρισταί, εἰσὶ ἀχρήματοι· ἦν ὦν σὺ τούτους περιύδης διαρπάσαντας καὶ κατασχόντας χρήματα μεγάλα, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι· ὃς ἂν αὐτῶν πλείστα κατάσχη, τοῦτον προσδέκεσθαι τοι ἐπαναστησόμενον. νῦν ὦν ποίησον ὥδε, εἴ τοι ἀρέσκει τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω· κάτισον τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ πάσῃσι τῇσι πύλῃσι φυλάκους, οἳ λεγόντων<sup>312</sup> πρὸς τοὺς ἐκφέροντας τὰ χρήματα ἀπαιρέμενοι, ὥς σφεα ἀναγκαιῶς ἔχει δεκατευθῆναι τῷ Διὶ. καὶ σύ τε σφι οὐκ ἀπεχθήσαιο βίῃ ἀπαιρέμενος τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι συγγρόντες ποιέειν σε δίκαια, ἐκόντες ποιήσουσι.” Ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Κῦρος ὑπερήδετο, 90 ὥς οἱ ἐδόκεε εὐ ὑποτίθεσθαι· αἰνέσας δὲ πολλὰ, καὶ ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι δορυφόροις τὰ Κροῖσος ὑπεθήκατο ἐπιτελέειν, εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε “Κροῖσε, ἀναρτημένου σεῦ ἀνδρὸς βασιλέως χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ποιέειν<sup>313</sup>, αἰτέο<sup>314</sup> τὴν δόσιν ἣν τινα<sup>315</sup> βούλεαί τοι γενέσθαι παραντίκα.” ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ δέσποτα, ἔασας με χαριεῖ μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν ἐτίμησα ἐγὼ θεῶν μάλιστα ἐπείρεσθαι πέμψαντα τάσδε τὰς πέδας, εἰ ἑξαπατᾶν τοὺς εὐ ποιούντας νόμος ἔστι οἱ;” Κῦρος δὲ εἶρετο ὃ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπηγορεύων

His wrath  
against  
Apollo.

<sup>312</sup> οἱ λεγόντων. This expression is equivalent to καὶ οἱ τοὶ λεγέτωσαν, “who must peremptorily say.”

<sup>313</sup> ἀναρτημένου σεῦ ἀνδρὸς βασιλέως . . . ποιέειν, “seeing that thou art bound as a prince to work my weal in act and word:” ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα seem a kind of technical form of speech, and are consequently taken like a single substantive in regimen with ποιέειν. See note 190, above.

<sup>314</sup> αἰτέο. The position of the accent should here be observed. The form is derived from αἰτέω, by the elision of ε, like ἐγγέω, iii. 72, line 58; ἀκέω, iii. 40, line 73. See note on i. 180.

<sup>315</sup> τὴν δόσιν ἣν τινα. The MSS vary between τὴν δόσιν τὴν τινα and δόσιν τὴν τινα. Gaisford adopts the latter. Bekker reads δόσιν ἣν τινα. But the article before δόσις seems appropriate. The transaction appears to be a formal pledge of fealty, the vassal being bound (ἀναρτημένος) to his liege-lord, and the latter bestowing upon him some gift, by the acceptance of which his superiority is recognized. It is “the boon” bearing this symbolical meaning to which Cyrus appears to allude. But he leaves to Croesus the choice of what it shall be. See v. 11.



παραιτέοιτο ; Κροῖσος δέ οἱ ἐπανηλόγησε πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ διά-  
νοϊαν, καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τὰς ὑποκρίσεις, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἀναθή-  
ματα· καὶ ὡς ἐπαρθεὶς τῷ μαντήϊϊ ἐστρατεύσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας·  
λέγων δὲ ταῦτα, κατέβαινε αὐτὶς παραιτέόμενος<sup>318</sup> ἐπεῖναί οἱ τῷ  
θεῷ τούτῳ<sup>317</sup> ὀνειδίσαι· Κύρος δὲ γελάσας εἶπε “ καὶ τούτου  
τεύξεαι παρ’ ἐμεῦ, Κροῖσε, καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς τοῦ ἂν ἐκάστοτε  
δέῃ.” ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε ὁ Κροῖσος, πέμπων τῶν Λυδῶν εἰς  
Δελφοὺς, ἐνετέλλετο τιθέντας τὰς πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ νηοῦ τὸν οὐδὸν  
εἰρωτᾶν εἰ οὐ τι ἐπαισχύνεται τοῖσι μαντήϊοις ἐπάρας Κροῖσου  
στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, ὡς καταπαύσουντα τὴν Κύρου δύναμιν  
ἀπ’ ἧς οἱ ἀκροθίνια τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι ; δεικνύντας τὰς πέδας, ταῦτά  
τε ἐπειρωτᾶν καὶ εἰ ἀχαρίστοις νόμος εἶναι τοῖσι Ἑλληνικοῖσι  
θεοῖσι<sup>318</sup> ; Ἀπικομένοις δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ λέγουσι τὰ ἐντε-  
ταλμένα τὴν Πυθίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν τάδε “ τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν  
ἀδύνατά ἐστι ἀποφυγέειν καὶ θεῷ· Κροῖσος δὲ πέμπτου γονέος<sup>319</sup>  
ἀμαρτὰδα ἐξέπλησε, ὃς ἐὼν δορυφόρος Ἡρακλείδων, δόλῳ γυναι-  
κητῷ ἐπισπόμενος<sup>320</sup> ἐφόνευσε τὸν δεσπότηα, καὶ ἔσχε τὴν ἐκείνου  
τιμὴν οὐδὲν οἱ προσήκουσαν. προθυμομένου δὲ Λοξίῳ, ὅπως ἂν  
κατὰ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Κροῖσου γένοιτο τὸ Σαρδίων πάθος καὶ μὴ  
κατ’ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον, οὐκ οἷός τε ἐγένετο παραγαγεῖν μοῖρας· ὅσον  
δὲ ἐνέδωκαν αὐταὶ ἡνύσατο, καὶ ἐχαρίσατό οἱ· τρία γὰρ ἔτεα ἐπ-  
ανεβάλετο τὴν Σαρδίων ἄλωσιν καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιστάσθω Κροῖσος, ὡς  
ὑστερον τοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτοις ἀλοὺς τῆς πεπρωμένης. δεύτερα δὲ  
τούτων, καιομένην αὐτῷ ἐπήρκεσε. κατὰ δὲ τὸ μαντήϊον τὸ γενό-

91  
Defence set  
up by the  
oracle.

<sup>318</sup> κατέβαινε αὐτὶς παραιτέόμενος, “ he ended by again imploring.” So below, § 118, κατέβαινε εἰς λιτὰς τε καὶ συγγνώμην ἑωυτῷ κελεύων ἔχειν αὐτόν, “ he ended by resorting to supplications and urging indulgence towards himself;” § 118, κατέβαινε λέγων κ.τ.λ., “ he ended by saying,” &c. &c. The idiom seems derived from the practice of the agora, where the speaker on ending his speech “got down” from the bema.

<sup>317</sup> τούτῳ. This reading is sanctioned by the majority of MSS. Gaisford adopts τούτων on very slender authority.

<sup>318</sup> εἰ ἀχαρίστοις νόμος εἶναι τοῖσι Ἑλληνικοῖσι θεοῖσι; For εἶναι one MS has εἶη and another ἐστὶ,—corruptions which are due to an ignorance of the con-

struction. This would be in full εἰ νόμος [ἐστὶ] τ. Ἑλλ. θ. εἶναι ἀχαρίστοις.

<sup>319</sup> πέμπτου γονέος. Croesus was fifth from Gyges, reckoning, after the manner of the Greeks, both extremes. His fall fulfilled the Delphic oracle (see above, § 13), of which no note was taken until the fulfilment.

<sup>320</sup> ἐπισπόμενος. The majority of MSS have ἐπισπόμενος. But some have the reading in the text, which is well defended by *Odyss.* iii. 215 :

ἐπισπόμενοι θεοῦ δμῶν,

and by SOPHOCLES (*Electr.* 967) :

ἀλλ’ ἦν ἐπίσπρ τοῖς ἐμοῖς βουλευέμασιν.

μενον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς Κροῖσος μέμφεται. προηγόρευε γάρ οἱ Λοξίης, ἣν στρατεῖσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας μεγάλην ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν καταλύσειν τὸν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα χρὴν εὖ μέλλοντα βουλευέσθαι, ἐπείρεσθαι πέμψαντα κότερα τὴν ἐωυτοῦ ἢ τὴν Κύρου λέγοι ἀρχήν; οὐ συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ῥηθὲν, οὐδ' ἐπανειρόμενος, ἐωυτὸν αἴτιον ἀποφαινέτω ὃ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον χρηστηριαζομένῳ εἶπε τὰ εἶπε<sup>321</sup> Λοξίης περὶ ἡμίονου, οὐδὲ τοῦτο συνέβαλε<sup>322</sup>. ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κύρος οὗτος ἡμίονος· ἐκ γὰρ δυοῖν οὐκ ὁμοεθνέων ἐγεγόνεε, μητρὸς ἀμείνωνος πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδεεστέρου· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἦν Μηδὶς καὶ Ἀστυάγειος θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μήδων βασιλέως, ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τε ἦν καὶ ἀρχόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνοις· καὶ ἔνερθε ἐὼν τοῖσι ἅπασι, δεσποίνῃ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ συνοίκεε." ταῦτα μὲν ἡ Πυθίῃ ὑπεκρίνατο τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, οἱ δὲ ἀνῆνευκαν ἐς Σάρδις καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ Κροίσῳ· ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας, συνέγνω ἐωυτοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα καὶ οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν Κροίσου τε ἀρχὴν καὶ Ἰωνίης τὴν πρώτην καταστροφὴν ἔσχε οὕτω<sup>323</sup>. Κροίσῳ δὲ ἔστι καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλ- 92  
λάδι πολλὰ, καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μούνα. ἐν μὲν γὰρ Θήβησι τῆσι Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος, τὸν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμη-  
νίῳ<sup>324</sup>. ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ, αἷ τε βόες αἱ χρύσεται καὶ τῶν κίωνων αἱ  
πολλαί<sup>325</sup>. ἐν δὲ Προνηΐης τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι<sup>326</sup> ἀσπίς χρυσῆ μεγάλη.

Other offerings of Cræsus to Hellenic temples.

<sup>321</sup> τὰ εἶπε. The two manuscripts S and V omit these words.

<sup>322</sup> συνέβαλε. This, which is the reading of almost all the MSS, is altered by Gaisford after others into συνέλαβε. But the sense is not improved by the change. The argument of Apollo is, that the oracle about "the mule" would have helped Cræsus to understand the former one, but that he failed to put it together with that former one,—a sense for which συνέβαλε is requisite. The form συνεβάλετο is used (vi. 107) of Hippias in his interpretation of his own dream.

<sup>323</sup> Besides S and V (see above, note 136), the MSS δ and δ omit this section. These two last MSS do not often concur with either S or V, but the former of them rather with Wesseling's codices A B C. All except V likewise omit § 93 and § 94 down to καταπορνέουσι. See note 332.

<sup>324</sup> τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ. In this temple too were to be seen the golden shield and spear which Cræsus had sent as an offering to Amphiaræus (above, § 52),

and three tripods, upon which inscriptions in Cadmean letters, very nearly resembling the Ionic character, were found. (See notes on v. 59.) The former of these two passages does not exist in S and V, the latter does. MÜLLER (in *Bættiger's Amalthæa*, i. p. 129) considers it quite certain that this temple was a colony from that at Delphi.

<sup>325</sup> αἱ τε βόες αἱ χρύσεται καὶ τῶν κίωνων αἱ πολλαί. This expression (by the use of the articles αἱ βόες and τῶν κίωνων) shows that Herodotus addresses himself to persons to whom these objects were well known, at least by reputation. This would be the case with most; for Ephesus was the port at which all travellers from the East by the great road connecting Susa and Sardis would embark for Europe. (See v. 54, and *Act. Apost.* xix. 1.) Of course no one having the opportunity would omit to visit a temple which was one of the wonders of the world, and thus the details of it would become matter of notoriety all over Hellas. Herodotus puts it together with the temple of Here at

ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιέοντα· τὰ δ' ἐξαπόλωλε τὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων<sup>327</sup>. τὰ δ' ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι τῇσι Μιλησίων ἀναθήματα Κροίσῳ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἴσα τε σταθμὸν καὶ ὁμοία τοῖσι ἐν Δελφοῖσι. τὰ μὲν νυν ἐς τε Δελφούς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω ἀνέθηκε οἰκίᾳ τε ἑόντα, καὶ τῶν πατρῶων χρημάτων ἀπαρχήν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἐγένετο οὐσίης ἐχθροῦ, ὃς οἱ, πρὶν ἢ βασιλεῦσαι, ἀντιστασιώτης κατεστῆκε, συσπειδὼν Πανταλέοντι γενέσθαι τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Πανταλέων ἦν Ἀλυάττεω μὲν παῖς, Κροίσου δὲ ἀδελφεὸς οὐκ ὁμομήτριος· Κροῖσος μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Καείρης ἦν γυναικὸς Ἀλυάττης, Πανταλέων δὲ ἐξ Ἰάδος. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ, δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἀντιπρήσσοντα ἐπὶ κνάφου ἔλκων<sup>328</sup> διέφθειρε, τὴν δὲ οὐσίην αὐτοῦ ἔτι πρότερον κατιρώσας, τότε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὰ εἱρητὰι. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

## 93

Topography  
of Lydia.  
Tumulus of  
Halyattes.

Θώυματα δὲ γῇ Λυδίῃ ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἷά τε καὶ ἄλλη χώρα, παρέξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου καταφερομένου ψήγματος.

Samos (ii. 148). There can be little doubt that he visited it himself; for, although this does not necessarily follow from the words *ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιέοντα*, yet his description of the alluvial character of the neighbourhood of Ephesus is quite that of an eye-witness (ii. 10); and the incident of the dedication of the city to Artemis in the war with Croesus (i. 26) is undoubtedly a temple-tradition, either Delphic or Ephesian.

<sup>326</sup> *Προνητὴς τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι*. This, although not the reading of all the MSS (some of which have *Προνητοῖς τοῖς ἐν Δ.*), seems certainly to be the true one. ÆSCHYLUS (*Eumen.* 21) makes the priestess at Delphi, in her enumeration of the local deities, invoke Athens under this title, *Παλλὰς προναία δ' ἐν λόγοις προσβέβηται*, where there is no variation in the MSS. The only difficulty arises from the apparent strangeness of describing the goddess, *when first mentioning her*, by a mere local epithet. But this seems susceptible of an explanation. Herodotus had just mentioned the temple of the Ismenian Apollo. Now in *this* there was an *Athene προναία* (PAUSANIAS, ix. 10. 2), the recollection of whom would at once be suggested by the mention of it. Accordingly, just as if

he had actually spoken of the goddess (compare viii. 37), the author goes on to speak of the same similarly located, only at Delphi.

<sup>327</sup> *τὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων*. These words as they stand are undoubtedly corrupt, and Schweighäuser considers them a gloss. Schaefer and Gaisford omit *τὰ*, but this seems an arbitrary proceeding. The next sentence, too, as it stands, has no verb. I should be almost disposed to suspect the text originally ran thus: *ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιέοντα τῶν ἀναθημάτων, τὰ δὲ ἐξαπόλωλε· ταῦτα δ' ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι τῇσι Μιλησίων ἀναθήματα Κρ. κ.τ.λ.* The offerings in the temple were given up by the priests to Xerxes, who burnt the temple afterwards, and hence Herodotus could only speak of them by hearsay (STRABO, x. chap. i. p. 165). With regard to the gender of *Βράγχιδαί*, see note on § 158.

<sup>328</sup> *ἐπὶ κνάφου ἔλκων*, "by drawing him over a rack" (set with points like a fuller's comb). The engine is described by SUIDAS as *δργάνον τι ἐν κύκλῳ κέντρα ἔχον, δι' οὗ τοὺς βασανιζομένους κτείνουσι*. Perhaps it is substantially the same with the "harrow of iron" mentioned 2 Sam. xii. 31.

ἐν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται, χωρὶς τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων. ἔστι αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττω τοῦ Κροίσου πατρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ ἡ κρηπὶς μὲν ἐστὶ λίθων μεγάλων τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χῶμα γῆς. ἐξεργάσαντο δὲ μιν οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι, καὶ οἱ <sup>Legend of its origin.</sup> χειρῶνακτες, καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι· οὐροὶ δὲ, πέντε ἑόντες, ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω καὶ σφι γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο <sup>329</sup>, τὰ ἕκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο· καὶ ἐφαίνετο μετρεόμενον τὸ τῶν παιδισκῶν ἔργον ἔον μέγιστον. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεῖνται πᾶσαι <sup>330</sup> συλλέγουσαι σφίσι φερνάς, ἐς δ' ἂν συνοικήσωσι τοῦτο ποιέουσιν· ἐκδιδάσκει δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωντάς. ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σήματος εἰσὶ στάδιοι <sup>Its dimensions.</sup> ἕξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα· τὸ δὲ εὐρὸς ἐστὶ πλέθρα τριακαίδεκα. λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος <sup>331</sup> μεγάλη, τὴν λέγουσι Λυδοὶ <sup>Gygæan lake.</sup>

<sup>329</sup> καὶ σφι γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο. Before forming any theories relative to the existence of letters at a particular epoch from this passage, it is requisite to be certain that here the author is speaking of what he saw close and was able to interpret. But both here and in a similar case this is doubtful. See note 331 and on ii. 106. And at any rate a different legend respecting the origin of the tumulus existed; for CLAUDIUS, a scholar of Aristotle's, in his *Erotica*, related that the monument (which in his time went by the name of τῆς ἐταίρας μνήμα) was built by Gyges (who for the purpose impressed the whole force of the country) in honour of a deceased concubine of his. If the Sardin deity Cybele was, as seems probable (see note on v. 102), a mere variety of the Syrian goddess described by Lucian, it is probable that this tumulus was connected with her ritual, and was constructed in times earlier than those of which any distinct record remained in the time of Herodotus. If so, there would be a very good reason both for the variation of details in the stories which accounted for its existence, and for the retention, in each one, of a reference to the peculiar character of the goddess. See the story of Cheops's daughter related by the author, ii. 126.

<sup>330</sup> πορνεῖσθαι πᾶσαι. STRABO (xi. cap. 14 ult.) relates exactly the same practice of the Armenians, where it obviously was a Mylitta-worship which gave rise to the proceeding, and the most illustrious persons in the country dedicated their daughters.

ters. In the time of Herodotus Hellenic civilization had done much for Asia Minor; and probably only the *ἄνθρωποι*, the representatives of the old race, retained the characteristics of the Cybele-worship, as it was first brought to Sardis. See note on v. 102.

<sup>331</sup> λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος. STRABO describes the topography rather differently. He says this lake is forty *stadia* from the city, that it was called *Γυγαλία* by Homer, but subsequently *Κολή*; and that a temple of Artemis Coloëne is there, and the tombs of the kings surround the lake. Then he says, πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ἑσπερίαις ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀλυάττου ἐπὶ κρηπιδὸς ὀψιλῆς χῶμα μέγα (xiii. c. 4, p. 162). He is here probably following Demetrius of Scarpis, who was familiar with the locality. It is rather remarkable that Herodotus should not mention the tombs of the kings about the lake; but this may be explained on the hypothesis that he (or his informant) merely passed through Sardis, and just saw the mound and the lake from a distance. "Adjoining [the tumulus of Halyattes] among the hills, is a situation invisible from below, are countless tumuli, the forms of which are still quite perfect. The Turks call them *Bin-bir Teppe*, or 'the Thousand and One Hills.'" (FALKENER, *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, Art. xv.) See also note 329. Strabo says that according to some accounts the lake was an artificial reservoir to prevent mischief from the floods of the river.

ἀέλναον εἶναι· παλέεται δὲ αὕτη Γυγαίη<sup>333</sup>. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτό ἐστι<sup>334</sup>.

94  
Lydians  
the first  
coiners of  
money and  
inventors of  
most games  
known to  
the Hellenic  
race.

Λυδοὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρέωνται καὶ Ἕλληνες· χωρὶς ἣ ὅτι τὰ θήλεα τέκνα καταπορνεύουσι. πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοφάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο· πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο<sup>334</sup>. φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λυδοὶ, καὶ τὰς παυγνίας τὰς νῦν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἕλλησι κατεστεῶσας ἐωντῶν ἐξεύρημα γενέσθαι· ἅμα δὲ ταύτας τε ἐξευρεθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσι καὶ Τυρσηνὴν ἀποικίσαι· ὧδε περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντες· ἐπὶ Ἄττος τοῦ Μάνεω βασιλέος σιτοδητὴν ἰσχυρὴν ἀνὰ τὴν Λυδίην πᾶσαν γενέσθαι· καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς τέως μὲν διαγίνειν λιπαρόντας· μετὰ δὲ, ὡς οὐ παύεσθαι, ἅκεα διζήσθαι· ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιμηχανᾶσθαι αὐτῶν ἐξευρεθῆναι δὴ ὦν τότε καὶ τῶν κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων καὶ τῆς σφαίρης καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων πασέων παυγνιέων τὰ εἶδεα πλὴν πεσσῶν· τούτων γὰρ ὦν<sup>335</sup> τὴν ἐξεύρεσιν οὐκ οἰκηιοῦνται Λυδοί· ποιεῖν δὲ ὧδε πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν

<sup>333</sup> καλέεται δὲ αὕτη Γυγαίη. The lake is mentioned by this name in the *Iliad*: xx. 392 (cited in note 277, above). The Vilhoison scholiast on that passage seems to show that the text of Herodotus hereabouts must have suffered some change. *κάπη ἐστὶ Λυδίας Ἀλαδα, ἔνθα φησὶν Ἡρόδοτος βωρὸν Ἰφικλίου καὶ ἔγαλμα λίθινον κολοσσικὸν ἡκρωτηριασμένον ἀρχαίᾳ τῷπῃ ἐργασμένον καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν λιμνὴν καλὰ μους συνδοσιῶσθαι εἰλιθίοις.* See note 323.

<sup>334</sup> The MSS S, δ, and d here again take up the text thus: Λυδοὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ πρῶτοι κ.τ.λ. Instead of the words *φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λυδοί*, S has *Λυδοὶ δὲ αὐτοί*, and all three after these words insert *καὶ παύγνια πρῶτοι ἐξευρίσθαι λέγονται παρὰ Ἑλλήνων τῶν τε κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων.* See the last note.

<sup>335</sup> *πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο.* The general merchant resident in an entrepôt of traffic would be a *κάπηλος*, as opposed to an *ἐμπορος* or trader who brought the wares he sold from a distance. Sardis was an entrepôt for Hellenic and Asiatic traffic. The wool produced in Phrygia (*πολυπροβατωτέρη*, v. 49) was brought there to be dyed (PLINY, *N. H.* vii. 47), and the purple dye produced from the *κοκχία*, taken at Linum, a spot on the southern coast of the Propontis, which

was the best in the world (STRABO, xiii. c. 1), found its way thither by water-carriage. It was likewise a mart for the precious metals. The Spartans sent thither to purchase some gold (i. 69), probably ingots formed from the grains brought down in the sand of the Pactolus. SOPHOCLES, too, speaks of the *electrum* which came from Sardis (*Antig.* 1037: cited in note 154, above). The anecdotes told by Herodotus of Periander (iii. 48) and of Hermotimus (viii. 106) show that Sardis was also a great slave-market. It would also lie conveniently for shipping the dyed goods of the Phrygian Hierapolis, the waters of which possessed such remarkable qualities as to enable the vegetable dyes of that place to compete with the marine productions of Tyre or of the Propontis (STRABO, xiii. c. 4). Under such circumstances a standard of value would in very early times be necessary; and hence minted coins would very soon appear. It does not, however, necessarily follow from what Herodotus says that the Lydian sovereigns coined on their own account, and there are some reasons to believe that they did not. See note on iv. 166.

<sup>335</sup> *τούτων γὰρ ὦν.* The MSS S, V, δ, d omit what follows until the words *ἐνομασθήναι Τυρσηνός*, nearly at the end of the chapter.

ἐξευρόντας τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν τῶν ἡμερέων παίζειν πᾶσαν ἵνα δὴ μὴ  
 ζητέοιεν σιτία τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν σιτέεσθαι παυομένους τῶν παυγνίων  
 τοιοῦτω τρόπῳ διάγειν ἐπ' ἑτα δυνάμει δέοντα εἰκοσι· ὅπῃ τε δὲ οὐκ  
 ἀνέκναι τὸ κακὸν <sup>236</sup> ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι βιάζεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ τὸν  
 βασιλέα αὐτῶν, δύο μοίρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων, κληρώσαι  
 τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μνητὴν τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ ἐκ τῆς χώρας· καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ  
 μένειν αὐτοῦ λαγαροσύνη τῶν μοιρῶν ἐκείνων τὸν βασιλέα προσ-  
 τάσσειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἀπαλλασσομένη τὸν ἐκείνου παῖδα, τῷ οὐνομα  
 εἶναι Τυρσηνὸν λαχόντας δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐξίεναι ἐκ τῆς Tyrrenus,  
a Lydian,  
colonizes  
Umbria.  
 χώρας, καταβῆναι ἐς Σμύρνην <sup>237</sup> καὶ μηχανήσασθαι πλοία, ἐς τὰ  
 ἐσθεμένους τὰ πάντα ὅσα σφί ἦν χρηστὰ ἐπιπλοᾶ, ἀποπλέειν κατὰ  
 βίου τε καὶ γῆς ζήτησιν ἐς δ' ἔθνεα πολλὰ παραμεμφαμένους  
 ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ὀμβρικοὺς· ἔνθα σφέας ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιν καὶ  
 οἰκέειν τὸ μέχρι τούδε· ἀντὶ δὲ Λυδῶν μετονομασθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ παιδὸς ὃς σφέας ἀνήγαγε, ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν ἐπωνυ-  
 μίην ποιευμένους, ὀνομασθῆναι Τυρσηνοὺς. Λυδοὶ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ  
 Πέρσῃσι δεδοῦλυντο.

Ἐπιδίξεται δὲ δὴ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τὸν τε Κύρον ὅστις 95  
 ἔων τὴν Κροίσου ἀρχὴν κατεῖλε, καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὅτεφ τρόπῳ History of  
Cyrus, who

<sup>236</sup> *ὅπῃ τε δὲ οὐκ ἀνέκναι τὸ κακόν.*  
 DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus (*Archaeol.*  
 i. 28), by quoting the substance of this  
 account, shows that he used a copy in  
 which this paragraph appeared. That the  
 tradition is a genuine *Sardian* one is  
 plain from the pleadings of the authorities  
 of the city before the Roman senate in the  
 time of Tiberius (TACITUS, *Annal.* iv. 55).  
 Its historical accuracy is quite a different  
 question. XANTHUS, the historian, did  
 not mention it. HOMERUS uses it for the  
 purpose of a compliment to Mæcenas  
 (*Sat.* I. vi. 1):

"Non quia, Mæcenas, Lydorum quidquid  
 Etruscos  
 Incoluit fines, nemo generosior est te;"

and VARRO, for whom a recondite tradi-  
 tion always had attractions, speaks of the  
 "Lydian Tybris" (*Æm.* ii. 782); but  
 these allusions imply no real belief in the  
 legend on which they are based. The  
 substantial truth which lies at the bottom  
 of the story seems to be the affinity be-  
 tween the Etruscan and the early Lydian

racess, as being two swarms of the same  
 tribe whose tutelary deity was worshipped  
 with orgiastic and impure rites. This  
 affinity is expressed by making the eponyms  
 of the two nations children of a  
 common ancestor, who himself is the  
 hierophant of the goddess. (See note on  
 v. 102.) The ancestors of the Etruscans  
 probably passed by Lampsacus and the  
 Hellespont into Thrace, where Atys be-  
 came Otys or Cotys, and the goddess  
 Cotytto (*ÆSCHYLUS, Fragment* 54, ed.  
 Dindorf), and thence descended into the  
 north of Italy in course of time. Those  
 of the Lydians on the other hand spread  
 through Phrygia into the valleys of the  
 Mæander, Hermus, and Cayster. When  
 we get to the *historical* times, Herodotus  
 distinctly asserts that the *Phœ-  
 cians* were the discoverers of Tyrrenia  
 (§ 193).

<sup>237</sup> *ἐς Σμύρνην.* It seems not impro-  
 probable that the town here mentioned was  
 really *Ephesus*. See the note on § 150,  
*ἔς τε ἀνέβαλεν.*



αὐτῆς κώμης Μῆδοι ὀρώντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους, δικαστὴν μιν ἐωυτῶν αἰρέοντο· ὁ δὲ δὴ, οἷα μνεώμενος ἀρχὴν, ἰθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν. ποιέων τε ταῦτα ἔπαινον εἶχε οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς τῶν πολιτῶν, οὕτω ὥστε πυνθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι κώμησι ὡς Δηϊόκης εἶη ἀνὴρ μούνος κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν δικάζων, πρότερον περιπέπτοντες ἀδίκουσι γκώμησι, τότε ἐπεὶ τε ἤκουσαν, ἄσμενοι ἐφόβτεον παρὰ τὸν Δηϊόκεα καὶ αὐτοὶ δικασόμενοι· τέλος δὲ, οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐπετράποντο. Πλεῦνος δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένου τοῦ ἐπιφοιτέοντος, οἷα πυνθανομένων τὰς δίκας ἀποβαίνειν κατὰ τὸ ἔον, γνοὺς ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐς ἐωυτὸν πᾶν ἀνακειμενον, οὔτε κατίζειν ἔτι ᾗθελε ἔνθα περ πρότερον προκατίζων ἐδίκασε<sup>343</sup>, οὗτ' ἔφη δικάν ἔτι· οὐ γάρ οἱ λυσιτελέειν, τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἐξημεληκότα τοῖσι πέλας δι' ἡμέρης δικάζειν. εὐούσης ὦν ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀνομίης ἔτι πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἀνὰ τὰς κώμας ἢ πρότερον ἦν, συνελέχθησαν οἱ Μῆδοι ἐς τῶντ' οὗτο, καὶ ἐδίδουσαν σφίσι λόγον λέγοντες περὶ τῶν κατηκόντων<sup>344</sup>. ὡς δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω, μάλιστα ἔλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δηϊόκεω φίλοι· “οὐ γὰρ δὴ τρὸς τῷ παρῶντι χρεώμενοι δυνατοὶ εἶμεν οἰκέειν τὴν χώραν, φέρε στήσωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα· καὶ οὕτω ἢ τε χώρα εὐνομήσεται καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἔργα τρεφόμεθα, οὐδὲ ὑπ' ἀνομίης ἀνάστατοι ἐσόμεθα.” ταῦτά κη λέγοντες πείθουσι ἐωυτοὺς βασιλεύειν. Αὐτίκα δὲ προβαλλομένων τὸν τινα<sup>345</sup> στήσονται βασιλέα, ὁ Δηϊόκης ἦν πολλὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ προβαλλόμενος<sup>346</sup> καὶ αἰνεόμενος· ἐς δ' οὗτον καταινέουσι βασιλέα σφίσι εἶναι. ὁ δ' ἐκέλευε αὐτοὺς οἰκία τε ἐωυτῷ ἄξια τῆς βασιλῆης οἰκοδομήσαι, καὶ κρατύναι αὐτὸν δορυφόροις. ποιέουσι δὴ ταῦτα οἱ Μῆδοι· οἰκοδομέουσιν τε γὰρ αὐτῷ οἰκία μεγάλα τε καὶ ἰσχυρά, ἵνα αὐτὸς ἐφρασε τῆς χώρας, καὶ

<sup>343</sup> προκατίζων ἐδίκασε. An expression derived from the simple usage of early times, when the judgment-seat was a stone in front of the dwelling of the sovereign. See Exodus xviii. 13; 2 Samuel xix. 8.

<sup>344</sup> περὶ τῶν κατηκόντων, “about the actual state of things.” τὰ καθήκοντα are those matters which touch a person, as contradistinguished from those which being at a distance do not affect him. The fundamental idea appears in the technical use of the word in the Stoic philosophy, where τὸ καθήκον is equivalent to the Latin *officium*, that which

stands in an immediate relation with man as a moral agent.

<sup>345</sup> τὸν τινα. This is the reading in Gaisford. If correct, it is equivalent to *οὗτινα*, which is found in some copies. But perhaps the true reading is, τὸ τίνα στήσονται β., “on proposing the question, whom were they to make king?”

<sup>346</sup> ἦν πολλὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ προβαλλόμενος καὶ αἰνεόμενος, “was zealously by every one both proposed and lauded.” See vii. 158, πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο, “zealously urged;” ix. 91, ὡς δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος, “as he was pressing in his solicitation.”



He causes them to build Agbatana, surrounding it with seven ramparts.

Its magnitude.

δορυφόρους αὐτῷ ἐπιτρέπουσι ἐκ πάντων Μήδων καταλέξασθαι. ὁ δὲ ὥς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν, τοὺς Μήδους ἠνάγκασε ἐν πόλισμα ποιήσασθαι, καὶ τοῦτο περιστέλλοντας<sup>347</sup> τῶν ἄλλων ἦσσαν ἐπιμέλῃσθαι· πειθομένων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Μήδων, οἰκοδομεῖ τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ καρτερὰ, ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβάτανα κέκληται<sup>348</sup>, ἕτερον ἐτέρῳ κύκλῳ ἐνεστέωτα. μεμηχάνηται δὲ οὕτω τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος, ὥστε ὁ ἕτερος τοῦ ἐτέρου κύκλος τοῖσι προμαχεῶσι μούνοισι ἔστι ὑψηλότερος. τὸ μὲν κού τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμμαχεῖ κολωνὸς ἔον ὥστε ταιούτο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἐπιτηδεύθη, κύκλων ἐόντων τῶν συναπάντων ἑπτά· ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιλῆϊα ἔνεστι καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν μέγιστόν ἐστι τεῖχος κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηνέων κύκλον<sup>349</sup> μάλιστα κη τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρώτου κύκλου οἱ προμαχεῶνές εἰσι λευκοί· τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου μέλανες· τρίτου δὲ κύκλου φοινῖκες· τετάρτου δὲ κύνες· πέμπτου δὲ σανδαράκινοι. οὕτω πάντων τῶν κύκλων οἱ προμαχεῶνες ἡνθισμένοι εἰσὶ φαρμάκοις<sup>350</sup>. δύο δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι

<sup>347</sup> καὶ τοῦτο περιστέλλοντας, "and bestowing their pains on securing this." Compare ἰσχυρῶς περιστέλλοντες, II. 147; τὸν νόμον περιστέλλοντες, III. 31.

<sup>348</sup> ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβάτανα κέκληται. It does not appear from this expression that this was the original name of the town or fortress. RAWLINSON (*London Geographical Journal*, vol. x.) conjectures that the name signified "a place of strength for treasures." Its meaning appears from the form Akmetha (the Chaldaic form for Agbatana, where *m* takes the place of *b* or *p*, as in μεμβράς for βεμβράς, ὄμμα for the Æolic ὄπμα, μετὰ for the Æolic μετὰ, μόρος for a form βόρος, which has left a trace of itself in the word βορσός). This word Akmetha is derived by Hebraists from a root signifying "to collect together;" so that the word seems equivalent to *συνοικία*, a most appropriate name for a city formed as Athens was by Theseus, or Megalopolis by Epaminondas, by a centralization of strength. The modern form of the word is said to be Ahmethán in Syrian, and Hamadán in Persian; but it does not follow (especially if the meaning of the word be what we have supposed) that the modern Hamadán is the Agbatana of Herodotus's Deioces. It prob-

ably is that of POLYBIUS (x. 27), who describes the citadel as an artificial elevation.

<sup>349</sup> κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηνέων κύκλον. It has been inferred, most gratuitously, from these words and the minute description of the walls, that Herodotus had visited Agbatana. But the vagueness of its site and dimensions should have guarded against this conclusion. Rawlinson fixes it not at Hamadán, but at Takti-Soleimán, where there is a very striking hill rising to 150 feet above the plain, still fortified, and about three quarters of a mile in circuit. This is sufficiently near to the acropolis at Athens to allow of comparison in a *ceramensis* story, but the circuit of the Agbatana of DIONORUS (xvii. f.) 250 stadia, cannot be brought into agreement either with the whole of Athens within fortifications, which was, in the time of Thucydides, 174½ stadia (LEAKE, p. 273), or with the circuit of the ἄκρον, which was forty-three. But the *mere hill* of the citadel would be much less, only this precinct would be inaccurately described by the word κέκλος.

<sup>350</sup> ἡνθισμένοι φαρμάκοις, "diapered with paint."

εἰσὶ ὁ μὲν καταργημένους ὁ δὲ καταχερσισμένους<sup>351</sup> ἔχων τοὺς προμαχεῶνας.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐωυτῷ τε ἐτείχεε<sup>352</sup> καὶ περὶ τὰ ἑω- 99  
του οἰκία· τὸν δὲ ἄλλον δῆμον πέριξ ἐκέλευε τὸ τεῖχος οἰκέειν.  
οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων, κόσμον τόνδε Δηϊόκης πρῶτός ἐστι ὁ  
καταστησάμενος· μήτε εἰσέναι παρὰ βασιλέα μηδένα, δι' ἀγ-  
γέλων δὲ πάντα χρέεσθαι<sup>353</sup>, ὁρᾶσθαι τε βασιλέα ὑπὸ μηδενός·  
πρὸς τε τούτοις ἔτι, γελᾶν τε καὶ πτίειν ἀντίον καὶ ἅπασιν εἶναι  
τοῦτό γε αἰσχρόν<sup>354</sup>. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ ἑωυτὸν ἐσέμνυνε τῶνδε εἵνε-  
κεν, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ὀρώντες οἱ ὀμήλικες, ἔοντες σύντροφοί τε ἐκέλευ

Court cere-  
monial of  
Deioces.

<sup>351</sup> ὁ δὲ καταχερσισμένους. RAWLIN-  
SON remarks that the seven colours men-  
tioned by Herodotus are those employed  
by the Orientals to denote the seven plane-  
tary bodies. He quotes a poet (Nizāmi)  
who describes a palace of seven colours like  
those of Herodotus. In this the palace  
dedicated to Saturn was *black*; that to Ju-  
piter, *orange* (maad-wood colour); that  
to Mars, *scarlet*; that to the Sun, *golden*;  
that to Venus, *white*; that to Mercury,  
*azure*; and that to the Moon, *green*  
(which the Orientals regard as the hue of  
silver). These circumstances would in-  
duce one to regard the story in Herodotus  
as proceeding originally from Chaldean  
sources. But it does not seem easy to  
suit the order of the walls in the narrative  
to that of the heavenly bodies in the dis-  
position of their orbits, according to Chal-  
dean or Egyptian notions,—or to discover  
any principle in the deviation from that  
order. If, indeed, we suppose that by an  
inadvertence (from whatever source aris-  
ing) the colours of the first and second  
ramparts, and those of the third and fifth,  
have been interchanged in the description,  
we shall get an order corresponding with  
that of the deities presiding over the days  
of the week. See note 349.

<sup>352</sup> ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐωυτῷ  
τε ἐτείχεε. DIODORUS, who professes to  
give a careful comparison of the  
diverse statements of Herodotus and Ctes-  
ias relative to the overthrow of the As-  
syrian supremacy by the Medes, relates,  
on the alleged authority of Herodotus,  
that after this event took place no at-  
tempt to gain the supremacy was made  
for many generations, but that, at last,  
after many years had passed by, αἰσθῆναι  
βασιλέα παρὰ τοῖς Μήδοις ἄνδρα δικαιοσύνην

διόφορον, ὄνομα Κυζάρην (ii. 32). This  
is taken by Wesseling and others as a slip  
of memory on the part of Diodorus; and  
such is not an improbable solution of the  
difficulty. But the emphasis which Dio-  
dorus lays upon the length of time dur-  
ing which the isonomy existed contrasts  
strongly with the entire absence of any  
such statement in Herodotus, as the text  
exists at present; and it seems also not  
improbable that the MSS to which Dio-  
dorus had access varied in this respect.  
(See note on § 180, *τριπόρων*.) If so, it  
is very possible that in them a Cyaxares,  
and not Deioces, was represented as the  
founder of the Median monarchy. (See  
above, note 332.) It is to be remarked that  
in the Armenian traditions, as represented  
by MOSSES of Chorene, five Median sove-  
reigns are interposed between the over-  
throw of the effeminate Chonus Conco-  
lerus (= Sardanapalus) and the reign of  
Deioces.

<sup>353</sup> χρέεσθαι. A word appropriate to  
the consulting an oracle. See note 290,  
above.

<sup>354</sup> ἀντίον καὶ ἅπασιν εἶναι τοῦτό γε αἰ-  
σχρόν. The words καὶ ἅπασιν are to be  
taken both with ἀντίον and with αἰσχρόν.  
Herodotus represents it as an institution  
of Deioces, that to laugh or to spit, not  
only in the presence of the sovereign, but  
of any person whatever, should be a breach  
of decorum, and held so not only by cour-  
tiers, but by all persons whatever. XENO-  
PHON (*Cyropædia*, i. 2. 16) speaks of a  
similar decorum prevailing among the  
Persians, and brings it forward as an evi-  
dence of the desiccating effect of their  
corporal training that such a custom  
should have become possible. See below,  
§ 133.

καὶ οἰκίης οὐ φλαυροτέρης, οὐδὲ ἐς ἀνδραγαθίην λειπόμενοι, λυ-  
 100 πτοῖατο καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουιν, ἀλλ' ἑτεροῖός σφι δοκεῖο εἶναι μὴ  
 ὀρώσι. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε καὶ ἐκράτυνε ἑαυτὸν τῇ  
 τυραννίδι, ἣν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσων χαλεπός· καὶ τὰς τε δίκας  
 γράφοντες εἴσω παρ' ἐκείνων ἐσεπέμπεσκον, καὶ ἐκείνος διακρίνων  
 τὰς ἐσφερομένας ἐκπέμπεσκε. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὰς δίκας ἐποίησε  
 τὰ δὲ δὴ ἄλλα ἐκεκοσμέατό οἱ· εἴ τινα πυνθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα,  
 τοῦτον ὄκως μεταπέμψαιτο, κατ' ἀξίην ἐκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδι-  
 καίεν καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποι τε καὶ κατήκοι<sup>335</sup> ἦσαν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν  
 χώραν τῆς ἡρχε.

101 Διῳκῆς μὲν νυν<sup>336</sup> τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος συνέστρεψε μούνων, καὶ  
 τούτου ἦρξε. ἔστι δὲ Μήδων τοςάδε γένεα· Βουσαί, Παρη-  
 τακηνοί<sup>337</sup>, Στρούχατες, Ἀριζαντοί, Βούδιοι, Μάγοι. γένεα μὲν δὴ

102 Μήδων ἐστὶ τοςάδε. Διῳκέω δὲ παῖς γίνεται Φραόρτης<sup>338</sup>, ὃς  
 τελευτήσαντος Διῳκέω βασιλεύσαντος τρία καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα,  
 παρεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχὴν παραδεξάμενος δὲ, οὐκ ἀπεχρέετο\* μούνων  
 ἄρχειν τῶν Μήδων ἀλλὰ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας,  
 πρώτοις τε τούτοις ἐπεθήκατο, καὶ πρώτους Μήδων ἱπηκόους  
 ἐποίησε· μετὰ δὲ, ἔχων δύο ταῦτα ἔθνη καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ἰσχυρὰ,  
 κατεστρέφετο τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπ' ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλο ἰὼν ἔθνος· ἐς ὃ  
 στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, καὶ Ἀσσυρίων τούτους οἱ  
 Νῖνων εἶχον καὶ ἡρχον πρότερον πάντων, τότε δὲ ἦσαν μεμουνω-  
 μένοι μὲν συμμάχων ἅτε ἀπεστεαῶτων ἄλλως μέντοι ἑαυτῶν  
 εὖ ἤκοντες, ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος ὁ Φραόρτης, αὐτὸς  
 τε διεφθάρη ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ  
 πολλός.

He reigns  
 fifty-three  
 years over  
 the Medes  
 alone.

His son  
 Phraortes  
 conquers  
 the Per-  
 sians, and  
 with their  
 aid other  
 nations of  
 Asia.

He is slain  
 in a fruit-  
 less attack  
 on Nineveh,  
 after reign-  
 ing twenty-  
 two years.

<sup>335</sup> κατάσκοποι τε καὶ κατήκοι. See below, note on i. 114.

<sup>336</sup> Διῳκῆς μὲν νυν. S, V, δ, d here resume the thread of the narrative. See note 340.

<sup>337</sup> Παρητακηνοί. The manuscripts S and V have Παρηκοντακηνοί. It has been conjectured that these people are the same with the Paricani mentioned in iii. 94. But there is nothing to shew whether the γένεα here are local tribes, or castes, or houses in the Hellenic sense. The vagueness of Herodotus's information appears from his statement (vii. 62) that the Medes were anciently called Ἀριοι (a word which is interpreted by orientalists as equivalent to

'worshipful'), and that the name Μῆδοι came from Medea. STRABO's indefiniteness in laying down a boundary for Ariana (xv. c. 2), perhaps comes from a similar mistake of a personal attribute for a gentile name, in some of his predecessors.

<sup>338</sup> Φραόρτης. This name appears, according to RAWLINSON, on ancient inscriptions in the arrow-headed character. Its genuine form is *Fráurtiśā*. It is to be observed that the father of Deioces was named Phraortes, which accords with the Hellenic fashion to name the grandson after the grandfather. See above, § 96.

\* οὐκ ἀπεχρέετο, "was not contented." See above, note 125.

Φραόρτεω δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Κναζάρης<sup>350</sup> ὁ Φραόρτεω 103  
 τοῦ Δηϊόκεω παῖς. οὗτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἔτι γενέσθαι ἀλκιμώ- His son  
 τερὸς τῶν προγόνων καὶ πρῶτός τε ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν Cyazares  
 τῇ Ἀσίῃ, καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρὶς ἐκάστους εἶναι, τοὺς τε introduces a  
 αἰχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἵππείας· πρὸ τοῦ δὲ military or-  
 ἀναμῖξ ἦν πάντα ὁμοίως ἀναπεφυρμένα. (οὗτος ὁ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ganization,  
 ἐστὶ μαχεσάμενος ὅτε νύξ ἡ ἡμέρῃ<sup>360</sup> ἐγένετό σφι μαχομένοισι, separating  
 καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἄλως ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίην<sup>361</sup> πᾶσαν συστήσας the different  
 ἑωυτῷ.)<sup>362</sup> συλλέξας δὲ τοὺς ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ἀρχομένους πάντας, arms.  
 ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Νῆον, τιμωρέων τε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τὴν πόλιν  
 ταύτην θέλων ἐξελεῖν καὶ οἱ, ὡς συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀσσυ- He besieges  
 ρίους, περικατημένῳ τὴν Νῆον ἐπήλθε Σκυθέων στρατὸς μέγας· Niniveh,  
 ἄγε δὲ αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων Μαδύης, Πρωτοθύεω παῖς· but is di-  
 οἱ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Κιμμερίους ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς verted from  
 Εὐρώπης, τούτοισι δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι φεύγουσι οὕτω ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν his purpose  
 χώραν ἀπίκοντο. (Ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ by the great  
 Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους τρώκοντα ἡμερέων εὐζώνῳ ὁδός· Scythian  
 ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν<sup>363</sup>, ἀλλὰ invasion.  
 104  
 Distance from Col-  
 chis to  
 Media.

<sup>350</sup> Κναζάρης. RAWLINSON says that this name is a compound of the Persian *Kei* (a royal epithet applied to the early kings of Persia), and *Azares*. This last is the Hellenic form of the name *Khash-atsha*, with the definite article *Ah* prefixed. Without this prefix the name is equivalent to the Hellenic *Xerxes*; with it, to *Azares*, *Assuerus*, or *Ahasuerus*.

<sup>360</sup> ὅτε νύξ ἡ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο. See above, § 74, note 254. This sentence connects the Median list of kings with the Lydian traditions.

<sup>361</sup> τὴν Ἄλως ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίην. This very unusual expression raises a suspicion that the passage may be corrupt. Perhaps we should read τὴν ἄνω Ἀλ. ποτ. Ἀσίην. (See below, § 130, note 437.) Perhaps the word ἀπὸ originally stood before Ἄλως, and being left out by the transcriber, was placed in the margin and then altered into ἄνω. The words τὴν ἀπ' Ἀλ. π. Ἀσίην would be in the mouth of a Greek on the western side of the Halys, exactly the equivalent expression for τὴν ἄνω Ἀσίην. See above, § 72. Indeed it may be doubted whether the whole clause is not a later addition. See notes 352 and 438.

<sup>362</sup> συλλέξας δὲ τοὺς ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ κ.τ.λ. The manuscripts S, V, b, d omit from these words inclusive to nearly the end of § 106. See note 374.

<sup>363</sup> ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν. Herodotus, or at any rate an individual with whom he identifies himself, was himself among the Colchians on the Phasis (see ii. 104), and doubtless got this information from the merchants there. The town at the mouth of the river was a great emporium; flax, hemp, wax, and pitch being exported from thence, and also manufactured linen. It was only two or three days' sail from Sinope and Amisus. The river was navigable up to a place called *Σαραπανὸν ἔρμα*, from whence there was a road by which, in four days, loaded wagons reached the river Cyrus (the modern *Kuru* or *Koura*) (STRABO, xi. c. 2). If in the time of Herodotus the eastern traffic which passed this way was carried on in Median bottoms through the Caspian Sea and along the Cyrus (a route which ARISTOBULUS, *ap. Strab.* xi. c. 7, p. 427, asserted that it did take), the statement which he gives above would be commercially, although not geographically,

The Scythians beat the Medes and overran Asia.

105

They proceed towards Egypt, and are bribed off by king Psammithus.

ἐν τὸ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ, Σάσπειρες· τοῦτο δὲ παραμειβομένοισι εἶναι ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ. οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Σκύθαι ταύτην ἐσέβαλον<sup>364</sup>, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατύπερθε ὁδὸν<sup>365</sup> πολλῶ μακροτέρην ἐκτραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος.) ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν Μῆδοι συμβαλόντες τοῖσι Σκύθησι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελύθησαν, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον. Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἦσαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ Ψαμμίτιχός σφεας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας δάροισί τε καὶ λιτῇσι ἀποτρέπει τὸ προσωτέρω μὴ πορεύεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ἀναχωρέοντες ὀπίσω ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίης ἐν Ἀσκάλῳ πόλιν<sup>366</sup>, τῶν πλεόνων Σκυθῶν παρεξελθόντων

correct. The travelling merchant would have to pass no frontiers except those of the Saspies, which one will probably be right in considering to be some portion of the tribes inhabiting the mountain ribs which branch from the southern side of the main Caucasian range, possibly that district which Strabo calls *Iberia*. No difficulty will be presented either by this passage or the one in iv. 37, if we consider Herodotus as merely speaking on the authority of a Phasian mercantile itinerary. See notes on iv. 40 and iv. 86, and the last note on vi. 9.

<sup>364</sup> οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Σκύθαι ταύτην ἐσέβαλον. Here (I conceive) is a union of two different traditions. The Scythians known to the merchants of Herodotus's time, and who attacked the Cimmerians, are the inhabitants of the plains to the north of the Black Sea and Sea of Azof; whereas the invaders of the Median story are nomads from Independent Tartary, and the east of the Caspian,—the two being distinct swarms of the same race, whose home is to be looked for in the steppes of central Asia. (See note on iv. 11.) A glance at the map shows the difficulty of the route here assigned to the former. The road along the western coast of the Caspian would oblige them to cross a vast number of rivers, among them the Cyrus itself. But from the nature of the country it is likely that a nomad tribe, immediately on passing the eastern spur of the Caucasus, would have spread up the valley of the Cyrus, where they would find abundance of pasture for their herds,—i. e. would have turned towards the Saspies, instead of pursuing the track along the sandy coast, where

they would find no food, till they reached Media. See note on iv. 12.

<sup>365</sup> τὴν κατύπερθε ὁδόν. The road attributed to the invaders would, in every sense of the word, have been a *lower* one than the track which an unencumbered traveller would take. But it would be farther from the coast of the Euxine, and therefore would be described in these terms by a Phasian merchant, ignorant of its particular character. See first note on iv. 40.

<sup>366</sup> ἐν Ἀσκάλῳ πόλιν. Ascalon, Azotus (Ashdod), Ekron, Gaza, and Gitta (Gath), are the five confederate states of the Philistines mentioned *Josh. xiii. 3*; *1 Sam. vi. 17*. The name under which Aphrodite was worshipped at Ascalon appears to have been originally *Derceto*, a female form of Dagon, who was the tutelary deity of Azotus. These two deities stood to one another in the same relation as Janus (Dianus) and Diana, Mithras and Mitra, Hecatus and Hecate, Combabus and Cybebe. (See note on v. 102.) They were symbolized by a figure half-human half-piscine. The legend followed by CRESIAS (*ap. Diodor. Sic. ii. 8*) makes Derceto a priestess of Aphrodite, changed into a fish, just as the Arcadian legend made *Callisto* an attendant on Artemis, changed into a bear, and the Pylian legend *Menthe* a concubine of Hades, changed into the plant *mint* (STRABO, viii. p. 155). Semiramis is in the same tradition made the daughter of Derceto, and changed into a dove. But the dove and the fish, the one from its salaciousness, the other from its enormous power of reproduction, were appropriate symbols of the particular characteristic assigned to Aphrodite, and no doubt originally represented *her*. It

ἀσινέων, ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς Οὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱρόν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρόν, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθανόμενός εὐρίσκω, πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἱρὸν ὅσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱρὸν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Κύπριοι καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθήροισι<sup>367</sup> Φοινικὲς εἰσι οἱ ἰδρυσάμενοι, ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίας ἔοντες. τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων συλήσασιν τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλῳ, καὶ τοῖσι τούτων αἰεὶ ἐγγόνιοις, ἐνέσκηψε ἡ θεὸς θήλειαν νοῦσον ὥστε ἅμα λέγουσί τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτό σφεας νοσέειν, καὶ ὁρᾶν παρ' ἐωντοῖσι τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν χώραν ὡς διακέαται τοὺς καλέουσι Ἐναρέας<sup>368</sup> οἱ Σκύθαι. Ἐπὶ μὲν νυν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα ἦρχον τῆς Ἀσίας οἱ Σκύθαι, 106 καὶ τὰ πάντα σφί ὑπὸ τε ὕβριος καὶ ὀλιγωρίας ἀνάστατα ἦν χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ φόρων, (ἐπρησσαν γὰρ<sup>369</sup> ἐκάστων τὸ ἐκύστοισι ἐπιβάλλον<sup>370</sup>), χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ φόρου<sup>371</sup> ἥρπαζον περιελαύνοντες τοῦτο ὃ τι ἔχουσιν ἕκαστοι. καὶ τούτων μὲν τοὺς πλεῖνας Κυαζάρης τε καὶ Μῆδος ξεινίσαντες καὶ καταμεθύσαντες<sup>372</sup> κατεφόνευσαν

On their homeward march some sack the temple of Aphrodite at Ascalon, and bring a curse on their descendants.

After twenty-eight years' tenure of Asia, they are crushed by Cyazares, who re-

then became the function of a poetic mythology to frame narratives accounting for the symbols. (See note 164, above.) *Atargatis*, the name which STRABO (xvi. c. 1, p. 351) gives to the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis, is etymologically identical with Derceto.

<sup>367</sup> καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθήροισι. HESIOD (*Theog.* 192) makes Cythera the first place touched by Aphrodite after her birth from the foam of the sea, and sends her thence to Cyprus. Τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱρὸν is doubtless the temple at Paphos: but it must not be assumed that Herodotus was necessarily there, because he quotes the assertion of the Cyprians, that the ritual came thither from Ascalon. It is a curious circumstance that the figure of the goddess at Paphos was a stone of the shape of a sugar-loaf (TACITUS, *Hist.* ii. 3), like the ὀμφαλὸς at Delphi, a simplicity which bespeaks very high antiquity. The stone at Delphi probably belonged to the ritual of the *πρωτόμαστι γαῖα* (ÆSCH. *Eumenid.* 2).

<sup>368</sup> τοὺς καλέουσι Ἐναρέας οἱ Σκύθαι. Here there seems to be a reference to some Scythian word, perhaps one etymologically equivalent to the Latin *venereus*. This to Hellenic ears might sound as if connected with the words ἐν ἀρᾷ, just as the oblique cases of *Mallois* reminded the Romans of *male ventum*, and induced them to change the name to *Beneventum*, for the sake of

the omen. From this circumstance, I should infer that the story in its existing form is possibly due to Greek merchants, whose transactions both took them to Egypt, and brought them into contact with the Scythians on the shores of the Euxine. HIPPOCRATES says that the sufferers are called *ἀνανδρίεις*, which seems to be another misapprehension, aided by the apparent symptoms of the disease, of the same word. He also says that they attribute their sufferings to the anger of Aphrodite—as might naturally be expected—but makes no reference to any special offence. See the citation in note on iv. 67.

<sup>369</sup> γὰρ. The MSS and Gaisford have παρ'. <sup>370</sup> τὸ ἐκύστοισι ἐπιβάλλον, "the sum which each was rated to pay." See iv. 115, ἀπολαχόντες τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον: vii. 23, ὅσον αὐτοῖσι ἐπέβαλλε. The MSS have ἐπέβαλλον, which Gaisford retains.

<sup>371</sup> χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ φόρου. These words appear to Dobree to be an alternative reading to χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ φόρων, and to have passed from the margin into the text. He would retain παρ' in the last line and erase the words ἥρπαζον . . . ἕκαστοι. But the slight alteration I have adopted shows the distinction between the tribute imposed by the authorities and the arbitrary exactions of individual plunderers.

<sup>372</sup> καταμεθύσαντες. This feature in the legend points to the well-known in-

covers his power and takes Niniveh, subduing all Assyria except Babylon.

107

After reigning forty years he is succeeded by his son *Astyages*, whose daughter *Mandane* marries *Cambyses*, son of *Cyrus*, a Persian, in consequence of a dream of her father's.

108

A second dream alarms him yet more, and he determines to kill her

καὶ οὕτω ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μῆδοι καὶ ἐπεκράτεον τῶν περ καὶ πρότερον καὶ τὴν τε Νῖνον εἶλον, (ὥς δὲ εἶλον, ἐν ἐτέροισι λόγοισι δηλώσω<sup>373</sup>), καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποχειρίους ἐποίησαντο πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Κναξάρης μὲν<sup>374</sup>, βασιλεύσας τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα σὺν τοῖσι Σκύθαι ἦρξαν, τελευτᾷ.

Ἐκδέκεται δὲ Ἀστυάγης Κναξάρει παῖς<sup>375</sup> τὴν βασιλῆτῃν καὶ οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ<sup>376</sup> τῇ οὐνομα ἔθετο Μανδάνην· τὴν ἐδόκεε Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ<sup>377</sup> οὐρῆσαι τοσοῦτον ὥστε πλῆσαι μὲν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπικατακλύσάι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ὑπερθέμενος<sup>378</sup> δὲ τῶν μάγων τοῖσι ὄνειροπόλοισι τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ἐφοβήθη παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἕκαστα μαθῶν. μετὰ δὲ, τὴν Μανδάνην ταύτην, εἰούσαν ἤδη ἀνδρὸς ὥραϊν, Μῆδων μὲν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἀξίων οὐδεὶν διδοῖ γυναῖκα δεδοικῶς τὴν ὄψιν· ὁ δὲ Πέρση διδοῖ τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Καμβύσης, τὸν εὗρισκε οἰκίης μὲν ἔοντα ἀγαθῆς τρόπου δὲ ἡσυχίου, πολλῶ ἔνερθε ἄγων αὐτὸν μέσου ἀνδρὸς Μῆδου. Συν-οικεούσης δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ τῆς Μανδάνης, ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει εἶδε ἄλλην ὄψιν. ἐδόκεε δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρὸς ταύτης φῦναι ἄμπελον, τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν· ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπερθέμενος<sup>379</sup> τοῖσι ὄνειροπόλοισι, μετεπέμψατο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπίτεκα<sup>380</sup> εἰούσαν,

temperance which characterized the nomad races of Asia, and continued among their descendants, so that "Threicia amystis" was a proverbial expression in the time of Horace. For the probable basis on which this particular story rests, see note on § 211.

<sup>373</sup> ἐν ἐτέροισι λόγοισι δηλώσω. See note on i. 184.

<sup>374</sup> Κναξάρης μὲν. The manuscripts S, V, δ, d here resume the thread of the narrative, having omitted the episode relative to the Scythian invasion. See note 362. They omit too the words σὺν τοῖσι Σκύθαι ἦρξαν.

<sup>375</sup> Κναξάρει παῖς. Some of the MSS which Gaisford follows prefix δ.

<sup>376</sup> If the Median and the Lydian history belong to the same cycle of traditions, the mother of Mandane will have been Argenis, sister of Croesus. See § 74.

<sup>377</sup> ἐδόκεε—ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ. This vision of Astyages is said (by Tertullian, *De animâ*, § 46) to have been related by CHARON of Lampascus, who wrote two books of *Περσικά* (SUIDAS, *sub* v.). See note 482.

<sup>378</sup> ὑπερθέμενος. This is a conjectural

reading (all the MSS having *ὑποθέμενος*), but is adopted by all the editors since Wesseling. And no doubt *ὑπερίθεσθαι* is the common phrase that would be used, if what Astyages did was to recount his dream as it happened. But the words which follow (παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἕκαστα μαθῶν) raise the suspicion that the transaction was one like that related in DANIEL (ii. 3, *seqq.*); and that, on the king merely stating that he had had a vision, the soothsayers supplied all the details. For this case the word *ὑποθέμενος* seems not inappropriate, and I should be inclined to replace it; as then the meaning of the author would be that Astyages told the fact of his fright to the magicians, as a *basis* upon which to employ their art.

<sup>379</sup> ὑπερθέμενος. Two MSS here have *ὑποθέμενος*. But *ὑπερθέμενος* is in this instance undoubtedly the true reading; for all that the soothsayers did was to interpret the meaning of the vision, not relate its particulars.

<sup>380</sup> ἐπίτεκα. The nominative *ἐπιτέξ* occurs below, § 111.

ἀπικομένην δὲ ἐφύλασσε βουλόμενος τὸ γεννώμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς δια- child when  
born.  
φθεῖραι· ἐκ γὰρ οἱ τῆς ὀφθίος οἱ τῶν μάγων ὀνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινον,  
ὅτι μέλλοι ὁ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύσειν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου.  
ταῦτα δὴ ὦν φυλασσόμενος ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ὡς ἐγένετο ὁ Κῦρος, κα-  
λέσας Ἄρπαγον ἄνδρα οἰκίῳ<sup>331</sup>, καὶ πιστότατόν τε Μῆδων καὶ  
πάντων ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἑωυτοῦ, ἔλεγέ οἱ τοιαύδε· “Ἄρπαγε,  
πρῆγμα τὸ ἂν τοι προσθέω μηδαμῶς παραχρήσῃ· μηδὲ ἐμέ τε  
παραβάλλῃ καὶ ἄλλους ἐλόμενος ἐξ ὑστέρης<sup>332</sup> σὺ ἑωυτῷ περι-  
πέσης. λάβε τὸν Μανδάνη ἔτεκε παῖδα, φέρων δὲ ἐς σεωυτοῦ  
ἀπόκτεινον μετὰ δὲ, θάψον τρόπῳ ὅτεφ αὐτὸς βούλει.” ὁ δὲ He puts the  
infant in  
the hands  
of Harpagus  
to be de-  
stroyed.  
ἀμείβεται· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε ἄλλοτέ κω παρῆδες ἀνδρὶ τῷδε ἄχαρι  
οὐδὲν, φυλασσόμεθά τε<sup>333</sup> ἐς σέ καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον μηδὲν  
ἐξαμαρτεῖν ἄλλ· εἴ τοι φίλον τοῦτο οὕτω γίνεσθαι, χρὴ δὴ τό γε  
ἐμὸν ὑπηρετέεσθαι ἐπιτηδέως.” Τούτοις ἀμειψάμενος ὁ Ἄρπαγος, 109  
ὥς οἱ παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ<sup>334</sup> ἦγε  
κλαίων ἐς τὰ οἰκία. παρελθὼν δὲ ἔφραζε τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὶ τὸν  
πάντα Ἀστυάγεος ῥηθέντα λόγον, ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει· “νῦν ὦν  
τί σοι ἐν νόφ ἐστὶ ποιέειν;” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται· “οὐκ ἦ ἐνετέλλετο  
Ἀστυάγης· οὐδ’ εἰ παραφρονήσει τε καὶ μαρεῖται κάκιον ἢ νῦν  
μαίνεται, οὐ οἱ ἔγωγε προσθήσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ, οὐδὲ ἐς φόνον τοιοῦ-  
τον ὑπηρετήσω. πολλῶν δὲ εἵνεκα οὐ φονεύσω μιν καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ  
μοι συγγενὴς ἐστὶν ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι Ἀστυάγης μὲν ἐστὶ γέρων καὶ  
ἄπαις ἔρσεως γόνου· εἰ δὲ θελήσει<sup>335</sup>, τούτου τελευτήσαντος, ἐς  
τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἢ τυραννὶς, ἥς νῦν τὸν υἱὸν κτείνει  
δι’ ἐμεῦ, ἄλλο τί ἢ λείπεται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος;  
ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλὲς εἵνεκα<sup>336</sup> ἐμοὶ δεῖ τοῦτον τελευτᾶν τὸν Harpagus  
adopts a  
middle  
course,  
fearing the  
future anger  
of Man-  
dane,

<sup>331</sup> οἰκίον, not merely “an intimate friend,” but “one of the same house,” for, as appears from the next section, the child was a *συγγενὴς* to Harpagus.

<sup>332</sup> ἐξ ὑστέρης. The same expression is used in v. 106; vi. 85. The substantive understood is probably *πληγῆς*, the metaphor being taken apparently from the riposte made by a swordsman after parrying his enemy's blow.

<sup>333</sup> τε. Gaisford and the MSS δέ.

<sup>334</sup> τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. Understand *στολὴν*, “with the garb of death upon it.” The description of the sumptuous nature of the child's dress below is no objection to this interpretation. It was to be buried

as a royal infant, and as such, according to Greek notions, would have been arrayed *χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ*. See below, §§ 111. 113. It would not occur to a Phasian merchant that *gold*, as the symbol of *fire*, would not by a *Persian* be used as an ornament for a corpse (STRABO, xv. c. 3, p. 328), although for the same reason it was the favourite ornament of the living. Compare note 308, above.

<sup>335</sup> θελήσει. Compare above, § 74: *ἔνευ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσεως ἰσχυρὰ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν*. ii. 14: *εἰ σφί θέλοι ἡ χώρα ἢ ἐνερθε Μίμφιος . . . αὐ- ἔνεσθαι*.

<sup>336</sup> ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλὲς εἵνεκα.



110 and delivers  
the child to  
*Mitrادات*,  
the royal  
herdsman,  
to be ex-  
posed on the  
northern  
mountains.

παῖδα· δεῖ μέντοι τῶν τινὰ Ἀστυάγεος αὐτοῦ φονέα γενέσθαι, καὶ  
μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν." Ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ αὐτίκα ἀγγελον ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ τῶν  
βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυάγεος τὸν ἡπίστατο νομᾶς τε ἐπιτηδεωτάτας  
νέμοντα καὶ οὖρεα θηριωδέστατα· τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Μιτραδάτης,  
συνόικεε δὲ τῇ ἐνωτοῦ συνδούλῳ· οὖνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἦν τῇ  
συνόικεε Κυνῶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μη-  
δικὴν, Σπακῶ· τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέουσι σπάκα Μῆδοι. αἱ δὲ  
ὑπώρεαί εἰσι τῶν οὐρέων ἐνθα τὰς νομὰς τῶν βοῶν εἶχε σῦτος δὴ  
ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν Ἀγβατάνων<sup>387</sup>, καὶ πρὸς  
τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου. ταύτη μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μηδικὴ χώρα πρὸς  
Σασπερίων<sup>388</sup> ὀρεινὴ ἐστὶ κάρτα· [καὶ ὑψηλὴ τε καὶ ἰδῆσι συν-  
ηρεφής· ἡ δὲ ἄλλη Μηδικὴ χώρα ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἀπεδος<sup>389</sup>.] ἐπεὶ ὦν  
ὁ βουκόλος σπουδῇ πολλῇ καλεόμενος ἀπῖκετο, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἀρπαγος  
τάδε· "κελεύει σε Ἀστυάγης τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο λαβόντα θεῖναι  
ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν οὐρέων, ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα διαφθαρεῖη. καὶ  
τάδε τοι ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἢ μὴ ἀποκτείνης αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ τεφρὸν  
περιποιήσῃ, ὀλέθρῳ τῷ κακίστῳ σε διαχρήσεσθαι· ἐπορᾶν δὲ ἐκ-  
κεῖμενον διατέταγμαί ἐγώ." Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἀνα-  
λαβὼν τὸ παιδίον ἤγε τὴν αὐτὴν ὁπίσω ὁδὸν, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς  
τὴν ἑπαυλιν. τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ, ἐπίτεξ' ἐούσα πᾶσαν  
ἡμέρην, τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει οἰχομένου τοῦ βουκόλου  
ἐς πόλιν· ἦσαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι ἀμφότεροι ἀλλήλων πέρι, ὁ μὲν  
τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρωδέων, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἐωθῶς ὁ  
Ἀρπαγος μεταπέμψαιτο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀπουροστή-  
σας ἐπέστη, οἷα ἐξ ἀέλπτου ἰδοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ εἶρετο προτέρη, ὃ τι  
μὴν οὕτω προθύμως Ἀρπαγος μεταπέμψαιτο; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "ὦ  
γύναι, εἰδὼν τε ἐς πόλιν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἤκουσα τὸ<sup>390</sup> μήτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον

Translate "No; for my safety's sake, indeed."

<sup>387</sup> πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν Ἀγβατάνων, "in a northerly direction from Agbatana." See note 292.

It will be observed that the geographical bearings are the same as those in iv. 37 and § 104, above. The word Σπακῶ too is said not to be Median, but Hyrcanian, i.e. belonging to the country to the s. e. of the Caspian Sea, but n. of the Elbruz mountains.

<sup>388</sup> πρὸς Σασπερίων. See note 363, above.

<sup>389</sup> καὶ ὑψηλὴ τε . . . πᾶσα ἀπεδος. In the manuscripts S and V these words are omitted, and the next sentence goes on thus: σπουδῇ οὖν καλεόμενος ἀπῖκετο καὶ ἔλεγε. So it does in the MS b, but the preceding sentence is not left out.

<sup>390</sup> τὸ μήτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον μήτε κοτὴ γενέσθαι. It is observable here that the relative τὸ is to be taken as the accusative case in the first clause of the sentence, but as the nominative (with the ellipse of ὄφελε) in the second.

μήτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπότης τοὺς ἡμετέρους. οἶκος μὲν πᾶς Ἀρπάγου κλαυθμῷ κατείχετο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἤϊα ἔσω· ὡς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆλθον, ὁρῶ παιδίον προκείμενον, ἀσπαῖρόν τε καὶ κραιγανόμενον, κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ<sup>391</sup>. Ἀρπαγος δὲ ὡς εἶδε με, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχίστην ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίον οἴχεσθαι φέροντα, καὶ θεῖναι ἔνθα θηριωδέστατον εἴη τῶν οὐρέων, φὰς Ἀστυάγεα εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενόν μοι, πολλὰ ἀπειλήσας εἰ μὴ σφεα ποιήσαιμι· καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναλαβὼν ἔφερον, δοκέων τῶν τινος οἰκετέων εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτε κατέδοξα ἔνθεν γε ἦν. ἐθάμβεον δὲ ὁρέων χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἵμασι κεκοσμημένον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κλαυθμὸν κατεστεῶτα ἐμφανέα ἐν Ἀρπάγον· καὶ πρόκατε<sup>392</sup> δὴ κατ' ὁδὸν πυνθάνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγον θεράποντος, ὃς ἐμὲ προπέμπων ἔξω πόλις ἐνεχείρισε τὸ βρέφος· ὡς ἄρα Μανδάνης τε εἴη παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγεω<sup>393</sup> θυγατρὸς, καὶ Καμβύσῳ τοῦ Κύρου καὶ μιν Ἀστυάγης ἐντέλλεται ἀποκτείνειν· νῦν τε ὅδε ἐστί·” Ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγε ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἐκκαλίνψας ἀπεδείκνυε· ἡ δὲ ὡς εἶδε τὸ παιδίον μέγα τε καὶ εὐειδὲς ἔδν, δακρύσασα καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γονάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ἔχρηζε μηδεμὴ τέχνη ἐκθεῖναι μιν· οὐ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἶός τε εἶναι ἄλλως αὐτὰ ποιεῖν· ἐπιφοιτήσειν γὰρ κατασκόπους ἐξ Ἀρπάγου ἐποφομένους· ἀπολέεσθαι τε κάκιστα ἦν μὴ σφεα ποιήσῃ· ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δευτέρα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε· “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ δύναμαί σε πείθειν μὴ ἐκθεῖναι, σὺ δὲ ὧδε ποιήσον, εἰ δὴ πᾶσά γε ἀνάγκη<sup>394</sup> ὀφθῆναι ἐκκείμενον· τέτοκα γὰρ καὶ ἐγὼ, τέτοκα δὲ τεθνεὸς· τοῦτο μὲν φέρων πρόθεσ, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀστυάγεω<sup>395</sup> θυγατρὸς παῖδα ὡς ἐξ ἡμέων ἔοντα τρέφωμεν· καὶ οὕτω οὔτε σὺ ἀλώσσει ἀδικέων τοὺς δεσπότης, οὔτε ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται· ὃ τε γὰρ τεθνεὸς βασιλῆης

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Cyno, the wife of Mitrdates, persuades him to expose her own still-born child in the place of the living one, and to bring the latter up as his own.

<sup>391</sup> κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ. A similar phrase occurs in the description of the bridal dress of Apries's daughter (iii. 1).

<sup>392</sup> πρόκατε. The same form (instead of the ordinary πρόκα) is used in Herodotus below, vi. 134; viii. 65. 135.

<sup>393</sup> Ἀστυάγεω. The MSS vary between this form and Ἀστυάγεος. Gaisford adopts the former, principally on the authority of S, although in the next section he selects the other form, under similar circumstances.

<sup>394</sup> πᾶσά γε ἀνάγκη. Some of the best MSS leave out the particle γε, and thus the phrase appears in several other passages. ii. 22. 35; iv. 179; v. 52. But an additional force seems to be given by the insertion of the word to the inevitability of the necessity; and the other being the more usual expression is not likely to have been wilfully altered by a copyist.

<sup>395</sup> Ἀστυάγεω. Gaisford with the majority of MSS has Ἀστυάγεος. See note 303.

- 110 *and delivers the child to Mitradates, the royal herdsman, to be exposed on the northern mountains.* παῖδα· δεῖ μέντοι τῶν τινὰ Ἀστυάγεος αὐτοῦ φονέα γενέσθαι, καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν." Ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ αὐτίκα ἄγγελον ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ τῶν βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυάγεος τὸν ἡπίστατο νομάς τε ἐπιτηδεωτάτας νέμοντα καὶ οὖρεα θηριωδέστατα· τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Μιτραδάτης, συνοίκεε δὲ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ συνδούλῳ· οὖνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἦν τῇ συνοίκεε Κυνὼ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδικήν, Σπακῶ· τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέουσι σπάκα Μῆδοι. αἱ δὲ ὑπώρεαί εἰσι τῶν οὐρέων ἔνθα τὰς νομάς τῶν βοῶν εἶχε οὗτος δὴ ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν Ἀγβατάνων<sup>387</sup>, καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου. ταύτῃ μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μηδικὴ χώρα πρὸς Σασπεύρων<sup>388</sup> ὀρεινὴ ἐστὶ κάρτα· [καὶ ὑψηλὴ τε καὶ ἰδίῃσι συνηρεφής· ἡ δὲ ἄλλη Μηδικὴ χώρα ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἄπεδος<sup>389</sup>.] ἐπεὶ ὦν ὁ βουκόλος σπουδῇ πολλῇ καλεόμενος ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἀρπαγος τάδε· "κελεύει σε Ἀστυάγης τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο λαβόντα θῆναι ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν οὐρέων, ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα διαφθαρείῃ. καὶ τάδε τοι ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἦν μὴ ἀποκτείνῃς αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ τεφρὸν τρόπον περιποιήσῃ, ὀλέθρῳ τῷ κακίστῳ σε διαχρήσεσθαι· ἐπορᾶν δὲ ἐκκεῖμενον διατέταγμαί ἐγώ." Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον ἤιε τὴν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω ὁδὸν, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὴν ἑπαυλιν. τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ, ἐπίτεξ ἐούσα πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει οἰχομένου τοῦ βουκόλου ἐς πόλιν· ἦσαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι ἀμφότεροι ἀλλήλων πέρι, ὁ μὲν τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρωδέων, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἐωθῶς ὁ Ἀρπαγος μεταπέμψαιτο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀπονοστήσας ἐπέστη, οἷα ἐξ ἀέλπτου ἰδοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ εἶρετο προτέρη, ὃ τι μιν οὕτω προθύμως Ἀρπαγος μεταπέμψαιτο; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· "ὦ γύναι, εἰδὼν τε ἐς πόλιν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἤκουσα τὸ<sup>390</sup> μήτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον

Translate "No; for my safety's sake, indeed."

<sup>387</sup> πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν Ἀγβατάνων, "in a northerly direction from Agbatana." See note 292.

It will be observed that the geographical bearings are the same as those in iv. 37 and § 104, above. The word Σπακῶ too is said not to be Median, but Hyrcanian, i.e. belonging to the country to the s. w. of the Caspian Sea, but n. of the Elbrus mountains.

<sup>388</sup> πρὸς Σασπεύρων. See note 363, above.

<sup>389</sup> καὶ ὑψηλὴ τε . . . πᾶσα ἄπεδος. In the manuscripts S and V these words are omitted, and the next sentence goes on thus: σπουδῇ οὖν καλεόμενος ἀπίκετο καὶ ἔλεγεν. So it does in the MS δ, but the preceding sentence is not left out.

<sup>390</sup> τὸ μήτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον μήτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι. It is observable here that the relative τὸ is to be taken as the accusative case in the first clause of the sentence, but as the nominative (with the ellipse of ὄφελε) in the second.

μήτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπότης τοὺς ἡμετέρους. οἶκος μὲν πᾶς Ἀρπάγου κλαυθμῷ κατείχετο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλαγεῖς ἦα ἔσω· ὡς δὲ γάχιστα ἐσθλήθον, ὁρέω παιδίον προκείμενον, ἀσπαῖρόν τε καὶ κραυγαλόμενον, κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ<sup>391</sup>. Ἀρπαγος δὲ ὡς εἶδε με, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχίστην ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίον οἶχεσθαι φέροντα, καὶ θεῖναι ἔνθα θηριωδέστατον εἴη τῶν ζῴων, φᾶς Ἀστυάγεα εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενόν μοι, πολλὰ ἀπειλήσας εἰ μὴ σφεα ποιήσαιμι· καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναλαβὼν ἔφερον, δοκέων τῶν τινος οἰκετέων εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτὲ κατέδοξα ἔνθεν γε ἦν. ἐθάμβεον δὲ ὁρέων χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἵμασι κεκοσμημένον, πρὸς δὲ, καὶ κλαυθμὸν κατεστεῶτα ἐμφανέα ἐν Ἀρπάγου· καὶ πρόκατε<sup>392</sup> δὴ κατ' ὁδὸν πυνθάνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγον θεράποντος, ὃς ἐμὲ προπέμπων ἔξω πόλιος ἐνεχείρισε τὸ βρέφος· ὡς ἄρα Μανδάνης τε εἴη παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγεω<sup>393</sup> θυγατρὸς, καὶ Καμβύσῳ τοῦ Κύρου καὶ μιν Ἀστυάγης ἐντέλλεται ἀποκτεῖναι· νῦν τε ὁδε ἐστὶ.”

“Ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγε ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἐκκαλύψας ἀπεδείκνυε· ἡ δὲ 112 ὡς εἶδε τὸ παιδίον μέγα τε καὶ εὐειδὲς ἔον, δακρύσασα καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ἔχρηξε μηδεμιᾷ τέχνῃ ἐκθεῖναι μιν· οὐ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἷός τε εἶναι ἄλλως αὐτὰ ποιεῖν· ἐπιφουθήσειν γὰρ κατασκόπους ἔξ Ἀρπάγου ἐπονομένους· ἀπολέεσθαι τε κάκιστα ἦν μὴ σφεα ποιήσῃ· ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δεῦτερα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε· “ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ δύναμαί σε πείθειν μὴ ἐκθεῖναι, σὺ δὲ ὧδε ποίησον, εἰ δὴ πᾶσά γε ἀνάγκη<sup>394</sup> ὀφθῆναι ἐκκείμενον· τέτοκα γὰρ καὶ ἐγὼ, τέτοκα δὲ τεθνεὺς· τοῦτο μὲν φέρων πρόθεσ, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀστυάγεω<sup>395</sup> θυγατρὸς παῖδα ὡς ἐξ ἡμέων ἔοντα τρέφωμεν· καὶ οὕτω οὕτε σὺ ἀλώσῃαι ἀδικέων τοὺς δεσπότης, οὕτε ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται· ὃ τε γὰρ τεθνεὺς βασιλῆης

Cyno, the wife of Mitrdates, persuades him to expose her own still-born child in the place of the living one, and to bring the latter up as his own.

<sup>391</sup> κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ. A similar phrase occurs in the description of the bridal dress of Apries's daughter (iii. 1).

<sup>392</sup> πρόκατε. The same form (instead of the ordinary πρόκα) is used in Herodotus below, vi. 134; viii. 65. 135.

<sup>393</sup> Ἀστυάγεω. The MSS vary between this form and Ἀστυάγεος. Gaisford adopts the former, principally on the authority of S, although in the next section he selects the other form, under similar circumstances.

<sup>394</sup> πᾶσά γε ἀνάγκη. Some of the best MSS leave out the particle γε, and thus the phrase appears in several other passages. ii. 22. 35; iv. 179; v. 52. But an additional force seems to be given by the insertion of the word to the inevitability of the necessity; and the other being the more usual expression is not likely to have been wilfully altered by a copyist.

<sup>395</sup> Ἀστυάγεω. Gaisford with the majority of MSS has Ἀστυάγεος. See note 393.

113 ταφῆς κυρήσει, καὶ ὁ περιεὼν οὐκ ἀπολέει τὴν ψυχὴν." Κάρτα τε ἔδοξε τῷ βουκόλῳ πρὸς τὰ παρεόντα εὐ λέγειν ἢ γυνή, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐποίεε ταῦτα. τὸν μὲν ἔφερε θανατώσων παῖδα τοῦτον μὲν παραδιδού τῇ ἐωυτοῦ γυναικί, τὸν δὲ ἐωυτοῦ ἐόντα νεκρὸν λαβὼν ἔθηκε ἐς τὸ ἄγγος ἐν τῷ ἔφερε τὸν ἕτερον κοσμήσας δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου παιδὸς, φέρων ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν οὐρέων τιθεῖ. ὥς δὲ τρίτῃ ἡμέρῃ τῷ παιδίῳ ἐκκειμένῳ ἐγένετο, ἥϊε ἐς πόλιν<sup>396</sup> ὁ βουκόλος τῶν τινα προβόσκων<sup>397</sup> φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τοῦ Ἀρπάγου ἀποδεικνύναι ἔφη ἐτοῖμος εἶναι τοῦ παιδίου τὸν νέκυν πέμψας δὲ ὁ Ἀρπαγὸς τῶν ἐωυτοῦ δορυφόρων<sup>398</sup> τοὺς πιστοτάτους, εἶδε τε διὰ τούτων καὶ ἔθαψε τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ παιδίον καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐτέθαπτο τὸν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Κύρον ὀνομασθέντα παραλαβοῦσα ἔτρεφε ἢ γυνή τοῦ βουκόλου, οὖνομα ἄλλο κού τι καὶ οὐ Κύρον<sup>399</sup> θεμένη. Καὶ ὅτε δὴ ἦν

114 δεκαέτης ὁ παῖς, πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε γενόμενον ἐξέφηνέ μιν ἔπαιζε ἐν τῇ κόμῃ ταύτῃ ἐν τῇ ἦσαν καὶ αἱ βουκολίαι αὐται, ἔπαιζε δὲ μετ' ἄλλων ἡλικῶν ἐν ὁδῷ καὶ οἱ παῖδες παίζοντες εἵλοντο ἐωυτῶν βασιλέα εἶναι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπὶ κλησιν παῖδα· ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας οἰκοδομέειν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους εἶναι, τὸν δὲ κου τινὰ αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος<sup>400</sup>

At the age of ten years the child afterwards called Cyrus discovers himself by his conduct in play with his companions.

<sup>396</sup> ἥϊε ἐς πόλιν. From this phrase, which recurs throughout the narrative, it would seem that, in the tradition which Herodotus is here following, the name of the royal city (Agbatana) did not appear, but that the mountainous region was represented in its immediate neighbourhood.

<sup>397</sup> προβόσκων. This word, if not corrupt, would seem to mean "under-herdsmen." But it is a strange phrase. Possibly Herodotus wrote *προβατοβόσκων*, after the analogy of *αἰγοβόσκων*, which word itself is supposed by Valckenaer to have stood here. See note 454, below.

<sup>398</sup> δορυφόρων. Harpagus is made below to call these messengers *ἐθνουχοί* (§ 117) an expression much more in accordance with Asiatic usages. The *δορυφόροι* belong to the Greek notion of a prince.

<sup>399</sup> οὖνομα ἄλλο κού τι καὶ οὐ Κύρον. By this expression it would seem that the story followed by Herodotus did not give any particular name imposed upon the child by his foster-mother. In later times when the account came to be criticized with reference to its probability, he was posi-

tively said to have been called *Agradatae*, and to have changed that name for Cyrus at Pasargadae (STRABO, xv. c. 3, p. 320). But in Herodotus's narrative his grandfather's name is Cyrus, and according to Greek habits he would naturally be called by that same name. See note 358, above.

<sup>400</sup> ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος. This is probably the literal rendering of the Persian phrase for the royal inspectors mentioned above, § 100. It was an expression become familiar to Hellenic ears at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, and furnishes ARISTOPHANES with a jest in the *Acharnians* (v. 91), where a sham Persian envoy is introduced with a mask, of which the eyes are so gigantic as to suggest the notion of the painting on the cat-heads of a ship:

καὶ νῦν ἄγοντες ἡκομεν Ψευδαρτάβαν  
τὸν βασιλέως ὀφθαλμόν. ΔΙΚ. ὦναξ Ἡρά-  
κλεις·  
πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἄνθρωπε, ναύφρακτον βλέ-  
πεις;  
ἢ περὶ ἄκραν κάμπτων νεώσοικον σκοπεῖς;

εἶναι, τῷ δέ τινι τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρειν<sup>101</sup> ἐδίδου γέρας· ὥς ἐκάστω  
 ἔργον προστάσσω. εἰς δὴ τούτων τῶν παιδίων συμπαίζων,  
 ἔων Ἀρτεμβάρεος παῖς ἀνδρὸς δοκίμου ἐν Μήδοισι, οὐ γὰρ δὴ  
 ἐποίησε τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου, ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν τοὺς ἄλλους  
 παῖδας διαλαβεῖν<sup>102</sup>. He flogs the  
child of a  
man of high  
rank, Ar-  
tembarea. 115  
 πειθομένων δὲ τῶν παιδίων, ὁ Κύρος τὸν  
 παῖδα τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε μαστιγέων ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε μετείθη  
 τάχιστα, ὥς γε δὴ ἀνάξια ἑωυτοῦ παθὼν μᾶλλον τι περιημέκτεε,  
 κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς πόλιν<sup>103</sup> πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀποικτίζετο τῶν ὑπὸ  
 Κύρου ἤντησε, λέγων δὲ οὐ Κύρου, (οὐ γὰρ κω ἦν τοῦτο τοῦνομα,) 116  
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος παιδὸς· ὁ δὲ Ἀρτεμ-  
 βάρης ὀργῇ, ὥς εἶχε, ἐλθὼν παρὰ τὸν Ἀστυάγεα καὶ ἅμα ἀγό-  
 μενος τὸν παῖδα, ἀνάρσια πρήγματα ἔφη πεπονθῆναι, λέγων  
 “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ δούλου βουκόλου δὲ παιδὸς ὥδε  
 περιὑβρίσμεθα,” (δεικνὺς τοῦ παιδὸς τοὺς ὤμους.) Ἀκούσας  
 δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, θέλων τιμωρῆσαι τῷ παιδί τιμῆς  
 τῆς Ἀρτεμβάρεος εἵνεκα, μετεπέμπετο τὸν τε βουκόλον καὶ  
 τὸν παῖδα· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ παρήσαν ἀμφοτέροι, βλέψας πρὸς τὸν  
 Κύρον ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἔφη “σὺ δὴ ἔων τοῦδε τοιούτου ἑόντος  
 παῖς, ἐτόλμησας τὸν τοῦδε παῖδα ἑόντος πρώτου παρ’ ἐμοὶ  
 ἀεικέειν<sup>104</sup> τοιῷδε περισπῆν;” ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο ὥδε “ὦ δέ-  
 σποτα, ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦτον ἐποίησα σὺν δίκῃ· οἱ γὰρ με  
 ἐκ τῆς κόμης παῖδες, τῶν καὶ ὅδε ἦν, παίζοντες σφέων αὐτῶν  
 ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα· ἐδόκεον γὰρ σφί εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεώ-  
 τatos. οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι παῖδες τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον,  
 οὗτος δὲ ἀνηκούστεέ τε καὶ λόγον εἶχε οὐδένα, ἐς δ’ ἔλαβε τὴν  
 δίκην· εἰ ὦν δὴ τοῦδε εἵνεκα ἄξιός τευ κακοῦ εἰμὶ, ὅδε τοι  
 πάρεμι.” Ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ παιδὸς, τὸν Ἀστυάγεα ἐστήει

His bold  
bearing  
when  
brought  
before As-  
tyages  
causes him  
to be re-  
cognized.

In *Æschylus* (*Persæ*, 280), the chorus, speaking to Xerxes of one of the slain, call him τὸν σὺν πιστὸν πάντ’ ὀφθαλμὸν, μυρία πεμπαστὰν.

<sup>101</sup> τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρειν. This office (*ἀσπαγγελεύς*) was a servile one, although in a despotic government that would be compatible with high honour. It appears to have been filled by eunuchs (iii. 77).

<sup>102</sup> διαλαβεῖν, “to secure him,” i. e. by some seizing hold of each arm, and others of each leg, so as, in a manner, to separate him. See iv. 68, and iv. 94. So the term *διαλελημμένος* is applied by *ARISTO-*

*PHANES* (*Eccles.* 1090) to a young man whom two old women are dragging in different directions. The use of the word below, § 190, is easily referable to the original notion of *διαλαβεῖν*.

<sup>103</sup> κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς πόλιν. See above, note 396.

<sup>104</sup> ἀεικέειν, Gaisford reads *ἀεικίειν*, but the text is sanctioned by the majority of the MSS, and this form is the only one given in i. 73, which falls however in a part where S is deficient. See note on iii. 160, *ἀεικέειν*.

ἀνάγκωσι αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ δὲ τε χαρακτήρ τοῦ προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι ἐδόκεε ἐς ἑωυτὸν<sup>405</sup> καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἐλευθερωτέρη εἶναι· ὁ τε χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσιος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐδόκεε συμβαίνειν. ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τούτοις, ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄφθογγος ἦν μόγις δὲ δὴ κοτε ἀνευχεῖς εἶπε, θέλων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν Ἀρτεμβάρεα ἵνα τὸν βουκόλον μόνον λαβὼν βασανίσῃ· “Ἀρτέμβαρες, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ποιήσω ὥστε σὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν σὸν μηδὲν ἐπιμέμψεσθαι.” τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀρτεμβάρεα πέμπει· τὸν δὲ Κῦρον ἦγον ἕσω οἱ θεράποντες, κελεύσαντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπελέλειπτο ὁ βουκόλος μόνος, μουνωθέντα δὴ<sup>406</sup> αὐτὸν εἶρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης, κόθεν λάβοι τὸν παῖδα καὶ τίς εἴη ὁ παραδούς; ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγονέναι καὶ τὴν τεκούσαν αὐτὸν ἔτι εἶναι παρ’ ἑωυτῷ· Ἀστυάγης δὲ μιν οὐκ εὖ βουλευέσθαι ἔφη ἐπιθυμούντα ἐς ἀνάγκας μεγάλας ἀπικνέεσθαι· ἅμα τε λέγων ταῦτα ἐσήμαινε τοῖσι δορυφόροις<sup>407</sup> λαμβάνειν αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας, οὕτω δὴ ἔφαινε τὸν ἔοντα λόγον, ἀρχόμενος<sup>408</sup> δὲ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς διεξήκει τῇ ἀληθείᾳ χρώμενος, καὶ κατέβαινε<sup>409</sup> ἐς λιτὰς τε καὶ συγγνώμην ἑωυτῷ κελεύων ἔχειν αὐτόν.

117

Harpagus, being summoned, relates what he did.

Ἀστυάγης δὲ, τοῦ μὲν βουκόλου τὴν ἀληθείην ἐκφώνησας, λόγον ἤδη καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐποίετο· Ἀρπαγὸς δὲ καὶ μεγάλως μεμφόμενος, καλεῖν αὐτὸν τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε. ὥς δὲ οἱ παρὴν ὁ Ἀρπαγος, εἶρετό μιν ὁ Ἀστυάγης· “Ἀρπαγε, τέφ δὴ μόρῳ<sup>410</sup> τὸν παῖδα κατεχρήσας τὸν τοι παρέδωκα ἐκ θυγατρὸς γεγονότα τῆς ἐμῆς;” ὁ δὲ Ἀρπαγος ὥς εἶδε τὸν βουκόλον ἔνδον ἔοντα, οὐ τρέπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα ὁδόν, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχόμενος ἀλίσκηται· ἀλλὰ

<sup>405</sup> ἐς ἑωυτόν. This is the reading of Gaisford and some of the MSS. But others have ἐς αὐτόν, and, if either of these has been changed by a transcriber into the other, this appears to have the best claim to be original. αὐτόν must refer to the parents of Cyrus, Cambyases and Mandane, who have not been mentioned in this part of the narrative as it stands: there is therefore no inducement for adopting the reading which would influence a copyist, but there is for changing it into ἑωυτόν.

<sup>406</sup> μουνωθέντα δὴ. The MSS vary between μουνωθέντα δὲ, μουνωθέντα δὲ τὰδε, μουνωθέντα τὰδε and μούνωθεν τὰδε, which

last Gaisford adopts, punctuating μόνος μούνωθεν, τὰδε. But μόνος μούνωθεν can hardly mean “alone face to face,” and either the reading in the text (which is the conjecture of Valcknaer), or μουνωθέντα τὰδε, seems the most probable correction.

<sup>407</sup> τοῖσι δορυφόροις. See note 398.

<sup>408</sup> ἀρχόμενος δὲ. This is the reading of the manuscript S. Gaisford and others have ἀρχόμενος δὴ. But this particle would be out of place here. See note 6, above.

<sup>409</sup> κατέβαινε. See note 316.

<sup>410</sup> τέφ δὴ μόρῳ τὸν παῖδα κατεχρήσας; “By what death, then, was it you

λέγει τάδε "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπεὶ τε"<sup>11</sup> παρέλαβον τὸ παιδίον, ἐβούλευον σκοπῶν ὅπως σοί τε ποιήσω κατὰ νόον, καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σέ γινόμενος ἀναμάρτητος, μήτε θυγατρὶ τῇ σῇ μήτε αὐτῷ σοι εἶην αὐθέντης"<sup>12</sup>. ποιέω δὴ ὧδε καλέσας τὸν βουκόλον τόνδε, παραδίδωμι τὸ παιδίον, φᾶς σέ τε εἶναι τὸν κελεύοντα ἀποκτείνειν αὐτό—καὶ λέγων τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἐψευδόμην· σὺ γὰρ ἐνετέλλεο οὕτω—παραδίδωμι μέντοι τῷδε κατὰ τάδε, ἐντειλάμενος θείναι μιν ἐς ἐρήμον οὖρος καὶ παραμένοντα φυλάσσειν ἄχρι οὗ τελευτήσῃ, ἀπειλήσας παντοῖα τῷδε ἦν μὴ τάδε ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ποιήσαντος τούτου τὰ κελεύόμενα ἐτελεύτησε τὸ παιδίον, πέμψας τῶν εὐνούχων τοὺς πιστοτάτους, καὶ εἶδον δι' ἐκείνων καὶ ἔθαψά μιν. οὕτως ἔσχε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, περὶ τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου καὶ τοιούτῳ μὲν ἔχρησάτο ὁ παῖς."

"Ἀρπαγὸς μὲν δὴ τὸν ἰθὺν ἔφαινε λόγον. Ἀστυάγης δὲ κρύπτων τὸν οἱ ἐνείχεε χόλον διὰ τὸ γεγονὸς, πρῶτα μὲν, κατὰ περ ἤκουσε αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ πρήγμα, πάλιν ἀπηγγέετο τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ· μετὰ δὲ, ὡς οἱ ἐπαλλλόγητο, κατέβαινε λέγων"<sup>13</sup> ὡς "περὶ στί τε ὁ παῖς καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ἔχει καλῶς· τῷ τε γὰρ πεποιημένῳ," ἔφη λέγων"<sup>14</sup>, "ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ἔκαμνον μεγάλως, καὶ θυγατρὶ τῇ ἐμῇ διαβεβλημένος οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῇ ἐποιεῦμην ὡς ὦν τῆς τύχης εὐ μετεστεώσης, τοῦτο μὲν τὸν σεωυτοῦ παῖδα ἀπόπεμψον παρὰ τὸν παῖδα τὸν νεήλυδα, τοῦτο δὲ, (σῶστρα γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς μέλλω θύειν τοῖσι θεῶν τιμῇ αὕτη προσκέεται,) πάρ-ισθί μοι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον." Ἀρπαγὸς μὲν ὡς ἤκουσε ταῦτα, προσ-

118

Astyages  
conceals  
his anger  
against Har-  
pagus at the  
time,

119

despatched the child?" See note 6, above.

<sup>11</sup> *ἐπεὶ τε*. This Ionic form stands in the same relation to *ἐπεὶ* as *πρόκατε* to *πρόκα*. See above, note 392.

<sup>12</sup> *ὅπως σοί τε ποιήσω κατὰ νόον, καὶ . . . εἶην αὐθέντης*. The combination of the subjunctive *ποιήσω* with the optative *εἶην* under the common regimen of the particle *ὅπως* is to be remarked. It is peculiarly appropriate; although the different shades of meaning conveyed by the employment of the different moods cannot be exhibited in another language without periphrasis. Harpagus, by his answer, represents the performance of his master's behest as the direct object of his care, the other as a remote and contingent one.

Hence the change of mood. (See note 40, above.) But there is another delicacy of expression to observe, viz. the substitution of *εἶην* for the word which would express what Harpagus really had in his mind, such as *νομίζομην*. Court etiquette forbade him to use any expression implying caprice in the monarch, or censure of the results of such caprice, supposing it to arise at any future time. Translate, *Sire, as soon as I took the infant, I deliberated how to act as you desired, while at the same time I hoped keeping clear of offence towards you, neither in your daughter's presence nor in yours ever to stand a homicide*.

<sup>13</sup> *κατέβαινε λέγων*. See note 316.

<sup>14</sup> *ἔφη λέγων*. This and similar paraphrastic expressions are common with



but slays  
his son,  
and serves  
the flesh  
up to the  
father at a  
banquet.

κυνήσας, καὶ μεγάλην ποιησάμενος ὅτι τε ἡ ἁμαρτὰς οἱ ἐς δέον ἐγεγόνεε καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τύχῃσι χρηστῇσι ἐπὶ δείπνον κέκλητο, ἥτε ἐς τὰ οἰκία· ἐσελθὼν δὲ τὴν ταχίστην, ἣν γὰρ οἱ παῖς εἰς μῶνος ἕτα τρία καὶ δέκα κου μάλιστα γεγονώς, τοῦτον ἐκπέμπει, ἵεναι τε κελεύων ἐς Ἀστυάγεος καὶ ποιεῖν ὃ τι ἂν ἐκεῖνος κελεύῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ περιχαρὴς ἔων, φράζει τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ συγκυρήσαντα. Ἀστυάγης δὲ, ὥς οἱ ἀπῖκετο ὁ Ἀρπάγου παῖς, σφάξας αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ μέλεα διελὼν, τὰ μὲν ὤπτησε τὰ δὲ ἔψησε τῶν κρεῶν· εὐτυχτα δὲ ποιησάμενος εἶχε ἐτοῖμα· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ, τῆς ὥρης γνωμένης τοῦ δείπνου, παρήσαν οἱ τε ἄλλοι δαιτυμόνες καὶ ὁ Ἀρπαγος, τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοισι καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀστυάγει παρετιθέατο τράπεζαι ἐπιπλάει μηλείων κρεῶν, Ἀρπάγῳ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ πλὴν κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ἄκρων χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν τὰ ἄλλα πάντα· ταῦτα δὲ χωρὶς ἕκειτο ἐπὶ κανέφῳ κατακεκαλυμμένα· ὥς δὲ τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ ἐδόκεε ἅλις ἔχειν τῆς βορῆς, Ἀστυάγης εἴρετό μιν εἰ ἡσθέη τι τῇ θοίνῃ; φαμένον δὲ Ἀρπάγου καὶ κάρτα ἡσθῆναι παρέφερον, τοῖσι προσέκειτο, τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, Ἀρπαγον δὲ ἐκέλευον προστάντες ἀποκαλύπτειν τε καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ βούλεται αὐτῶν· πειθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρπαγος καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων ὁρᾷ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα, ἰδὼν δὲ οὔτε ἐξεπλάγῃ ἐντὸς τε ἑωυτοῦ γινεται· εἴρετο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, εἰ γινώσκουσι ὅτε θηρίου κρέα βεβρώκοι; ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκων ἔφη καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔρῃ<sup>415</sup>. τούτοις δὲ ἀμειψάμενος, καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν, ἥτε ἐς τὰ οἰκία· ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἔμελλε, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἁλίστας θάψειν τὰ πάντα.

Harpagus,  
on discover-  
ing the fact,  
restrains his  
feelings.

120 Ἀρπάγῳ μὲν Ἀστυάγης δίκην ταύτην ἐπέθηκε. Κύρου δὲ περὶ βουλευόντων, ἐκάλεε τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν μάγων οἱ τὸ ἐνύπνιον οἱ ταύτην ἔκριναν, ἀπικομένους δὲ εἴρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῇ ἔκριναν οἱ τὴν ὄψιν; οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα εἶπαν, λέγοντες ὥς βασιλεῦσαι χρῆν τὸν παῖδα εἰ ἐπέξωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε πρότερον ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται αὐ-

Herodotus. See § 122, ἔλεγε φάσι: § 125, ἔφη λέγων, v. 36.

<sup>415</sup> καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔρῃ. This same answer is put by William of Malmesbury into the mouth of the son of Ethelwold, to whom King Ed-

gar shewed his father's corpse, after slaying him in the royal forest. Similarly, the story of Zopyrus was adapted by Italian legend-writers to Sextus Turquinus.

τοὺς τοῖσδε " ἔστι τε ὁ παῖς <sup>116</sup> [καὶ περίεστι] καὶ μιν ἐπ' ἀγροῦ  
 διαιτώμενον οἱ ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα· ὁ δὲ  
 πάντα, ὅσα περ οἱ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ βασιλέες, ἐτελέωσε ποιήσας· καὶ  
 γὰρ δορυφόρους καὶ θυρωροὺς καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρους <sup>117</sup>, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ  
 πάντα διατάξας εἶχε· καὶ νῦν ἐς τί ὑμῖν ταῦτα φαίνεται φέρειν ;"  
 εἶπαν οἱ μάγοι· " εἰ μὲν περίεστί τε καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ὁ παῖς μὴ ἐκ <sup>The Ma-</sup>  
 προνοίας τινός, θάρσει τε τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν· οὐ <sup>gians con-</sup>  
 γὰρ ἔτι τὸ δεύτερον ἄρξει· παρὰ σμικρὰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν λογίων <sup>sider that</sup>  
 ἡμῖν ἔνια κεχώρηκε· καὶ τά γε τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐχόμενα τέλεως ἐς <sup>the risk</sup>  
 ἀσθενὲς ἔρχεται· ἀμείβεται Ἀστυάγης τοῖσδε " καὶ αὐτός, ὃ <sup>from Cyrus</sup>  
 μάγοι, ταύτῃ πλείστος γνώμην εἰμὶ, βασιλέος ὀνομασθέντος τοῦ <sup>is past.</sup>  
 παιδὸς ἐξήκειν τε τὸν ὄνειρον καὶ μοι τὸν παῖδα τούτου εἶναι  
 δεινὸν οὐδὲν ἔτι· ὅμως μὲν γε τοι συμβουλευσάτε μοι εὖ περι-  
 σκεψάμενοι τὰ μέλλει ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι οἴκῳ τε τῷ ἐμῷ καὶ  
 ὑμῖν." εἶπαν πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ μάγοι· " ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ αὐτοῖσι  
 ἡμῖν περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστὶ κατορθοῦσθαι ἀρχὴν τὴν σὴν· κείνως μὲν  
 γὰρ ἀλλοτριοῦνται ἐς τὸν παῖδα τούτον περιϊούσα ἑόντα Πέρσῃ,  
 καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἑόντες Μῆδοι, δουλούμεθά τε καὶ λόγον οὐδενὸς γινύ-  
 μεθα πρὸς Περσέων, ἑόντες ξεῖνοι· σέο δ' ἐνεστεῶτος βασιλέος  
 ἑόντος πολίτηω, καὶ ἄρχομεν τὸ μέρος καὶ τιμὰς πρὸς σέο μεγά-  
 λας ἔχομεν· οὕτω ὦν πάντως ἡμῖν σέο τε καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς  
 προσπτόεν ἐστὶ· καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερόν τι ἐωρῶμεν, πᾶν ἂν σοι  
 προεφράζομεν· νῦν δὲ ἀποσκήψαντος τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐς φλαῦρον,  
 αὐτοὶ τε θαρσέομεν καὶ σοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα παρακελευόμεθα· τὸν  
 δὲ παῖδα τούτον ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπώπεμψαι ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς  
 γειναμένους." Ἀκούσας ταῦτα δ' Ἀστυάγης, ἐχάρη τε καὶ καλέσας <sup>121</sup>  
 τὸν Κύρον ἔλεγε οἱ τάδε· " ὦ παῖ, σέ γὰρ ἐγὼ δι' ὄψιν ὀνείρου οὐ  
 τελέην ἠδίκηον τῇ σεωντοῦ δὲ μοίρῃ περὶς, νῦν ὦν ἴθι χαίρων ἐς  
 Πέρσας, πομποὺς δ' ἐγὼ ἅμα πέμψω· ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ, πατέρα τε  
 καὶ μητέρα <sup>118</sup> εὐρήσεις οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην <sup>119</sup> τε τὸν βουκόλον  
 καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ."

<sup>116</sup> ἔστι τε ὁ παῖς [καὶ περίεστι]. I suspect that here two alternative readings have been incorporated, the one having been ἔστι τε ὁ παῖς καὶ μιν, &c.; and the other, ὁ παῖς καὶ περίεστι καὶ μιν, &c.

<sup>117</sup> ἀγγελιηφόρους. This office need not

necessarily be regarded as the same as that, τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρειν. See note on iii. 34.

<sup>118</sup> μητέρα. Two MSS have the variation, τὴν μητέρα σὴν λεγομένην γυναῖκα δ' αὐτοῦ.

<sup>119</sup> οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην, "not of the

He is sent to his parents in Persia.

122

Origin of the fable that he had been suckled by a bitch.

Ταῦτα εἶπας ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἀποπέμπει τὸν Κύρον νοστήσαντα δέ μιν ἐς τοῦ Καμβύσεω τὰ οἰκία ἐδέξαντο οἱ γευνάμενοι, καὶ δεξάμενοι [ὡς ἐπίθοντο<sup>420</sup>] μεγάλως ἀσπάζοντο, οἷα δὴ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτίκα τότε τελευτήσαι· ἰστόρεόν τε ὅτεφ τρόφῳ περιγενέοιτο; ὁ δέ σφι ἔλεγε, φὰς πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ εἶδέναι ἀλλὰ ἡμαρτηκέναι πλείστον, κατ' ὁδὸν δὲ πυθέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πάθην ἐπίστασθαι<sup>421</sup> μὲν γὰρ ὡς βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος εἶη παῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κείθεν ὁδοῦ τὸν πάντα λόγον τῶν πομπῶν πυθέσθαι· τραφῆναι δὲ ἔλεγε ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναικὸς· ἥτις τε ταύτην αἰνέων διὰ παντός· ἦν τέ οἱ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἡ Κυνώ. οἱ δὲ τοκέες παραλαβόντες τὸ οὖνομα τοῦτο, ἵνα θειοτέρως δοκέῃ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι περιεῖναι σφι ὁ παῖς, κατέβαλον φάτιν ὡς ἐκκείμενον Κύρον κύων ἐξέθρεψε<sup>422</sup>. ἐνθεῦτεν μὲν ἡ φάτις αὕτη κεχώρηκε.

123

Harpagus makes him a means of revenging himself upon Astyages.

Κύρῳ δὲ ἀνδρευμένῳ καὶ ἔοντι τῶν ἡλικίων ἀνδρειοτάτῳ καὶ προσφιλεστάτῳ προσέκειτο ὁ Ἀρπαγος, δῶρα πέμπων, τίσασθαι Ἀστυάγεα ἐπιθυμέων. ἀπ' ἑωυτοῦ γὰρ, ἔοντος ἰδιώτεω, οὐκ ἐνεώρα τιμαυρίην ἐσομένην ἐς Ἀστυάγεα· Κύρον δὲ ὁρέων ἐπιτρεφόμενον<sup>423</sup> ἐποίετο σύμμαχον, τὰς πάθας τὰς Κύρου τῇσι

rank of Mitrdates." It is to be observed that the Pontine kings who bore this name professed to be descended lineally from one of the seven conspirators who slew the Magian usurper, and to have held their kingdom hereditarily from the time of Darius Hystaspes (POLYBIUS, v. 43). The presumption therefore is, that the name was a noble one in the Persian highlands. APPIAN makes the kings of Pontus to be Achæmenids of the royal house of Persia (*Mithr.* § 9). It is not unlikely however, if the habits of the genuine Persians were so simple as is stated, and if the Persian nation were vassals of the Median crown, like the old Swiss cantons of the house of Hapsburg, that a Persian chieftain would be described in Median traditions, in such a way as to turn him into "a royal herdsman." If, in addition to this, a new locality were given to the story of the infancy of Cyrus, by placing the adventure in the immediate neighbourhood of the Saspis (above, § 110), the real position of Mitrdates would be entirely lost sight of, and such a phrase as that in the text might readily be used.

<sup>420</sup> [ὡς ἐπίθοντο]. These words are certainly out of place here, although they

are found in all the MSS. It seems not improbable that they originally stood one line back, between *οἰκία* and *ἐδέξαντο*.

<sup>421</sup> ἐπίστασθαι μὲν γὰρ, "for that he made sure," in the same sense in which the word is used of Cyrus's parents just before.

<sup>422</sup> κατέβαλον φάτιν ὡς ἐκκείμενον Κύρον κύων ἐξέθρεψε. It is not the Persian but the Median language in which, according to Herodotus's story, the word *ῥακῶ* signifies a dog (§ 110). Therefore, unless the two languages were identical, the name of Cyrus's foster-mother could not help the reception of the miraculous nature of his escape among the Persians. And, in fact, the word is said to belong to a country on the northern side of the Elbrus mountains (see note 387); consequently, far away from the Persia of the Achæmenids. But the parallel case of Romulus would induce one to prefer the theory that the poetic form of the narrative is the original one,—that the fostering "bitch" was rationalized into the female Spako, rather than the woman Spako poeticized into an animal.

<sup>423</sup> ἐπιτρεφόμενον, "growing up as a successor to him." This is the force of

ἑωυτοῦ ὁμοιούμενος. πρὸ δ' ἔτι τούτου τάδε οἱ κατέργαστο· ἔν-  
τος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος πικροῦ ἐς τοὺς Μήδους, συμμίσγων ἐν ἑκάστῳ  
ὁ Ἄρπαγος τῶν πρώτων Μήδων, ἀνέπειθε ὡς χρηὶ Κῦρον προ-  
στησαμένους τὸν Ἀστυάγεα παῦσαι τῆς βασιληΐης. κατειρ-  
γασμένου δέ οἱ τούτου καὶ ἔντος ἐτοίμου, οὕτω δὴ τῷ Κύρῳ  
διαιωμένῳ ἐν Πέρσῃσι βουλόμενος ὁ Ἄρπαγος δηλῶσαι τὴν  
ἑωυτοῦ γνώμην, ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε, ἅτε τῶν ὁδῶν φυλασσο-  
μένων<sup>44</sup>, ὁ δὲ ἐπιτεχνᾷται τοιόνδε λαγὸν μηχανησάμενος, καὶ  
ἀνασχίσας τοῦτου τὴν γαστέρα καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποτίλας, ὡς δὲ εἶχε,  
οὕτω ἐσέθηκε βιβλίον, γράψας τὰ οἱ ἐδόκεε ἀπορράψας δὲ τοῦ  
λαγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ δίκτυα δούς ἅτε θηρευτῇ τῶν οἰκετέων τῷ  
πιστοτάτῳ, ἀπέστειλε ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας· ἐντειλάμενός οἱ ἀπὸ γλώσ-  
σης, δίδόντα τὸν λαγὸν Κύρῳ ἐπειπεῖν, αὐτοχειρῇ μιν διελεῖν,  
καὶ μηδένα οἱ ταῦτα ποιεῖντι παρεῖναι. Ταῦτά τε δὴ ὦν ἐπιτελέα 124  
ἐγίνετο, καὶ ὁ Κύρος παραλαβὼν τὸν λαγὸν ἀνέσχισε· εὐρὼν δὲ  
ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ βιβλίον ἐνεὸν λαβὼν ἐπελέγετο· τὰ δὲ γράμματα  
ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ παῖ Καμβύσεω, σὲ γὰρ θεοὶ ἐπορέωσι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν  
κοτε ἐς τοσοῦτον τύχης ἀπῖκεν· σὺ νῦν Ἀστυάγεα τὸν σεωυτοῦ  
φονέα τίσαι· κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τῇμ τούτου προθυμίῃν τέθνηκας<sup>45</sup>, τὸ  
δὲ κατὰ θεοὺς τε καὶ ἐμὲ περίεις· τὰ σε καὶ πάλοι δοκέω πάντα  
ἐκμεμαθηκέναι, σέο τε αὐτοῦ πέρι ὡς ἐπρήχθη καὶ οἶα ἐγὼ ὑπὸ  
Ἀστυάγεος πέπονθα, ὅτι σε οὐκ ἀπέκτεινα ἀλλὰ ἔδωκα τῷ βου-  
κόλῳ. σὺ νῦν ἢν βούλῃ ἐμοὶ πείθεσθαι, τῆσπερ Ἀστυάγῃς ἄρχει  
χώρης ταύτης ἀπάσης ἄρξεις. Πέρσας γὰρ ἀναπείσας ἀπίστα-  
σθαι στρατηλάτεις ἐπὶ Μήδους· καὶ ἦν τε ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος

Sends him  
a letter  
urging him  
to revolt  
against As-  
tyages, and  
promising  
support  
from the  
Median  
nobles.

the preposition. See above, § 100, εἰ δὲ θελήσει, τούτου τελευτήσαντος, ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἢ τυραννίς. The effect of the compound is similar to that in the words ἐφεδρος and ἐφέσθαι, which are applied to the athlete who, in a wrestling match, sits out, waiting to engage the victor of two champions already competing. See the phrase ἐφεδρον βασιλέα, v. 41.

<sup>44</sup> ἅτε τῶν ὁδῶν φυλασσομένων. This feature in the narrative was probably suggested by some barriers which existed in the great road from Media to the south. RAWLINSON (*Journal of the Geograph. Soc.* ix. p. 34) describes such a one, called Taki-Girrah (the arch which holds the

road), as standing in a pass which in all ages must have been the thoroughfare between Media and Babylonia. It is “a solitary arch of solid masonry, built of immense blocks of white marble, which is met with on the ascent of the mountain; it is apparently very ancient, and the name and position suggest the idea of a toll-house for the transit-duty upon merchandise crossing the Median frontier.” The Taki-Girrah is placed by Rawlinson in about lat. 34° 20', long. 46° 30'. It constitutes “the gate of Mount Zagros.”

<sup>45</sup> κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τούτου προθυμίην τέθνηκας, “for, so far as this man's earnest desire could effect it, you are dead.”

ἀποδεχθῶ στρατηγὸς ἀντία σου<sup>426</sup>, ἔστι τοι τὰ σὺ βούλει, ἦν τε τῶν τις δοκίμων ἄλλος Μήδων· πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἀποστάντες ἀπ' ἐκείνου καὶ γενόμενοι πρὸς σέο<sup>427</sup>, Ἀστυάγεα κατατρέχειν πειρήσονται· ὥς ὢν ἐτοίμου τοῦ γε ἐνθάδε ἐόντος, ποίειε ταῦτα, καὶ ποίειε κατὰ τάχος."

125

Cyrus enters into the scheme,

professes to be appointed general of the Persians.

Various Persian tribes.

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος, ἐφρόντιζε ὅτε πρὶν τὴν σφοδράτην Πέρσας ἀναπέσει ἀπίστασθαι· φροντίζων δὲ εὕρισκεται ταῦτα καιριώτατα εἶναι· ἐποίησε δὲ τάδε· γράψας ἐς βιβλίον τὰ ἐβούλετο, ἀλλήν τῶν Περσέων ἐποιήσατο· μετὰ δὲ, ἀναπτύξας τὸ βιβλίον καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενος, ἔφη Ἀστυάγεά μιν στρατηγὸν Περσέων ἀποδεκνύναι, "νῦν τε," ἔφη λέγων<sup>428</sup>, "ὦ Πέρσαι, προαγορεύω ὑμῖν παρῆναι ἕκαστον ἔχοντα δρέπανον." Κύρος μὲν ταῦτα προηγόρευσε. (ἔστι δὲ Περσέων συχνὰ γένεα<sup>429</sup>. καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Κύρος συνάλισε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ Μήδων· ἔστι δὲ τάδε, ἐξ ὧν ὅλλοι πάντες ἀρτέαται Πέρσαι· Πασαργάδαι, Μαράφιοι, Μάσπιοι<sup>430</sup>. τούτων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἄριστοι· ἐν τοῖσι καὶ Ἀχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ φρήτρη, ἔνθεν οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ Περσεῖδαι γεγόνασι. ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἷδε<sup>431</sup>. Πανθιαλαῖοι, Δηρουσιαῖοι, Γερμάνιοι<sup>432</sup>. οὗτοι μὲν πάντες ἀροτῆρές εἰσι, οἱ δὲ

<sup>426</sup> ἀντία σου. This is the reading of Gaisford with some of the MSS. Others have ἀντήσαι, which seems not unlikely to be an original reading.

<sup>427</sup> γενόμενοι πρὸς σέο, "having come over to your side." See πρὸς βορέην ἀνέμου above, § 110, and the note 292.

The uncertainty of dialectal forms in the MSS is illustrated by the circumstance, that the same copies which have the contracted form σεῦ three lines back here have the open form σέο.

<sup>428</sup> "νῦν τε," ἔφη λέγων, "ὦ Πέρσαι. Gaisford, who follows most of the MSS, reads νῦν, ἔφη τε λέγων, ὦ Π., which necessitates a full stop after ἀποδεκνύναι. The reading in the text rests on the authority of the Sancroft MS.

<sup>429</sup> συχνὰ γένεα. The expression γένεα instead of φύλαι here seems to arise from the circumstance, that the idea of common descent was more strongly preserved in the Oriental than the Hellenic tribes. Indeed it is very probable that the three principal Persian γένεα were the descendants of distinct, although cognate, races. A parallel case to this would be the divi-

sion at Cyrene related by Herodotus, iv. 161.

<sup>430</sup> Πασαργάδαι, Μαράφιοι, Μάσπιοι. Herodotus makes mention of individuals belonging to the two former of these tribes in iv. 167. The third is not mentioned elsewhere, and some MSS of credit here read Μάσπιοι. It seems not impossible that the word Ἀριμαστοί (iii. 116) may have some etymological connexion with Μάσπιοι, as Ἀριόμαρδος with Μάρδος. It is to be observed that there is no trace to be found in Herodotus of the city Pasargadæ, and the tomb of Cyrus there, of which Strabo speaks (xv. c. 3) on the authority of ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ, who was there with Alexander.

<sup>431</sup> ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἷδε. Herodotus appears to separate the three first tribes from all the rest, as being in the position of a dominant race compared with the others. The words ἄλλοι δὲ, &c. seem to answer to τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν, and the meaning of the author to be, that the revolt of Cyrus extended to the Pasargadæ, Maraphii, and Maspii alone.

<sup>432</sup> Πανθιαλαῖοι, Δηρουσιαῖοι, Γερμά-

ἄλλοι νομάδες Δάοι, Μάρδοι, Δροπικοί, Σαγάρτιοι<sup>43</sup>.) Ὡς δὲ 126  
 παρήσαν ἅπαντες ἔχοντες τὸ προειρημένον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κύρος, ἦν  
 γάρ τις χώρος τῆς Περσικῆς ἀκανθώδους βύσσου τε ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα  
 σταδίου ἢ εἴκοσι πάντη, τοῦτόν σφι τὸν χώρον προεῖπε ἐξημερῶ-  
 σαι ἐν ἡμέρῃ ἐπιτελεσάντων δὲ τῶν Περσέων τὸν προκείμενον  
 ἀεθλον, δεύτερά σφι προεῖπε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην παρῆναι λελου-  
 μένους· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὰ τε αἰπόλια καὶ τὰς ποίμνας καὶ τὰ βουκό-  
 λια ὁ Κύρος πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς συναλίσας ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν, ἔθηκε καὶ  
 παρεσκεύαζε ὡς δεξόμενος τῶν Περσέων τὸν στρατόν, πρὸς δὲ,  
 οἶνω τε καὶ σιτίοισι ὡς ἐπιτηδεωτάτοισι. ἀπικομένους δὲ τῇ  
 ὑστεραίῃ τοὺς Πέρσας κατακλίνας ἐς λειμῶνα εὐώχῃ. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ  
 ἀπὸ δαίπνου ἦσαν, εἵρετό σφας ὁ Κύρος κότερα τὰ τῇ προτεραίῃ  
 εἶχον ἢ τὰ παρόντα σφι εἴη αἰρετώτερα; οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν πολλὸν  
 εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον τὴν μὲν γὰρ προτέρην ἡμέρην πάντα  
 σφι κακὰ ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ τότε παρεούσαν πάντα ἀγαθὰ· παραλα-  
 βὼν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ Κύρος παρεγύμνου τὸν πάντα λόγον,  
 λέγων “ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὕτω ὑμῖν ἔχει· βουλομένοισι μὲν ἐμέο  
 πείθεσθαι ἔστι τάδε τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἀγαθὰ, οὐδένα πόνον  
 δουλοπρεπέα ἔχουσιν· μὴ βουλομένοισι δὲ ἐμέο πείθεσθαι εἰσὶ

Cyrus's de-  
 vice to  
 make the  
 Persians  
 see the  
 stake at  
 issue.

νοί. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS has for the first of these Πενθίδαι, and for the third Καρμύνιοι. The Sancroft MS has Πανθήλαοι. Whatever reading is adopted, nothing is known of the people denoted by the first two names. The third probably refers to tribes inhabiting that district afterwards called Καρμανία (whichever reading be adopted), i.e. from Cape Jask at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, northwards to the desert, and north-eastwards to the boundaries of Persis Proper. NEARCHUS (ap. Strabon. xv. c. 3) remarked that its inhabitants were in most of their habits and their language identical with the Medes and Persians.

The name Γερμάνιοι has been considered as etymologically identical with the modern “German,” and this idea has been confirmed by a comparison of several words in the two languages. But, whatever was the original seat of the Teutonic races which subsequently over-spread Europe, there can be little doubt that the word “German” is equivalent to “armatus,” “heer-man,” “war-man,” and personified in the warrior Arminius, and

in the deity Ermin. And, if the Γερμάνιοι had been so called from their warlike character, they would hardly have been put last of the three tribes.

<sup>43</sup> Δάοι, Μάρδοι, Δροπικοί, Σαγάρτιοι. These tribes seem not to be nomads of the same kind with the Scythians. The second apparently are the mountaineers leading a pastoral life in the hills between Media and Persia (ARRIAN, *Indic.* 40), and expert in climbing. See above, § 84. The Sagartii on the other hand are an equestrian people, who went to war armed with the lasso. See vii. 85. In the fiscal scheme of the Persian monarch they are included in the fourteenth nome, which comprises also the islands at the mouth of the Euphrates (iii. 93). Perhaps they are to be looked for in the plains on the eastern bank of the lower Tigris. Of the Dai and Dropici nothing whatever is known, except that the former are perhaps the same as the Daze, a name which STRABO (xi. c. 7, p. 425) says was given in his time to the tribes on the eastern shore of the Caspian, separated by a desert from Hyrcania.

ὑμῖν πόνοι τῷ χθιζῷ παραπλήσιοι ἀναρίθμητοι· ὡν ἐμέο πειθόμενοι γίνεσθε ἐλεύθεροι· αὐτός τε γὰρ δοκέω θείῃ τύχῃ γεγονὸς τάδε ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι<sup>434</sup>, καὶ ὑμέας ἡγήμαι ἀνδρας Μήδων εἶναι οὐ φαυλοτέρους, οὔτε τὰ ἄλλα οὔτε τὰ πολέμια· ὥς ὡν ἐχόντων ὧδε, ἀπίστασθε ἀπ' Ἀστυάγεος τὴν ταχίστην."

127  
They readily revolt.

Astyages loses two armies, the first by the treachery of Harpagus,

and is himself taken prisoner.

129  
His reply to the insult of Harpagus.

Πέρσαι μὲν νυν προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ἄσμενοι ἐλευθεροῦντο, καὶ πύλαι δεινὸν ποιούμενοι ὑπὸ Μήδων ἄρχεσθαι· Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὥς ἐπύθετο Κύρον πρήσσοντα ταῦτα, πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκάλεε αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐκέλευε τὸν ἄγγελον ἀπαγγέλλειν, ὅτι πρότερον ἦξοι παρ' ἐκείνων ἢ αὐτὸς Ἀστυάγης βούλεται<sup>435</sup>. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης Μήδους τε ὥπλισε πάντας, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ὥστε θεοβλαβῆς ἑὸν ἀπέδεξε Ἀρπαγον, λήθην ποιούμενος τὰ μιν ἑόργεε· ὥς δ' οἱ Μῆδοι στρατευσάμενοι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συνέμσγον, οἱ μὲν τινας αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο ὅσοι μὴ τοῦ λόγου μετέσχον, οἱ δὲ αὐτομόλεον πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας· οἱ δὲ πλείστοι ἐθε-

128  
λοκάκεον τε καὶ ἐφευγον. Διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ στρατεύματος αἰσχροῦς, ὥς ἐπύθετο τάχιστα ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἔφη, ὑπειλέων τῷ Κύρῳ· "ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ὁ Κύρος γε χαίρησιν." τοσαῦτα εἶπας, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν μάγων τοὺς ὄνειροπόλους οἳ μιν ἀνέγνωσαν μετεῖναι τὸν Κύρον, τούτους ἀνεσκολόπισε, μετὰ δὲ ὥπλισε τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν Μήδων ἐν τῷ ἄστοι, νέους τε καὶ πρεσβύτας ἀνδρας· ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τούτους καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐσώθη<sup>436</sup>. καὶ αὐτὸς τε Ἀστυάγης ἐξωγήθη, καὶ τοὺς ἐξήγαγε τῶν Μήδων ἀπέβαλε. Ἐόντι δὲ αἰχμαλώτῳ τῷ Ἀστυάγῃ προστὰς ὁ Ἀρπαγος κατέχαιρέ τε καὶ κατεκερτόμει, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων ἐς αὐτὸν θυμαλγέα ἔπεα καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰρετό μιν, πρὸς τὸ ἐώντου δειπνῶν τό μιν ἐκείνος σαρξὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθοώησε, "ὅ τι εἴη ἢ

<sup>434</sup> τάδε ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι, "to take this cause in hand." The expression is used in iv. 79: μέλλοντι δὲ οἱ ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι τὴν τελετήν, and in vii. 8: ὥς ἐμελλε ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας.

<sup>435</sup> βούλεται. This is the reading of S. Most MSS have βουλήσεται, a reading adopted by Gaisford.

<sup>436</sup> ἐσώθη. Herodotus's authorities have this in common with the tradition followed by Ctesias, and that by Strabo (which last is probably the local account

found at Pasargadae by Aristobulus when there), that the victory over Astyages is not consummated in a single battle. Strabo says that Cyrus founded a palace at Pasargadae, on account of that being the site of the last and decisive victory which transferred the empire of the East from the Median to the Achæmenid dynasty (xv. c. 3, p. 322). In the story followed by Herodotus, Cyrus is obviously conceived as advancing upon the Median Asty, wherever it may have been. See note 396.

ἐκείνου δουλοσύνη ἀντὶ τῆς βασιλείης;" ὁ δέ μιν προσιδὼν ἀντήριετο, "εἰ ἐωυτοῦ ποιέεται τὸ Κύρου ἔργον;" Ἀρπαγος δὲ ἔφη, αὐτὸς γὰρ γράψαι, τὸ πρήγμα δὴ ἐωυτοῦ δικαίως εἶναι. Ἀστυάγης δὲ μιν ἀπέφαινε τῷ λόγῳ "σκαϊότατόν τε καὶ ἀδικώτατον ἔοντα πάντων ἀνθρώπων σκαϊότατόν μὲν γε, εἰ παρεὼν αὐτῷ βασιλέα γενέσθαι, (εἰ δὴ δι' ἐωυτοῦ γε ἐπρήχθη τὰ παρεόντα,) - ἄλλῃ περιέθηκε τὸ κράτος· ἀδικώτατον δὲ, ὅτι τοῦ δείπνου εὔνεκεν Μήδους κατεδούλωσε· εἰ γὰρ δὴ δέον πάντως περιθεῖναι ἄλλῃ τέῳ τὴν βασιλείην καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν ἔχειν, δικαίωτερον εἶναι Μήδων τέῳ περιβαλεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ Περσέων· νῦν δὲ Μήδους μὲν ἀναιτίους τούτου ἔοντας δούλους ἀντὶ δεσποτέων γεγυνέναι, Πέρσας δὲ δούλους ἔοντας τὸ πρὶν Μήδων νῦν γεγυνέναι δεσπότας."

Ἀστυάγης μὲν νυν, βασιλεύσας ἐπ' ἕτεα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα, 130 οὕτω τῆς βασιλείης κατεπαύσθη· Μῆδοι δὲ ὑπέκυψαν Πέρσῃσι. <sup>Astyages had reigned thirty-five years at the time the Median supremacy</sup> διὰ τὴν τούτου πικρότητα, ἄρξαντες τῆς ἅω Ἄλυσ ποταμοῦ Ἀσίης<sup>437</sup> ἐπ' ἕτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δυὼν δέοντα<sup>438</sup>, παρέξ ἣ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἤρχον (ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ<sup>439</sup> μετεμέλλησέ τέ

<sup>437</sup> τῆς ἅω Ἄλυσ ποταμοῦ Ἀσίης. Is the true reading τῆς ἐπὶ Ἀλ. π. Ἀσίης? See note 361. But the text may stand.

<sup>438</sup> ἐπ' ἕτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δυὼν δέοντα, παρέξ ἣ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἤρχον. The chronological difficulties of this passage are very great, and perhaps do not admit of a perfectly satisfactory solution. CLINTON cuts the knot by supposing that the first twenty-two years of Deioces's reign were passed by him in a judicial capacity, and that Herodotus considered the Median empire only to commence in his twenty-third year. But Herodotus does expressly say that Deioces was *king* for 53 years (§ 102), and, what is perhaps even more important, he says that he *only* organized the Medes themselves, and did *not* seek to extend the limits of his power over the neighbouring nations (§ 101). The empire began to grow under his son Phraortes (οὗτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἔτι γενέσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος τῶν προγόνων, § 103), and if the passage § 103, οὗτος . . . ἐωυτῷ, be genuine, the commencement of the supremacy over Upper Asia must date from some period in *his* reign. But, as the text stands at present, the interval from the very beginning of his reign to

the dethronement of Astyages gives only ninety-seven years. (See note 352, from which appears a possibility of the MSS having greatly varied.) If the present text be relied upon, the omission of the words *τριήκοντα καὶ* seems the easiest way out of the difficulty. The word *ΕΤΕΑ* may have been accidentally written *ΕΤΕΑ*, and this taken for *ἕτεα λ'*, i. e. *ἕτεα τριήκοντα*, in which case the copula would naturally be inserted by the next copyist. Thus ninety-eight years would be got for the duration of the supremacy, and, reckoning from the beginning of Phraortes's reign, the number amounts to ninety-seven. It is very conceivable that, from some cause unknown to us, a new era should be made to date from some point a little back. Suppose, for instance, that Phraortes was regent for the last year of his father's life.

<sup>439</sup> ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ. This expression has been supposed to refer to the revolt under Darius Nothus, which was put down in the year 408 B.C., and an argument relative to the time of Herodotus's writing his history has been deduced from it. But the sentence, if proceeding from the hand of the author, seems



was overthrown, which had lasted 128 years, except during the time the Scythians overran the country.

## 131

The gods and the ritual of the early Persians.

σφι ταῦτα ποιήσασι καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου ἀποστάντες δὲ ὀπίσω κατεστράφησαν<sup>440</sup>, μάχη νικηθέντες.) τότε δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀστυάγεος οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μήδοισι, ἤρχον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς Ἀσίας. Ἀστυάγεα δὲ Κῦρος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας εἶχε παρ' ἐωυτῷ ἐς δ' ἐτελεύτησε. οὕτω δὴ Κῦρος γενόμενός τε καὶ τραφεῖς ἐβασίλευσε<sup>441</sup>, καὶ Κροῖσον ὕστερον τούτων ἄρξαντα ἀδικίης κατεστρέψατο, ὥς εἴρηται μοι τὸ πρότερον, τούτου δὲ καταστρεψάμενος, οὕτω πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας ἤρξε.

Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμοισι τοῖσδε χρεωμένους· ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποικευμένους ἰδρύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποιέεσσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρουσι, ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέει<sup>442</sup>, ὅτι οὐκ

more likely to relate to the troubles which took place under the Pseudo-Smerdis, the Magian. See note on iii. 126. It is apparently a mere memorandum, although there is no reason to dispute its genuineness.

<sup>440</sup> κατεστράφησαν. Several MSS have κατεστράφησαν.

<sup>441</sup> οὕτω δὴ Κῦρος γενόμενός τε καὶ τραφεῖς ἐβασίλευσε. The authorities for the overthrow of the Median empire by Cyrus may be divided into three distinct classes. 1. Those followed by HERODOTUS. 2. Those followed by CTESIAS. 3. Those followed by MOSES OF CHORENEZ, the historian of Armenia. In every one of these, Astyages is the name of the Median monarch under whom the dynasty is overthrown, and in every one Astyages is not put to death, but kept in an honourable captivity by the victor. In the Armenian traditions, however, it is Tigranes, prince of Armenia, who is the chief opponent of Astyages, and Cyrus only appears as his friend and ally. In all these traditions too, the revolution appears in the form of the overthrow of a dynasty by the champion of a vassal people, which is in consequence placed in a position of independence, and even superiority. Moreover, in all a connexion by marriage enters into the story. In the Armenian tradition Astyages marries a sister of Tigranes, and endeavours to make her a tool for the destruction of her brother. In that followed by Ctesias, although Cyrus is no relation of Astyages by birth, he is made to adopt as his mother, and afterwards to marry, Amytis, the daughter of Astyages, — a strange feature in the narrative, but

one prominently put forward, and perhaps symbolizing Cyrus's adoption as a Magian. (See CATULLUS, 90.) So important was this fact considered, that the Bactrians, who had advanced in force after Cyrus's obtaining possession of the person of Astyages, and had fought a drawn battle with his troops, ἐπεὶ Ἀστυάγην μὲν πατέρα Κῦρου γεγενημένον, Ἀμύνην δὲ μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα ἔμαθον, ἑαυτοὺς ἐκόντες Ἀμύνῃ καὶ Κῦρῳ παρέδοσαν (CTESIAS *ap. Photium, Biblioth.* p. 36). The main historical fact, therefore, of the transfer of an empire in the hands of a Magian dynasty to an Achaemenid race, may be regarded as ratified by all three. But the *personal* history of Cyrus is peculiar to Herodotus. In the Armenian tradition Tigranes is represented as having the same bodily and mental qualities which XENOPHON (in the *Cyropædia*) and Herodotus ascribe to Cyrus. And, in the case of Tigranes, the source of the tradition is expressly said to be "the popular songs which were sung to the sound of cymbals." The hypothesis that the story of Cyrus had a similar origin, but that the substance of it passed to Herodotus through Greek channels, is at least not an improbable one. See note 339. DIXON, the historian, expressly related (*ap. Athenæum*, p. 633) that the *future* deeds of Cyrus were prophesied by a Median bard in a song at the table of Astyages.

<sup>442</sup> δοκέει. Gaisford has δοκέειν, with the majority of MSS. But the Sarraceni Codex has δοκέει, and so has ORIGEN (c. *Celsum*, vii. p. 738), who cites the passage.

ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς, κατὰπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶναι. Their original religion an elemental one.  
οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότετα τῶν οὐρέων ἀναβαίνοντες [θυσίας<sup>443</sup>] ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα<sup>444</sup> τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῇ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισιν· τοῦτοισι μὲν δὴ μύνουσι<sup>445</sup> θύουσι ἀρχήθεν.

Ἐπιμεμαθήκασιν δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίῃ<sup>446</sup> θύειν, παρὰ τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων· καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἀλιττα<sup>447</sup>, Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν. 132  
Θυσίῃ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους θεοὺς ἦδε κατέστηκε· οὔτε βωμοὺς ποιεῦνται οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι· μέλλοντες θύειν οὐ σπονδῇ χρέωνται, οὐκ αὐλῇ, οὐ στέμμασι, οὐκ οὐλῇσι· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκάστῳ<sup>448</sup> θύειν θέλει, ἐς χώρον καθαρὸν ἀγαγὼν τὸ κτήνος καλέει τὸν θεὸν, ἐστεφανωμένος τὸν τιάραν<sup>449</sup> μυρσίῃ μάλιστα. ἐκωτῶ μὲν δὴ τῷ θύοντι ἰδίῃ μύνῃ οὐ οἱ ἐγγίγνεται ἀρᾶσθαι ἀγαθὰ· ὁ δὲ πᾶσι τοῖσι Πέρσησι κατεύχεται εὖ γίνεσθαι, καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασιν Πέρσησι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται· ἐπεὰν δὲ διαμυστύλας κατὰ μέρεα τὸ ἱρήιον ἐψήσῃ τὰ κρέα, ὑποπάσας ποιήν ὡς ἀπαλωτάτην μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τρίφυλλον, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔθηκε ὦν πάντα τὰ κρέα· διαθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστειὼς ἐπαεῖδει<sup>450</sup> θεογονίην οἷον δὴ ἐκείνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαοιδὴν· ἀνευ γὰρ δὴ μάγου οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιεέσθαι. ἐπισχῶν δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον, ἀποφέρεται ὁ θύσας τὰ κρέα καὶ χρᾶται ὃ τι μιν λόγος αἰρέει.

<sup>443</sup> [θυσίας]. This word is omitted in the manuscripts S and V, and appears to have been introduced as a gloss of the word ἔρδειν, which, like the Latin *facere*, is used in the sense of "sacrifice."

<sup>444</sup> τὸν κύκλον πάντα. See note 450.

<sup>445</sup> τοῦτοισι μὲν δὴ μύνουσι. From these words S, V, δ, and d pass to the beginning of § 133, except that S has the word ἀρχήθεν.

<sup>446</sup> τῇ Οὐρανίῃ. See note on v. 102.

<sup>447</sup> Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἀλιττα. Perhaps the true reading is Ἀλιττ, which (or Ἀλιττ) is the reading of all the MSS in iii. 8.

<sup>448</sup> ἐκάστῳ. Perhaps the true reading is ἐκαστος. The s written C may have been overlooked on account of the following θ, and the resulting ἐκαστω corrected by the next copyist into ἐκάστω. It should be remembered that in the uncial MSS the i adscriptum of the dative case

is rarely written, neither are accents employed in most cases.

<sup>449</sup> τὸν τιάραν. The usual form of the nominative of this word is ἡ τιάρη. But HESYCHIUS, *sub v.*, says, Τιάρη· ἡ λεγομένη κυρβάσια· ταύτῃ δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι βασιλεῖς μόνοι ἐχρῶντο ὁρῆθαι, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ὑποκεκλιμένῃ. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀρρενικῶς.

<sup>450</sup> μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστειὼς ἐπαεῖδει. In the Behistun Inscription, Darius is represented as having, after he became king, prohibited the Magian worship, and restored the sacred chants and ritual, entrusting it to the families which the usurper had dispossessed. See note on iii. 79. It seems doubtful here whether Herodotus is not following the account of some person who confused the genuine Persian with a Median ritual. The Inscription makes Ormuzd essentially a personal deity,—not an elemental one identical with the κύκλος οὐρανοῦ. See note on iii. 35.

## 133

Their most solemn day is their birth-day, on which they make a great feast.

Ἡμέρην δὲ ἀπασέων μάλιστα ἐκείνην τιμᾶν νομίζουσι τῇ ἑκαστος ἐγένετο <sup>451</sup>. (ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ <sup>452</sup> πλέω δαῖτα τῶν ἄλλων δικαιοῦσι προτιθέσθαι· ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον <sup>453</sup> προτιθέσθαι, ὅλους ὅπτους ἐν καμίνουσι· οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων <sup>454</sup> προτιθέσθαι. σίτοισι δὲ ὀλίγοις χρέωνται, ἐπιφορήμασι <sup>455</sup> δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ οὐκ ἁλέσι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶ Πέρσαι “τοὺς Ἕλληνας σιτεομένους πευνῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι σφι ἀπὸ δείπνου <sup>456</sup> παραφορέεται οὐδὲν λόγου ἄξιον· εἰ δέ τι παραφέροιο, ἐσθλόντας ἂν οὐ παύεσθαι.”) οἶνῳ δὲ κάρτα προσκέεται· καὶ σφι οὐκ ἐμέσαι ἔξεστι, οὐκὶ οὐρήσαι ἀντίον ἄλλου <sup>457</sup>.

Their mode of deliberating.

Ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται <sup>458</sup>. μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ ἐάθασιν βουλευέσθαι τὰ σπουδαίεστατα <sup>459</sup> τῶν πρηγμάτων· τὸ δ' ἂν ἄδη σφι βουλευομένοις, τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραῇ νήφουσι προτιθεῖ ὁ στέγαρχος ἐν τοῦ ἂν ἐόντες βουλευόμενοι· καὶ ἦν μὲν ἄδη καὶ νήφουσι, χρέωνται αὐτέῳ· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἄδη, μετιεῖσιν· τὰ δ' ἂν νήφοντες προβουλεύσονται, μεθυσκόμενοι ἐπιδιαγινώσκουσι. Ἐν-τυγχάνοντες δ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι, τῷδε ἂν τις διαγνοίῃ εἰ ὁμοῖοι εἰσὶ οἱ συντυγχάνοντες· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους, φιλέουσι τοῖσι στόμασι· ἦν δὲ ἢ οὐτερος ὑποδέεστερος ὀλίγω, τὰς παρειὰς φιλέονται· ἦν δὲ πολλῷ ἢ οὐτερος ἀγεννέστερος, προσπίπτων προσκυνεῖ τὸν ἕτερον. τιμῶσι δὲ ἐκ πάντων τοὺς ἄγχιστα ἐωνῶν οἰκέοντας, μετὰ γε ἐωντούς· δεύτερα δὲ τοὺς δευ-

## 134

Etiquette observed between different ranks.

Respect in proportion to vicinity.

<sup>451</sup> τῇ ἑκαστος ἐγένετο. See note on ix. 110.

<sup>452</sup> ἐν ταύτῃ δέ. The manuscripts S, V, b, and d omit this passage, resuming the text again with the words οἶνῳ δὲ κάρτα προσκέεται. The omitted portion is quoted together with the context by Αἰσχύνη (iv. p. 144).

<sup>453</sup> βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον. See the last note on § 216.

<sup>454</sup> τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων. “The smaller quadrupeds.” The word πρόβατα is used by Herodotus for any edible four-footed animal. See iv. 61: τὰ ἄλλα πρόβατα καὶ ἵππους μάλιστα, also viii. 137.

<sup>455</sup> ἐπιφορήμασι, “dishes brought in afterwards;” called also ἐπιδορπίσματα and τραγήματα, and answering to the *dessert* of modern times. They were not brought in all at once (ἁλέσι) but one

after the other, as at a German table-d'hôte.

<sup>456</sup> ἀπὸ δείπνου, “after supper.” So above, § 126, ἐκεῖ δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἔσαν.

<sup>457</sup> ἀντίον ἄλλου. The manuscript S omits these two words. It is observable that the passage in which similar customs are ascribed to the Medes, and represented to be an institution of Deiocees (§ 99), is one of the few parts of the text between § 95 and § 101 which are retained by the manuscripts S, V, b, and d.

<sup>458</sup> ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται. From these words to Αἰγυπτίους θέρηκας (§ 135), are omitted in the manuscripts S, V, b, and d.

<sup>459</sup> σπουδαίεστατα. The MSS s and c and Athenæus have σπουδαῖατα. See above, note 36. M, K, and F have the form in the text.

τέρους· μετὰ δὲ, κατὰ λόγον προβαίνοντες τιμῶσι, ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ἑκαστάτω οἰκημένους ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται νομίζοντες ἑωυτοὺς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους κατὰ λόγον τὸν λεγόμενον<sup>400</sup> τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἑκαστάτω οἰκέοντας ἀπὸ ἑωυτῶν κακίους εἶναι. ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἦρχε τὰ ἔθνεα ἀλλήλων συναπάντων μὲν Μῆδοι, καὶ τῶν ἄγχιστα οἰκούντων σφίσι, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμούρων, οἱ δὲ, μάλιστα τῶν ἐχομένων. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λόγον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τιμῶσι· προέβαινε γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεύον. Ξεινικὰ δὲ νόμαϊα Πέρσαι προσίενται ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα· καὶ γὰρ 135

The Persians readily adopt foreign manners. Their polygamy.

δὴ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσθίῃται νομίσαντες τῆς ἑωυτῶν εἶναι καλλίω φορέουσι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θώρηκας<sup>401</sup>. Καὶ εὐπαθείας τε παντοδαπὰς πυνθανόμενοι ἐπιτηδεύουσι<sup>402</sup>, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παισὶ μίσγονται. γαμέουσι δ' ἑκαστος αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας γυναῖκας<sup>403</sup>, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλεῖνας παλλακὰς κτῶνται. Ἀνδραγαθίῃ δ' αὕτη ἀποδέδεκται, 136 μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ὃς ἂν πολλοὺς ἀποδέξῃ παῖδας· τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείους ἀποδεικνύντι δῶρα ἐκπέμπει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος<sup>404</sup>. τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγάται ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι<sup>405</sup>. παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος, τρία μούνα, ἱππεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ ἢ πενταέτης γένηται, οὐκ ἀπικνέεται ἐς ὄψιν τῷ πατρὶ ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῇσι γυναῖξιν διαίταν ἔχει· τοῦδε εἵνεκα τοῦτο οὕτω

Pride in the numbers of their children. Education of the boys.

<sup>400</sup> τὸν λεγόμενον. This is a conjectural emendation adopted generally. The MSS have τῷ λεγομένῳ. It is not easy to see how the corruption could have arisen.

<sup>401</sup> τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θώρηκας. These appear to have been made of linen, quilted so as to make a considerable substance, and covered with a surface of metallic scales. Such a one is described as having been worn by Masistius (ix. 22), and by the Persians in Xerxes's army (vii. 61). The skill of the Egyptians in workmanship appears from the *thorax* which Amasis sent to Lindus, for an offering to Athens (iii. 47).

<sup>402</sup> καὶ εὐπαθείας τε παντοδαπὰς πυνθανόμενοι ἐπιτηδεύουσι. The manuscripts S, V, b, and d have ἐπιτηδεύουσι δὲ καὶ εὐπαθείας παντοδαπὰς πυνθανόμενοι, and

then continue the text with the words παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας, &c. (§ 136.)

<sup>403</sup> κουριδίας γυναῖκας. The same expression is used below (v. 18, and vi. 138), and in the same sense, i. e. "wedded wives." The word *κουριδίας* is several times used by Homer, almost always in the conjunction *κουριδίῃ ἄλοχος*: but, though its sense is plain, its origin has not yet been satisfactorily explained. See BUTTMANN (*Lexilogus*, sub v.) for an account of what has been hitherto proposed.

<sup>404</sup> ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. This would probably be on his birthday. See note on ix. 110.

<sup>405</sup> τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγάται ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι. The same thought appears in *Psalm* cxxvii. 5. It is the men of many children who will "not be ashamed when they speak with their enemies in the gate."

ποιέεται, ἵνα ἦν ἀποθάνη τρεφόμενος μηδεμίαν ἄσπην<sup>466</sup> τῷ πατρὶ προσβάλῃ.

137

Indulgence to first offenders.

Αἰνέω μὲν νυν τόνδε τὸν νόμον αἰνέω δὲ καὶ τόνδε, τὸ μὴ μῆς αἰτίης εἶνεκα μῆτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεῖν, μῆτε τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων μηδένα τῶν ἐωυτοῦ οἰκετέων ἐπὶ μῇ αἰτίῃ ἀνῆκστον πάθος ἔρδειν ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος<sup>467</sup> ἦν εὐρίσκη πλέω τε καὶ μέζω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἔοντα τῶν ὑπουργημάτων, οὕτω τῷ

Disbelief in parricides existing.

θυμῷ χρᾶται. ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ οὐδένα κω λέγουσι τὸν ἐωυτοῦ πατέρα οὐδὲ μητέρα· ἀλλὰ ὅκῳα ἤδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο, πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην φασὶ ἀναζητούμενα ταῦτα ἀνευρεθῆναι ἥτοι ὑποβολιμαία ἔοντα ἢ μοιχίδια· οὐ γὰρ δὴ φασὶ οἶκος εἶναι τὸν γε ἀληθέως τοκέα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐωυτοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκειν. "Ἄσπῃ δὲ σφί ποιέειν

138

Lying the greatest disgrace; debt the second.

οὐκ ἔξεστι, ταῦτα οὐδὲ λέγειν ἔξεστι. αἰσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται· δεύτερα δὲ τὸ ὀφείλειν χρέος, πολλῶν<sup>468</sup> μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἶνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην φασὶ εἶναι τὸν ὀφείλοντα καὶ τι ψεύδος λέγειν. ὅς ἂν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν λέπρην ἢ λεύκην ἔχῃ, ἐς πόλιν οὗτος οὐ κατέρχεται, οὐδὲ συμμίσγεται τοῖσι ἄλλοις Πέρσῃσι· φασὶ δὲ μιν ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἀμαρτόντα τι<sup>469</sup> ταῦτα ἔχειν ξεῖνον δὲ πάντα τὸν λαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τούτων πολλοὶ καὶ ἐλαύνουσι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καὶ τὰς λευκὰς περιστερὰς<sup>470</sup>, τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίην ἐπιφέροντες. ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ οὔτε ἐνουρέουσι οὔτε ἐμπνύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας ἐναπονίζονται, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα περιορέωσι, ἀλλὰ

<sup>466</sup> ἄσπην. The manuscripts S, V, δ have βλάβην ἀπὸ τῆς, probably from a gloss of the word ἄσπην.

<sup>467</sup> ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος κ.τ.λ. The paragraph from these words to the end of the section does not exist in the manuscripts S, V, δ, and d.

<sup>468</sup> πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἶνεκα. In the place of these words, and all that follows to the end of § 177, the manuscripts S, V, δ, and d have only καὶ τὸ ἐς ποταμὸν ἐνουρεῖν, ἢ πνύειν, ἢ χεῖρας ἐναπονίζεσθαι, ἢ ἄλλοι ποιεῖν σέβονται δὲ ποταμοὺς πάντων μάλιστα. τὰ δὲ οὐνόματα τῶν Περσέων πάντα τελευτῶσιν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν γράμμα, τὸ Δωριεὺς μὲν Σὰν καλέουσι, Ἴωνες δὲ Σίγμα. οὐ πρότερον δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς θάπτεται νέκυς, πρὶν ἂν ὅπ' ὀρνίθου ἐλκυσθῇ. ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω τελεῖται.

<sup>469</sup> φασὶ δὲ μιν ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἀμαρτόντα τι. The leprosy is a punishment with which Æschylus makes Apollo threaten

Orestes and his sister, in the event of their failing to revenge their father's death (Choeph. 279):

τὰς δὲ γὰρ νόσον, σαρκῶν ἐπαμβάτῃρας ἀγρίαις γνάθοις λιχῆνας ἐξέσθοντας ἀρχαίαν φύσιν λευκὰς δὲ κόρσας τῇδ' ἐπαυτέλλειν νόσον.

<sup>470</sup> τὰς λευκὰς περιστερὰς. It seems doubtful whether the enmity of the Persians to these birds was wholly directed against their colour. The dove was a symbol of the Semiramis-Astarte religion, which undoubtedly would be an object of hatred to the early Persians. VON HAMMER (Wiener Jahrbücher, ix. p. 17) maintains that the colour of white in itself was highly regarded by them, being considered as a symbol of innocence. Still, all white animals are regarded as *lucus nature* in India at this day.

σέβονται ποταμούς μάλιστα. Καὶ τότε ἄλλο σφι ὧδε συμπε- 139  
πτωκε γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέλθε ἡμέας μέντοι οὐ<sup>471</sup>. Peculiarity  
τὰ οὐνόματά σφι, ἔοντα ὁμοῖα τοῖσι σώμασι καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρε- of the Per-  
πείῃ, τελευτῶσι πάντα ἐς τὸντὸ γράμμα, τὸ Δωριέες μὲν Σὰν sian proper  
καλέουσι Ἴωνες δὲ Σίγμα· ἐς τοῦτο διζήμενος εὐρήσεις τελευ- names, that  
τῶντα τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ τὰ μὲν τὰ δὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ all, without  
πάντα ὁμοίως. end in S.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν εἰδὼς<sup>472</sup> εἰπεῖν τάδε 140  
μέντοι ὡς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται, καὶ οὐ σαφηνέως περὶ τοῦ It is said  
ἀποθανόντος, ὡς οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω ὁ νέκυς, the dead  
πρὶν ἂν ὑπ' ὀρνίθου ἢ κυνὸς ἐλκυσθῆναι. (μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρε- are exposed,  
κέως οἶδα ποιέοντας ταῦτα<sup>473</sup>. ἐμφανέως γὰρ δὴ ποιεῖν) κατα- before bur-  
κηράσαντες δὴ ὦν τὸν νέκυν Πέρσαι γῇ κρύπτουσι. (μάγοι<sup>474</sup> δὲ Peculiar  
κεχωριῖσθαι πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ habits of  
ἱρέων οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνεύουσι ἐμψυχον μηδὲν κτείνειν εἰ μὴ ὅσα the Ma-  
θύουσιν· οἱ δὲ δὴ μάγοι αὐτοχειρὴν πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώ- gians, as  
πρὸς τὸν νεκρὸν ἔχουσιν· οἱ δὲ δὴ μάγοι αὐτοχειρὴν πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώ- compared  
πρὸς τὸν νεκρὸν ἔχουσιν· οἱ δὲ δὴ μάγοι αὐτοχειρὴν πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώ- with Egypt-  
πρὸς τὸν νεκρὸν ἔχουσιν· οἱ δὲ δὴ μάγοι αὐτοχειρὴν πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώ- ian priests.

<sup>471</sup> τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέλθε ἡμέας μέντοι οὐ. This is a passage which might readily induce the belief that the author had himself been in Persia, and had remarked not only the fact he asserts, but the inattention of the Persians to it. But it really goes to prove the reverse. For the Persian names, if the least confidence can be placed in Rawlinson's reading of the Behistan Inscription, did not generally end in Σ, but were apparently analogous to the Æolic nominative case. Thus Cambyzes, in the Persian of the Inscription, is *Kambujiya*, Intaphernes is *Vidafrana*, &c., so that Herodotus's observation is true, not of the original words, but of their Hellenic representatives,—a decisive evidence of the nature of Herodotus's authorities in this instance.

<sup>472</sup> εἰδὼς. This word is omitted in the manuscript K.

<sup>473</sup> μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως οἶδα ποιέοντας ταῦτα. These magians might have come under the cognizance of Herodotus (or his informant), far from the confines of Persia. STRABO speaks of magians in Cappadocia (xv. c. 3, p. 326). The Parsees of Bombay are said to have a similar custom. See HERBERT, *Travels into Africa and Asia the Great*, p. 54, ed. 1638.

<sup>474</sup> μάγοι δὲ κεχωριῖσθαι κ.τ.λ. The

paragraph of which these words are the beginning seems to be of the nature of a note, and I have therefore exhibited it as a parenthesis. The special reference to the Egyptian priests (which have not been mentioned before) is remarkable, as if Egypt were particularly familiar to the narrator. See notes 647, 651, 671, and the assertion in iii. 2: *εἰ γὰρ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι, τὰ Περσέων νόμιμα ὁρθῶς ἐπιστάται καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι*.

The practices referred to are to be explained on the principle, that, according to the dualistic theory of the Magian religion, serpents and poisonous reptiles would be regarded as manifestations of the evil influence of *Ahriman*. It is not so easy to say why the Magians should have held the dog as sacred. It could not be merely on the ground of his utility to man; for the same reason would have applied to the horse and the ox. Perhaps the bright star Sirius bore a name of the same signification with them that Bochart and others maintain it to have done in the ancient Egyptian language (Σῶθις = Σῆθ = Thoth = κύων. (See IDLER, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, ii. p. 591.) There can be no question that this remarkable star would be regarded as a special manifestation of *Ormuzd*, the source of light. (See PLUTARCH, *De Iside et Osiride*, p. 370.)

History resumed.

που κτείνουσι, καὶ ἀγώνισμα μέγα τοῦτο ποιεῖνται, κτείνοντες ὁμοίως μύρμηκας τε καὶ ὄφεις καὶ τᾶλλα ἐρπετὰ καὶ πετευνά.) καὶ ἀμφὶ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ ἔχετω ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐνομίσθη ἀνεμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον<sup>475</sup>.

141 Ἴωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολέες<sup>476</sup>, ὡς οἱ Λυδοὶ τάχιστα κατεστράφατο

The Ionians and Æolians send an embassy to Cyrus, who answers them by a fable,

ὑπὸ Περσέων, ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδεις παρὰ Κῦρον, ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τοῖσι καὶ Κροίσῳ ἦσαν κατήκοοι· ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὰ προτρχοντο, ἔλεξέ σφι λόγον<sup>477</sup>, ἄνδρα φὰς αὐλητὴν ἰδόντα ἰχθύς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ αὐλέειν, δοκέοντά σφας ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἐς γῆν· ὡς δὲ ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος, λαβεῖν ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ περιβαλεῖν τε πλήθος πολλὸν τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ ἐξεῖρσαι, ἰδόντα δὲ παλλομένους εἰπεῖν ἄρα αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθύς· παύεσθέ μοι ὀρχεόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμέο αὐλέοντος ἠθέλετε ἐκβαίνειν ὀρχεόμενοι. Κῦρος μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον τοῖσι Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰολεῦσι τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἔλεξε, ὅτι δὴ οἱ Ἴωνες πρῶτερον, αὐτοῦ Κύρου δεθέντος δι' ἀγγέλων<sup>478</sup> ἀπίστασθαι σφας ἀπὸ Κροίσου, οὐκ ἐπειθοντο· τότε δὲ κατεργασμένων τῶν πρηγμάτων, ἦσαν ἐτοίμοι πειθεσθαι Κῦρῳ. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὀργῇ ἐχόμενος<sup>479</sup> ἔλεγε σφι τάδε· Ἴωνες δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν τούτων ἀνενευχθέντων ἐς τὰς πόλιας, τείχεά τε περιεβάλλοντο ἕκαστοι καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐς Πανιώνιον<sup>480</sup> οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Μιλησίων<sup>481</sup>. πρὸς μούρους γὰρ τούτους ὄρκιον Κῦρος ἐποιήσατο, ἐπ' οἷσί περ ὁ Λυδός· τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι

on which all but Miletus prepare for war, and apply to Sparta for aid.

<sup>475</sup> ἀνεμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον. The narrative is continued from the end of § 94.

<sup>476</sup> καὶ Αἰολέες. The Æolians are associated with the Ionians in this unsuccessful embassy, and in the other mentioned § 152; but Herodotus gives no account whatever of the time or circumstances of their conquest by the Persians. That they were subdued, at least such of them as inhabited the main, appears from § 171, where they are joined with the subjugated Ionians as auxiliaries of Harpagus in his expedition against Caria. So it does from what Herodotus says of Cambyzes (ii. 1), that Ἴωνας μὲν καὶ Αἰολέας ἐς δούλους παρωῶντας ἐόντας ἐνόμιζε. In the expedition of Xerxes, the Æolian cities furnished sixty ships, according to the same account which made the Ionians furnish 100 (vii. 95). It can scarcely therefore be their insignificance which

induced Herodotus to omit all mention of their fate. See note 593.

<sup>477</sup> ἔλεξε σφι λόγον. This story appears to be of the same class with that in § 27. Tales of this kind were the staple conversation of the more refined Athenians in their symposia at the time of the Peloponnesian war. The old school diverted themselves by relating fables, in which the personages were the lower animals (ἀδγοὶ Αἰσωπικοί). The transition of manners is excellently shown by the dialogue between Bdelycleon and his old father in ARISTOPHANES (*Vesp.* vv. 1174—1263). The fashion was probably imported from the public tables of Lacedæmon.

<sup>478</sup> δι' ἀγγέλων. See above, § 76, note 266.

<sup>479</sup> ὀργῇ ἐχόμενος, "angry," as above, § 88, συννοῶν ἐχόμενος, "pondering."

<sup>480</sup> Πανιώνιον. See below, § 148.

<sup>481</sup> πλὴν Μιλησίων. The long-con-

Ἰωσι ἔδοξε κοινῶ λόγῳ πέμπειν ἀγγέλους ἐς Σπάρτην, δεησομένους Ἰωσι τιμωρέειν.

Οἱ δὲ Ἰῶνες οὗτοι<sup>443</sup>, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἔστι, τοῦ μὲν 142  
οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὥρεων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτίγχανον ἰδρυσάμενοι  
πόλειαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ἄνω  
αὐτῆς<sup>444</sup> χωρία τῶντὸ ποιεῖε τῇ Ἰωνίῃ, οὔτε τὰ κάτω, οὔτε τὰ  
πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην· τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ  
τε καὶ ὑγροῦ πιεζόμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ αὐχμώδεος.  
γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι νενομίκασι<sup>445</sup>, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσ-  
σερας παραγωγέων<sup>446</sup>. Μίλητος μὲν αὐτῶν πρώτη κέεται πόλις  
πρὸς μεσαμβρίην μετὰ δὲ Μνούς τε καὶ Πιρηνῇ αὐται μὲν ἐν τῇ  
Καρίῃ κατοικῆνται κατὰ ταῦτα διαλεγόμεναί σφι· αἶδε δὲ ἐν τῇ  
Λυδίῃ, Ἐφεσος, Κολοφών, Λέβεδος, Τέως, Κλαζομεναί, Φώκαια<sup>447</sup>.  
αὐται δὲ αἱ πόλεις τῇσι πρότερον λεχθείησι ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ  
γλῶσσαν οὐδὲν, σφὶ δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσι· ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι Ἰάδες  
πόλεις, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέαται Σάμον τε καὶ Χίον, ἡ δὲ  
μία ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἱδρύται, Ἐρυθραί. Χίοι μὲν νῦν καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι  
κατὰ τῶντὸ διαλέγονται, Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν μόνον. οὗτοι  
χαρακτήρες γλῶσσης τέσσερες γίνονται. Τούτων δὴ ὦν τῶν 143  
Ἰώνων οἱ Μιλήσιοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ φόβου<sup>448</sup>, ὄρκιον ποιη-

Ethnographic description of the twelve Ionian towns. They speak four different languages.

The Milesians and

tinned hostility between Miletus and the Lydian kings probably made the overtures of Cyrus (see above, § 76) more welcome at Miletus than among the rest of the Ionians. In fact, the population of Miletus was any thing but pure Ionian. The coins show that the predominating religion was the worship of Apollo Didymæus, whose temple (according to the *native legends*) was far more ancient than the immigration of the Ionians under Neleus (PAUSAN. vii. 2. 6). The Milesian temple at Naukratis in Egypt was dedicated to Apollo (ii. 178).

<sup>443</sup> οἱ δὲ Ἰῶνες οὗτοι. It seems not unlikely that the ethnographic account which follows is derived from the *κτίσεις πόλεων*, a work in two books, by CHABON of Lampascus (*Suidas*, *sub v.*). The expressions τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς and τὰ κάτω are difficult to explain if we take them in their usual sense (i. e. as the regions *further up* the country, and those *nearer the sea*), since the whole of Ionia lies on the coast. But if we suppose the historian to take Lampascus as a centre, the expression be-

comes a natural one, τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς being the country between Ionia and Lampascus; τὰ κάτω the parts *beyond* Ionia; τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ the coast of the Propontis east of Lampascus; and τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην the Thracian Chersonese. And thus there is also a reason for omitting mention of the north and the south.

<sup>444</sup> αὐτῆς, i. e. τῆς Ἰωνίας.

<sup>445</sup> γλῶσσαν . . . νενομίκασι. The same expression is used in iv. 183: γλῶσσαν οὐδεμιῇ ἄλλῃ παρομοίην νενομίκασι. Here and in v. 97, οὔτε ἀσπίδα οὔτε δόρυ νομίζουσι, the word νομίζειν is equivalent to ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἔχειν.

<sup>446</sup> παραγωγέων, "deflections," i. e. from the normal Ionic dialect of literature.

<sup>447</sup> Φώκαια. This form rests on the authority of all the MSS here and ii. 106; ii. 178. On the other hand, Φωκαίη is similarly defended above, §§ 80 and 164.

<sup>448</sup> ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ φόβου, "sheltered from the peril." Similarly vii. 172 and 215, ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ πολέμου, "sheltered from the brunt of the war."



the islanders *σάμενοι*. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν νησιώτησι ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν οὔτε γὰρ  
feel safe from attack. Φοίνικες ἦσαν κω Περσέων κατήκοοι οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι  
ναυβάται.

The above  
towns stood  
aloof from  
all other  
Ionians.

Ἀπεσχίσθησαν<sup>488</sup> δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων οὗτοι κατ' ἄλλο  
μὲν οὐδέν, ἀσθενέος δὲ ἔοντος τοῦ παντὸς τότε<sup>489</sup> Ἑλληνικοῦ γένεος,  
πολλῶν δὲ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ Ἰωνικὸν καὶ λόγου ἐλα-  
χίστου· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Ἀθῆναι<sup>490</sup>, ἦν οὐδέν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον  
οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ οὖνομα, οὐ  
βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες κεκληθῆναι· ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονται μοι οἱ  
πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὐνόματι· αἱ δὲ δυνάδεκα πόλεις  
αὗται τῷ τε οὐνόματι ἡγάλλοντο, καὶ ἱρὸν ἰδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφένω  
αὐτῶν, τῷ οὖνομα ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον· ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μετα-  
δοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἰώνων· οὐδ' ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ  
μετασχεῖν, ὅτι μὴ Σμυρναῖοι. Κατάπερ<sup>491</sup> οἱ ἐκ τῆς Πενταπόλειος  
νῦν χώρας Δωριεῖς, πρότερον δὲ Ἑξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης  
καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται ὧν μηδαμούς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοί-  
κων Δωριέων ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρὸν<sup>492</sup>. ἀλλὰ καὶ σφένω αὐτῶν τοῖς

144

A similar  
insulation  
of the five  
Dorian  
towns.

<sup>488</sup> ἀπεσχίσθησαν, κ.τ.λ. It has been thought that in the discussion which follows, relative to the cause of the separation of the Ionic confederates from other Ionian cities, Herodotus is criticizing the views of Hecataeus the Milesian. It seems unnecessary to suppose that he is doing more than combating a current opinion. If any writer is specially referred to, the considerations offered in the note 482 would rather point to Charon of Lampascus than any other.

<sup>489</sup> τότε. This apparently refers to the time at which the confederation was constituted, of which the deputies met at the Panionium.

<sup>490</sup> ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Ἀθῆναι. That an exception should be made in favour of Athens is perhaps due to the power of that city in the time of the writer. Long after the time he speaks of in the text it was extremely insignificant. See note on v. 73, ἐπειράτω τῖνες ἔοντες ἄνθρωποι.

<sup>491</sup> κατάπερ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Πενταπόλειος νῦν χώρας Δωριεῖς. It is to be remarked that what the author says of the Asiatic Dorians, as an aggregate, is introduced here only by way of illustration of the policy of the Panionian confederacy, and is not to be regarded as a continuation of the thread of the narrative. This removes the surprise one might otherwise feel at the irregular

order in which he mentions the Greek confederacies on the main. Indeed, if we suppose him to be following an earlier author, it would seem likely that in that author's narrative the Dorians, as a united body, were not regarded. The conquest of a portion is alluded to (below, § 174) as that of the "Hellenic cities in Caria."

<sup>492</sup> ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρὸν. The deities associated in this temple may be inferred from the offering of the Cnidians, which PAUSANIAS saw at Delphi, which were Τρίσταν οἰκιστὴν τῆς Κνίδου παρσαστάτην Ἰαπῶ καὶ Λητῶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνά τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἀφιέντας τῶν βελῶν ἐπὶ Τιτυόν (i. 11, 1). But this Apollo-worship was rather that of the Achæan race than of the Dorian. (See note 587.) Judging, too, from the coins of Cnidus, one may be inclined to suspect that Leto was, either by the mistake of Pausanias or the choice of the artist, substituted for another divinity, perhaps Athene Polias. (See notes on ii. 59.) The Τριοπιῶν built by Herodes Atticus near Rome was dedicated to Demeter and Core and the χθόνιοι θεαί; and the SCHOLIAST on Theocr. xvii. 69 states that the games at the Cnidian Triopium were in honour of Apollo, Poseidon, and the Nymphs.

περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήϊσαν τῆς μετοχῆς. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖσι νικῶσι· καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. ἀνὴρ ὢν Ἀλικαρνησσεὺς, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀγασικλῆς, νικήσας, τὸν νόμον κατηλόγησε· φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία<sup>493</sup> προσεπασσάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε πόλεις, Λίνδος καὶ Ἰήλυσσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος<sup>494</sup> καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος<sup>495</sup>, ἐξεκλήϊσαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἔκτην πόλιν Ἀλικαρνησσόν. τούτοισι μὲν νῦν οὗτοι ταύτην τὴν ζημίην ἐπέθηκαν. Δυώδεκα δὲ μοι δοκεῖνσι<sup>145</sup> πόλιας ποιήσασθαι οἱ Ἴωνες καὶ οὐκ ἐβελήσαι πλεῦνας ἐσδέξασθαι Cause of the insulation of the twelve Ionian towns. τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἰκεον δυώδεκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρεα· κατὰπερ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἴωνας διώ- δεκά ἐστι μέρεα. Πελλήνη μὲν γε<sup>496</sup> πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος· μετὰ δὲ Αὔγειρα καὶ Αἰγαί· (ἐν τῇ Κρᾶθις ποταμὸς ἀένναός ἐστι, ἀπὸ τοῦ<sup>497</sup> ὁ ἐν Ἰταλίῃ ποταμὸς τὸ οὐνομα ἔσχε) καὶ Βούρα καὶ Ἑλίκη (ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἴωνες ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες) καὶ Αἶγιον, καὶ Ῥύπες, καὶ Πατρεές, καὶ Φαρές<sup>498</sup>, καὶ Ὀλενος· (ἐν τῷ Πείρος ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστί) καὶ Δύμη καὶ Τριταίεες· οἱ

<sup>493</sup> φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία. In this act the offender seems to have been regarded as setting up a shrine of the deity in his own house. See the legend related by Herodotus, iv. 179.

<sup>494</sup> Λίνδος καὶ Ἰήλυσσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος. These are the three cities which antecedently to the concentration of the population in the city Rhodes, divided the island Rhodes among themselves. The mythical accounts of their origin are very various, but all agree in deriving the foundation of them from Argos, and in times antecedent to the Heraclide invasion of the Peloponnese. Hence it was not to be expected that the Dorians Apollo-worship should have been the predominant one there. And from various notices it appears that this was not the case. Herodotus relates that Amasis sent presents to the *Athenæum* at Lindus (ii. 182), a temple which, according to tradition (Dionodorus, v. 58), was founded by Danaos or his daughters. Gela in Sicily, a colony from Lindus (vii. 150), appears from its coins to have been under the protection of *Poseidon* and *Demeter*; and indeed its οἰκιστὴς, Geles, who was a native of

the little island Telus just off Triopium, bequeathed the hereditary priesthood of the *χθόνιοι* *θεοὶ* to his descendants (vii. 153). In Camirus and Ialysus *Here* was worshipped under the surname *Τελχινία*, a name which, whatever its derivation (see *Biographical and Mythological Dictionary*, v. *Telchines*), undoubtedly belongs to the earliest religious systems of the Peloponnese.

<sup>495</sup> καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος. Cos was as little purely Doric as the cities mentioned in the last note. It was a colony from Epidaurus, and especially noted for the worship of *Aesclepius* and *Demeter*. Of Cnidus, see note 587, below.

<sup>496</sup> μὲν γε. The MSS have *μὲν τε*, which Gaisford retains. But see vi. 46; viii. 65.

<sup>497</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ. Gaisford ἀπ' ὅτου. See note on v. 45, *παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κράστιν*.

<sup>498</sup> Πατρεές. By Herodotus using this expression, it seems as if the city *Patræ* did not exist in his time; *Ægium* and *Dyme*, on the other hand, seem to have done so. See the passage of *STRABO* cited in note on viii. 73, *Αἰτωλῶν δὲ ἑλίας μούνη*.

146 μούνοι τούτων μεσόγαιοι οἰκέουσι. Ταῦτα δυώδεκα μέρεα νῦν  
 They themselves were a mixture of all kinds of nations, 'Αχαιῶν ἐστὶ, καὶ τότε γε Ἴώνων ἦν<sup>499</sup>. τούτων δὲ εἵνεκα καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες δυώδεκα πόλεις ἐποιήσαντο· ἐπεὶ, ὥς γε τι μᾶλλον οὔτοι Ἴωνές εἰσι τῶν ἄλλων Ἴώνων ἢ κάλλιον τι γεγόνασι, μωρὴ πολλὴ λέγειν τῶν Ἀβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίης εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἰωνίης μέτα οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοι ἀναμεμῖχται, καὶ Καδμεῖοι, καὶ Δρίοπτες, καὶ Φωκῆες ἀποδάσμιοι, καὶ Μολοσσοὶ, καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ, καὶ Δωριῆες Ἐπιδαύριοι, ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμῖχται. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανήτου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὀρμηθέντες καὶ νομίζοντες γενναϊότατοι εἶναι Ἴώνων, οὔτοι δὲ οὐ γυναικας ἡγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην, ἀλλὰ Καείρας ἔσχον<sup>500</sup>, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας. διὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν φόνον αἱ γυναῖκες αὐταὶ νόμον θέμεναι, σφίσι αὐτῇσι ὄρκους ἐπῆλσαν καὶ παρέδοσαν τῇσι θυγατράσι, μὴ κοτε ὁμοσι-  
 - τῆσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι, μηδὲ οὐνόματι βῶσαι τὸν ἐωντῆς ἀνδρα-

<sup>499</sup> ταῦτα . . Ἴωνων ἦν. This expression seems to indicate that the authority followed by Herodotus made the duodenary division of Achaia to exist before the inroad of the Achæans, and under the same names. This also is implied by the words of PAUSANIAS, who may be regarded as representing the local traditions of his time. His list, however, differs from that of Herodotus. Beginning from Elis and reckoning towards Sicily, he gives the list of the cities, Dyme, Olenus, Phæræ, Tritæa, Rypes, Ægium, Ceryneia, Bura, Helice, Ægæ, Ægira, and Pallene (vii. 6, 1). As neither Olenus nor Helice existed in the time of POLYBIUS (ii. 41), this list cannot represent the *existing* cities, but must rest upon a tradition *different* from that adopted by Herodotus. The list of Polybius is different from either. It is Patræ, Dyme, Phæræ, Tritæa, *Leontium*, Ægira, Pallene, Ægium, Bura, Ceryneia, Olenus, and Helice. He says expressly that all these towns existed in his time, except the two last. Helice was swallowed up by the sea in an earthquake, just before the battle of Leuctra. These lists may be regarded as resting on original sources, but those of Strabo and Pliny on the accounts of other authors. SCYLAX of Caryanda omits the name Helice,—a circumstance which adds to the doubts of the genuineness of the work ascribed to him, at least except in a very interpolated state.

<sup>500</sup> Καείρας ἔσχον. The native Milesian traditions (PAUSAN. vii. 2, 3) related that the population found by the Ionian colonists consisted of a mixture of aboriginal Carians with Cretans, who had fled from Minos under the leadership of *Miletus*. This, with only the change of the leader's name, seems identical with the legend related below (§ 173) of the Lycians. The native legends of Miletus went on to say that the Ionians slaughtered all the male population and cohabited with the women, but there is no allusion to the custom of the latter eating alone. It is difficult to reconcile the known *predominance* of the worship of Apollo Didymæus, which dated from times antecedent to the Ionic invasion (see note 481), with so entire an obliteration of the native race. Possibly there may have existed a practice among the descendants of the old population to name themselves *after their mothers*, which may have been perverted into the form, that the father of the family was never mentioned by his name. This certainly prevailed in Lycia (see FELLOWES, *Second Excursion in Asia Minor*), and, if we take the account of EPHORUS (*ap. Strabon*. xiv. p. 165), the ancient Lycian population is ethnically identical with the early population of Miletus. The custom of the women to eat alone may be a relic of Oriental harem life.

τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὅτι ἐφόνευσαν σφέων τοὺς πατέρας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ παῖδας, καὶ ἔπειτεν ταῦτα ποιήσαντες αὐτῇσι συνοίκεον. ταῦτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν Μιλήτῳ. Βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ μὲν 147 αὐτῶν Δυκίους, ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἱππολόχου γεγονότας· οἱ δὲ and govern- ed by kings of all races. Καύκωνας Πυλίους, ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμ- φοτέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλον τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων, ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἴωνες· εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες, ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν γεγόνασιν καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὁρτὴν<sup>101</sup>. ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων· οὗτοι γὰρ μόνον Ἰώνων οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια, καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φόνου τινὰ σκῆψιν. Τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χώρος ἱρὸς 148 πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος, κοινῇ ἐξαραιρημένος ὑπὸ Ἰώνων Πο- The Panio- nium is on the head- land of Mycale. σειδέωνι Ἐλικωνίῳ ἢ δὲ Μυκάλῃ ἐστὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἄκρῃ πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον κατήκουσα Σάμῳ<sup>102</sup>, ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων Ἴωνες ἄγασκον ὁρτὴν, τῇ ἔθεντο οὐνομα Πανιώνια. πε- Names of Hellenic festivals all end in the same letter. πόνθασιν δὲ οὗτοι μόνον αἱ Ἰώνων ὁρταὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήνων πάντων ὁμοίως πᾶσαι ἐς τὸντὸ γράμμα τελευτῶσι, κατὰπερ τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα<sup>103</sup>.

Αὗται μὲν αἱ Ἰάδες πόλεις εἰσι. αἶδε δὲ αἱ Αἰολίδες, Κύμη ἢ 149 Φρικωνίς καλεομένη, Λήρισσαι, Νέον τεῖχος, Τήμνος, Κίλλα, Νό- Aeolian towns on the main formerly twelve, afterwards eleven, τιον, Αἰγιρόεσσα, Πιτάνη, Αἰγαῖαι, Μύρινα, Γρίνεια· αὗται ἑνδεκα Αἰολέων πόλεις αἱ ἀρχαῖαι· μία γάρ σφεν παρελύθη ὑπὸ Ἰώνων, Σμύρνη· ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ αὗται δώδεκα αἱ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Αἰολέες χῶρην μὲν ἔτυχον κτίσαντες ἀμείνω Ἰώνων, ὠρέων δὲ

<sup>101</sup> ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται . . . ἄγουσι ὁρτὴν. "But seeing that they cling to the name more than the rest of the Ionians, and are (let us grant it) those of them who are of pure descent, Ionians; yet all are Ionians who came of Athenian extraction and keep the Apaturian festival." Herodotus is, throughout this and the last two sections, obviously controverting some current theory, which apparently accounted for the separation of these twelve Ionian cities from the rest by alleging the superior purity of their blood. His argument seems to be this: 1. The inhabitants of these towns are a most mixed race, having no pretension to pure descent. 2. Granting those who are of pure descent to be Ionians, this name implies nothing more than Athenian extraction and the

observance of the Apaturia. Now the Athenians were notoriously a union of almost all races, and did not themselves care to be regarded as Ionian. Therefore, under no circumstances can a distinctive character belong to these twelve cities. With regard to the point at issue, see note on vii. 94.

<sup>102</sup> τῆς ἡπείρου ἄκρῃ . . . Σάμῳ, "a headland of the main trending westward, off Samos." This is just the description which would be given of the site by a mariner who passed between Samos and the main from the south. As he hugged the shore, the island would appear *touched* by the promontory, till a sufficient westing was made to open out the channel.

<sup>103</sup> κατὰπερ τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα. See above, § 139.

- 150 *by the loss of Smyrna.* ἤκουσαν οὐκ ὁμοίως. Σμύρνην δὲ ὠδε ἀπέβαλον<sup>544</sup> Αἰολέες. Κο-  
 λοφωνίους ἄνδρας στάσι ἐσσωθέντας καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἐκ τῆς πατρί-  
 δος ὑπεδέξαντο· μετὰ δὲ, οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες  
 τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὀρτὴν ἔξω τείχεος ποιευμένους Διονύσῳ, τὰς  
 πύλας ἀποκληίσαντες ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων  
 Αἰολέων, ὁμολογίῃ ἐχρήσαντο, τὰ ἐπιπλά ἀποδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων  
 ἐκλιπεῖν Σμύρνην Αἰολέας ποιησάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρναίων,  
 ἐπιδιελόντο σφεας αἱ ἑνδεκα πόλεις, καὶ ἐποίησαντο σφέων  
 151 αὐτέων πολιήτας. Αὗται μὲν νυν αἱ ἡπειρώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλεις,  
*Aeolian towns in Ida and in the islands.* ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ οἰκημένων<sup>545</sup>. κεχωριδάται γὰρ αὗται· αἱ δὲ τὰς  
 νήσους ἔχουσαι, πέντε μὲν πόλεις τὴν Δέσβον νέμονται· τὴν γὰρ  
 ἔκτην ἐν τῇ Δέσβῳ οἰκομένην Ἀρίσβαν ἡνδραπόδισαν Μηθυμναῖοι  
 ἔοντας ὁμαίμους· ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία οἰκέεται πόλις, καὶ ἐν τῇσι  
 Ἑκατοννήσοισι<sup>546</sup> καλεομένησι ἄλλη μία.  
 Δεσβίοισι<sup>547</sup> μὲν νυν καὶ Τενεδίοισι<sup>548</sup>, κατάπερ Ἰώνων τοῖσι τὰς

<sup>544</sup> *ὠδε ἀπέβαλον.* The date of this transaction is approximately fixed by Herodotus (i. 16). It must have happened before the reign of Halyattes,—at least if we suppose that the accounts in these two passages belong to the same cycle of traditions. The history given by STRABO of the fortunes of this city is worth reading as a specimen of a cento of diverse traditions. According to him, a part of the city *Ephesus* was called 'Smyrna,' from the Amazon of that name who had occupied it. CALLINUS, in his hymn to Zeus, called its inhabitants *Σμυρναῖους*, and HIPPOCRATES defined the district called by that name as lying between *Λέπρη ἀκτὴ* and *Τραχεῖα*. The inhabitants of the district made an expedition against the town (the site of the 'Smyrna' of Strabo's time), then held by Leleges, and, expelling them, built a town ('Old-Smyrna') about two miles off. Afterwards they were expelled by Aeolians; but they took refuge in Colophon, and by the help of the Colophonians recovered the town. As evidence for this last statement, Strabo quotes MINERNAUS's Nanno. But the passage he cites points to yet another tradition, agreeing with Strabo's story only in the fact of the capture of the town. It represents the captors as proceeding from "Nelean Pylus in ships to Asia, as storming Colophon, and from thence capturing Aeolian Smyrna" (xiv. p. 164),

so uncertain are all details relative to the colonization of these Asiatic cities.

<sup>545</sup> *ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ οἰκημένων.* See the note on v. 94, *ὅπισθ' ἐς Σίγειον*.

<sup>546</sup> *Ἑκατοννήσοισι.* The Hecaton-nesi are a group of small islands, from twenty to forty in number, lying between Lesbos and the main. The name is, according to STRABO, equivalent to *Ἀπολλων-νήσοι*, the whole of the Asiatic coast in this part being full of the worship of Apollo, with the different surnames of Smintheus, Cilæus, or Gryneus (xiii. c. 2, p. 140). The name Hecatus is the masculine of Hecate, and is a name given to the sun-god in *Il.* i. 385. HESYCHIUS gives *Ἑκάντη νῆσος* as the name of an island off the coast of Lesbos. Probably the two heads on the coins of Tenedos (see note 508) were those of Hecatus and Hecate (Helios and Selene). See note on vi. 97.

<sup>547</sup> *Δεσβίοισι.* The thread of the narrative interrupted in § 143 is here resumed.

<sup>548</sup> *Τενεδίοισι.* . . . ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν. The distance of Tenedos from the main was, however, so small (being only forty *stadæ*, or about that of the Isle of Wight from Portsmouth) as scarcely to constitute a security. Accordingly, the Persians, when they got a fleet, appear to have over-run it without trouble (vi. 31). Its proximity to the coast gave rise to the existence of a large population employed as fer-

νήσους ἔχουσι, ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν τῆσι δὲ λαιπῆσι πόλισι ἔαδε  
 κοινῇ<sup>100</sup> Ἰωσι ἐπεσθαι τῇ ἂν οὗτοι ἐξηγέωνται. Ὡς δὲ ἀπικέατο 152  
 ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων<sup>101</sup> οἱ ἄγγελοι, (κατὰ γὰρ  
 δὴ τάχος ἦν ταῦτα πρησσόμενα,) εἶλοντο πρὸ πάντων λέγειν τὸν  
 Φωκάα<sup>102</sup>, τῷ ὄννομα ἦν Πύθερμος· ὁ δὲ πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα περι-  
 βαλόμενος ὡς ἂν πυρθανόμενοι πλείστοι συνέλθοιεν Σπαρτιήτων,  
 καὶ καταστάς, ἔλεγε πολλὰ τιμωρεῖν ἑαυτοῖσι χρήζων Λακεδαί-  
 μόνιοι δὲ οὐ κως ἤκουον, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξέ σφι μὴ τιμωρεῖν Ἰωσι. οἱ  
 μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐπιστάμενοι τῶν Ἰώνων  
 τοὺς ἀγγέλους, ὅμως ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντῆρα ἄνδρας, ὡς μὲν  
 ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατασκόπους τῶν τε Κύρου πρηγμάτων καὶ Ἰωνίης  
 ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φώκαιαν<sup>103</sup>, ἐπεμπον ἐς Σάρδεις σφέων  
 αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ ὄννομα ἦν Λακρίης, ἀπερέοντα Κύρῳ  
 Λακεδαιμονίων ῥῆσιν, "γῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν σκαμ-  
 ρεῖν, ὡς αὐτῶν οὐ περιοφόμενων." Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ κήρυκος, 153  
 λέγεται Κύρον ἐπείρασθαι τοὺς παρεόντας οἱ Ἕλληνας "τίμες  
 ἔοντες ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κόσιοι πλῆθος, ταῦτα ἑαυτῷ  
 προαγορεύουσι;" πυρθανόμενον δὲ μιν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν κήρυκα τὸν  
 Σπαρτιήτην "οὐκ ἔδεισά κω ἄνδρας τοιούτους, τοῖσι ἐστὶ χώρος

Ionian and  
 Æolian em-  
 bassy to  
 Lacedæ-  
 mon

falls in ob-  
 taining suc-  
 cour.

The Laco-  
 daemonians  
 send a  
 threatening  
 message to

Sardis, and  
 are con-  
 tumeliously  
 treated by  
 Cyrus,

gymen, to such an extent as to impress  
 a marked character on the Commons, just  
 as the ναυτικὸς ὄχλος did in Athens, the  
 fishermen in Tarentum and Byzantium,  
 the traders in Ægina and Chios (ARISTOT.  
*Politic.* iv. p. 1291, lin. 23), and the *lase-  
 roni* do in modern Naples. The landing-  
 place on the main was a little south of  
 Sigæum (STRABO, xiii. c. 1, p. 116). The  
 tutelary divinity of Tenedos was Apollo-  
 Smintheus, and the image carried a τέλειον  
 in the hand. The coins of Tenedos bore  
 the τέλειον on one side, and on the other  
 a male and female head. Various reasons  
 were assigned for this (ARISTIDES and  
 ARISTOTLE, *op. Stroph.* *Bys. sub v.*  
*Τένεδος*). But see note 566.

<sup>100</sup> ἔαδε κοινῇ. There is no trace of  
 any confederacy among the Æolian cities,  
 by which opportunity for such a common  
 deliberation as is here mentioned might  
 be afforded. Neither in the issue does it  
 appear that there was any combined action  
 of the Ionians themselves,—far less any  
 organization in which the Æolians were  
 united with them. See § 160, *οἱ ἄλλοι*:  
 Ἰῶνες πλὴν Μιλησίων κ.τ.λ. περὶ τῆς

ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος μαχόμενοι, and the  
 advice of Thales, § 170.

<sup>101</sup> καὶ Αἰολέων. See above, note 476.

<sup>102</sup> τὸν Φωκάα. By the use of the  
 article we may suppose that a delegate  
 was sent from each of the members of the  
 confederation. Thus ὁ Λάκων is "the  
 Laconian delegate," vii. 161; ὁ Τεγεάτης,  
 "the Tegean leader," ix. 27.

<sup>103</sup> ἐς Φώκαιαν. The more convenient  
 port for Sardis would have been Ephesus,  
 the point where the Athenian expedition  
 touched which subsequently invaded and  
 burnt the town (v. 100), and where in  
 latter times commercial travellers took  
 ship for Europe (v. 54). But perhaps,  
 before the destruction of Phocæa, the  
 magnitude of that place may have made  
 it the ordinary port for Asiatic traffic.  
 Its importance seems proved by the fact  
 of the Phocæan deputy being put for-  
 ward to speak on behalf of the whole em-  
 bassy. And this very importance suggests  
 a suspicion that its ruin may not have  
 been altogether unwelcome at the time to  
 some of its Hellenic commercial rivals.  
 See note 542, below.

ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει ἀποδεδεγμένος, ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὁμοῦντες ἐξαπατῶσι τοῖσι, ἦν ἐγὼ ὑγαίνω, οὐ τὰ Ἰώνων πάθεα ἔσται ἔλλεσχα<sup>113</sup>, ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκήα." ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας Ἑλληνας ἀπέρριψε ὁ Κύρος τὰ ἔπεα, ὅτι ἀγορὰς κτησάμενοι ὦνῃ τε καὶ πρήσει χρέωνται· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀγορήσι οὐδὲν ἐώθασιν χρῆσθαι, οὐδὲ σφί ἐστι τὸ παράπαν ἀγορή. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψας τὰς μὲν Σάρδις Ταβάλφ ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τὸν τε Κροίσου καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν<sup>114</sup> Πακτὴν ἀνδρὶ Λυδῷ κομίζειν, ἀπῆλυνε αὐτὸς ἐς Ἀγβάτανα<sup>115</sup>, Κροισὸν τε ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιησάμενος τὴν πρώτην εἶναι<sup>116</sup>. ἥ τε γὰρ Βαβυλῶν οἱ ἦν ἐμπόδιος, καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος, καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι<sup>117</sup>. ἐπ' οὗς ἐπέιχεε<sup>118</sup> στρατηλατέειν αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνας ἄλλον πέμπειν στρατηγόν.

who returns to Agbatana, taking Croesus with him.

154

The Lydians revolt, and Pactyas

Ἦς δὲ ἀπῆλσε ὁ Κύρος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἀπέστειρε ὁ Πακτὴς ἀπὸ τε Ταβάλου καὶ Κύρου· καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἄτε τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, ἐπικούρους τε

<sup>113</sup> ἔλλεσχα, "matter of chit-chat," subjects for the *λέσχη*. For the exact sense of this word, which has been much mistaken, see note on ix. 71. In addition to what is there said, it may be observed that the word *λέσχη* appears to be especially Dorian. Its epithet *ἐπαιλῆς* is nothing more than the Doric form of *ἐφήλιος*, and the statement of the SCHOLIAST on HESIOD, "Erg. 491, "that there were regulations as to the subjects of conversation in the *λέσχη*, with a view to the improvement of the company," can only be true of Dorian states. PAUSANIAS says that the building ornamented by Polygnotus at Delphi was called by the name of *λέσχη*, *ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ συνιόντες τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὰ τε σπουδαιότερα διελέγοντο καὶ διόσα μυθώδη* (x. 25, 1). The Boeotians gave the name of *λέσχη* to the κοῖνα *δειπνητήρια*. (*Lexicon Gudianum*, *sub v.*)

<sup>114</sup> τὸν τε Κροίσου καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν. See note 521.

<sup>115</sup> ἐς Ἀγβάτανα. See note on iii. 30, ἐς Πέρσας.

<sup>116</sup> τὴν πρώτην εἶναι. It is not easy to understand this expression, and perhaps the true reading is *τὴν πρώτην εἶναι*. In this case the ellipse would be of the word *δδόν*. A somewhat similar phrase occurs in iii. 134: *ἐς Ἀκώβας μὲν τὴν πρώτην εἶναι ἔασον*.

<sup>117</sup> καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος, καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. In the continuation of Cyrus's history no mention is made of his campaigns against any of these nations. Perhaps they were omitted as not being well adapted for combination with the main narrative. But the mention of the Egyptians suggests another difficulty. According to the Egyptian accounts, the insult put upon the Persian king by Amasis, in sending a substitute for his own daughter, was one of which Cyrus was the subject, Cambyses being, according to *their* statement, the issue of this very connexion (iii. 2). It would almost seem that here the author is following the Egyptian tradition, although in the third book he rejects it, and adopts the Persian account. Certainly, in iii. 1-4, there is nothing to lead one to suppose that any hostilities had taken place between Persia and Egypt before the rupture with Cambyses.

CYRUS made the war against the Bactrians and the Sacæ take place *before* the expedition into Lydia, but said nothing of the Egyptian war. (*Ap. Photium, Biblioth. p. 36.*)

<sup>118</sup> ἐπέιχεε. The MSS and Gaisford have *ἐπεῖχε τε*. The reading in the text is the conjecture of Buttmann. It is defended by the analogy of *ἐπέιχεε*, § 118. For the ellipse see note 280, above.

ἐμσθοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβαλασσίους ἀνθρώπους ἔπειθε σὺν ἐωυτῷ <sup>besieges</sup>  
στρατεύεσθαι· ἐλάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις ἐπολιόρκεε Τάβαλον <sup>Tabalus in</sup>  
ἀπεργμῆνον ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. Πυθόμενος δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν ταῦτα ὁ <sup>Sardis.</sup> 155  
Κῦρος, εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε· “Κροῖσε, τί ἔσται τὸ τέλος τῶν  
γινομένων τούτων ἐμοί; οὐ παύσονται Λυδοὶ, ὥς οἴκασι, πρήγματα  
παρέχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες. φροντίζω, μὴ ἄριστον ἢ ἐξανδρα-  
ποδίσασθαι σφεας. ὁμοίως γάρ μοι νῦν γε φαίνομαι πεπονηκέναι,  
ὥς εἴ τις πατέρα ἀποκτείνας τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ φείσαιο<sup>119</sup>. ὥς δὲ  
καὶ ἐγὼ Λυδῶν τὸν μὲν πλεον τι ἢ πατέρα ἔοντα σὲ λαβὼν ἄγω,  
αὐτοῖσι δὲ Λυδοῖσι τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκα· καὶ ἔπειτα θωμάζω εἴ  
μοι ἀπεστᾶσι;” ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰ περ νόεε ἔλεγε· ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε,  
δείσας μὴ ἀναστάτους ποιήσῃ τὰς Σάρδεις· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν  
οἰκότα εἴρηκας· σὺ μέντοι μὴ πάντα θυμῷ χρέω, μηδὲ πόλιν  
ἀρχαίην ἐξαναστήσης ἀναμάρτητον εἶναι καὶ τῶν πρότερον καὶ  
τῶν νῦν ἑστέων τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐγὼ τε ἔπρηξα, καὶ ἐγὼ  
ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξας<sup>120</sup> φέρω· τὰ δὲ νῦν παρεόντα, Πακτύης γάρ  
ἐστι ὁ ἀδικῶν τῷ σὺν ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδεις<sup>121</sup>, οὗτος δότω τοι δίκην.  
Λυδοῖσι δὲ συγγνώμην ἔχων τάδε αὐτοῖσι ἐπίταξον, ὥς μήτε ἀπο- <sup>Cressus's</sup>  
στέωσι μήτε δεινοὶ τοι ἔωσι· ἅπειπε μὲν σφί πέμψας ὄπλα ἀρήγία <sup>advice to</sup>  
μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι· κέλευε δὲ σφεας κιθωνάς τε ὑποδύνειν τοῖσι εἵμασι <sup>Cyrus for</sup>  
καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι<sup>122</sup>. πρόειπε δ' αὐτοῖσι κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ <sup>securing</sup>  
<sup>Lydia.</sup>

<sup>119</sup> ὥς εἴ τις πατέρα ἀποκτείνας τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ φείσαιο. This is an allusion to the proverb, expressed in an hexameter verse, ascribed by later writers to Stasinus, but quoted by ARISTOTLE (*Rhet.* i. p. 1376) merely as a current saw:

νήπιος δὲ πατέρα κτείνας παῖδας κατα-  
λείπει.

See note on § 32, and on ii. 160, ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ᾠσμῶν.

<sup>120</sup> ἀναμάξας. See *Odyss.* xix. 92: ἔρδουσα μέγα ἔργον, ὃ σὴ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξει.

<sup>121</sup> τῷ σὺν ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδεις. This is not a perfectly accurate expression, if tested by what Herodotus says above, § 153. Pactyas appears in that passage to have been left in the capacity of commissioner, merely to collect and transmit the gold actually existing in Lydia. But it seems likely that the Persian monarch, under the circumstances of the case, would confiscate the property of the Lydian sove-

reign, and impose a heavy mulct upon the population, and that the duty of Pactyas was to convert all this into money and transmit it to Agbatana. This function would require him to be invested with large judicial and executive powers, to determine (for instance) debts due to the exchequer, to assess the value of particular properties, and transfer confiscated lands. With all these duties on his hands, he might fitly be described as the ἐπίτροπος of Cyrus: although one who, from any reason, looked upon the transaction as nothing else than the plunder of a country, would represent his office in the terms used above in § 153.

<sup>122</sup> κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι. The cothurnus was a boot with a very thick sole,—an effectual protection against any injury to the foot from stones, thorns, or other annoyance. To wear the cothurnus would therefore be the opposite extreme to going bare-footed; and, as the one would be an



156 ψάλλειν καὶ κατηγλαῖν παιδεύειν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ ταχέως σφέας, ὃ βασιλεῦ, γυναῖκας ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν ὄφειαι γεγενῆσθαι; ὥστε οὐδὲν δεινοί τοι ἔσονται μὴ ἀποστέωσι." Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταυτὰ οἱ ὑπετίθετο, αἰρετότερα ταῦτα εὐρίσκων Λυδοῖσι ἢ ἀνδραποδισθέντας πρηθῆναι σφέας ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι ἦν μὴ ἀξιώχρεον πρόφασιν προτεῖν, οὐκ ἀναπείσει μιν μεταβουλεύσασθαι, ἀρρωδέων δὲ μὴ καὶ ἕστερόν κοτε οἱ Λυδοί, ἦν τὸ παρεὼν ὑπεκδράμωσι, ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἀπόλυνται. Κύρος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ, καὶ ὑπαὶς τῆς ὀργῆς<sup>152</sup>, ἔφη οἱ πείθεσθαι. καλέσας δὲ Μαζάρεια ἄνδρα Μῆδον, ταυτὰ οἱ ἐντελείλατο προειπεῖν Λυδοῖσι τὰ ὃ Κροῖσος ὑπετίθετο καὶ πρὸς, ἔξανδραποδίσασθαι τοὺς ἄλλους. πάντας οὖ μετὰ Λυδῶν ἐπὶ Σάρδεις ἐστρατεύσαντο, αὐτὸν δὲ Πακτίην πάντως ζῆντα ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἐωυτὸν.

Cyrus assents, detaching Mazares with a military force to execute the plan, and secure Pactyas.

157 'Ο μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐντευλάμενος, ἀπήλαυνε ἐς ἥθεα τὰ Περσέων<sup>153</sup>. Πακτίης δὲ πυθόμενος ἀγχαῦ εἶναι στρατὸν ἐπ' ἐωυτὸν ἰόντα, δαίσας ἔρχετο φεύγων ἐς Κύμην. Μαζάρης δὲ ὁ Μῆδος ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις τοῦ Κύρου στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὅσην δῆκοτε<sup>154</sup> ἔχων, ὥς οὖν εἶρε ὅτι ἐόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πακτίην ἐν Σάρδισι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἡνάγκασε τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπιτελέειν ἐκ τούτου δὲ κελευσμοσύνης Λυδοὶ τὴν πᾶσαν διαίταν τῆς ζῆς μετέβαλον. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμπε ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγγέλους, ἐκδιδόναι κελεύων Πακτίην οἱ δὲ Κυμαῖοι ἔγνωσαν, συμβουλῆς περὶ ἐς θεὸν ἀνῶσαι<sup>155</sup> τὸν ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι ἦν γὰρ αὐτόθι μαυτήϊον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰδρυμένον<sup>157</sup>, τῷ Ἴωνές τε πάντες

is demanded by Mazares.

indication of hardihood, the other would equally symbolize luxury. See the note on § 55. The wearing a χιτὼν under the εἶμα was a part of the same habit. For a similar policy to that of Croesus, said to be pursued by Sesostris in Egypt, see note on ii. 35, ὁφαινοῦσι. The contrary course of conduct in the ascetic Christians of the second century gave rise to the proverb, "a togā ad palliūm," applied to such as made a great sacrifice of comfort.

<sup>152</sup> ὄφεις τῆς ὀργῆς, "relaxing somewhat in his wrath."

<sup>153</sup> ἐς ἥθεα τὰ Περσέων, "to his home in Persia." This expression, however, is to be taken very largely; for it appears from § 44 that it was to Agbatana he went. It is remarkable that Agbatana is spoken of as the seat of government of

Cyrus and his son Cambyses (see iii. 64), but Susa as that of Darius and his son Xerxes. See vi. 119; iii. 129; vii. 3; ix. 108.

<sup>154</sup> μοῖραν ὅσην δῆκοτε, "a certain part, whatever it was." Herodotus's account gave no report of the strength of the division detached with Mazares; and therefore he uses the expression in the text. Similarly, the story related by him of Periander and his son did not contain the specification of the amount of fine to be levied on those who held converse with the young man, and hence he calls it δῶρον δῆ. See i. 160; and iii. 52.

<sup>155</sup> ἀνῶσαι. The infinitive mood of the aorist in place of the more usual ἀνευῆκα. The verbal ἀνῶστος appears in vi. 66.

<sup>157</sup> μαυτήϊον ἐκ παλαιῶ ἰδρυμένον. The

καὶ Αἰολέες ἐάθεσαν χρεῖσθαι· ὁ δὲ χάρος οὗτος ἐστὶ τῆς Μι-  
λσησίης ὑπὲρ Πανάρμου λεγόμενος. Πέμψαντες ὦν αἱ Κυμαῖοι ἐς  
τοὺς Βραγχίδας<sup>158</sup> θεοπρόπους, εἰρώτευν περὶ Πακτύημ ὁκοῖον τι  
ποιέοντες θεοῖσι μέλλουσιν χαριεῖσθαι; ἐπειρωτῶσι δὲ σφί ταῦτα  
χρηστήριον ἐγένετο “ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσῃσι.” ταῦτα δὲ ὡς  
ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, ὁρμέατο ἐκδιδόναι· ὁρμεωμένου  
δὲ ταύτῃ τοῦ πλῆθεος, Ἀριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλείδῃ, ἀνὴρ τῶν  
ἀστῶν ἐὼν δόκιμος, ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα Κυμαίους, ἀπιστῶν τε  
τῷ χρησμῷ καὶ δοκῶν τοὺς θεοπρόπους οὐ λέγειν ἀληθῆς, ἐς δὲ τὸ  
δεύτερον περὶ Πακτύῃς ἐπειρησόμενοι ἦσαν ἄλλοι θεοπρόποι, τῶν  
καὶ Ἀριστόδικος ἦν. Ἀπικαμένῳ δὲ ἐς Βραγχίδας, ἐχρηστηριά-  
ζετο ἐκ πάντων Ἀριστόδικος ἐπειρωτῶν τάδε “ὦναξ, ἦλθε παρ’  
ἡμέας ἱκέτης Πακτύης ὁ Λυδὸς, φεύγων θάνατον βίαιον πρὸς Περ-  
σέων· οἱ δὲ μιν ἐξαντίονται, προκῖναι Κυμαίους κελεύοντες· ἡμεῖς  
δὲ δευκαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν, τὸν ἱκέτην ἐς τόδε οὐ τετολ-  
μήκαμεν ἐκδιδόναι, πρὶν ἢ τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ ἡμῖν δηλωθῇ ἀτρεκέως  
ὁκότερα ποιῶμεν.” ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα· ὁ δ’ αὖτις τὸν αὐτὸν  
σφί χρησμὸν ἔφαινε, κελεύων ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσῃσι· πρὸς  
ταῦτα ὁ Ἀριστόδικος ἐκ προναίης ἐποίησε τάδε περιῶν τὸν νηὸν  
κύκλῳ ἐξαίρει τοὺς στρουθοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἦν νεοσσευμένα  
ὀρνίθων γένεα ἐν τῷ νηῷ· ποιέοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα, λέγεται  
φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου γενέσθαι, φέρουσιν μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστό-  
δικον λέγουσαν δὲ τάδε “ἀνοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τί τάδε τολμᾷς  
ποιεῖν; τοὺς ἱκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ κερατίζεις;” Ἀριστόδικον δὲ  
οὐκ ἀπορήσαντα, πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν “ὦναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν οὕτω τοῖσι

158

The Cume-  
ans consult  
the oracle  
at Branchi-  
das, which  
orders them  
to give up  
Pactyas.

159

Aristodicus  
procures a  
different  
response.

antiquity of the oracle is further mani-  
fest from the peculiarly archaic style of  
the statues which ornamented the temple.  
A road led from it to the sea, bordered  
on each side with statues on chairs of a  
single block of stone, with the feet close  
together, and the hands upon the knees,  
the exact counterpart of the avenues lead-  
ing up to the Egyptian temples (LISAKS,  
*Asia Minor*, p. 239). Necho, king of  
Egypt, was said to have made an offering  
to Apollo here (ii. 159). Perhaps enough  
remained of the Oriental character of the  
original ritual, to render the priests not  
averse to take part with the Persians at  
the time of Xerxes's invasion, as they were  
reported to have done. He is said to

have carried them off with their own  
good-will, and established them on one of  
the high rocks of Bactriana (STRABO,  
xi. c. 11, p. 441). Alexander destroyed  
the Bactrian Branchidae two hundred  
years afterwards, to show his zeal against  
sacrilege and treason. Seleucus, with a  
better judgment, sent back to Greece the  
brass statue of the god, which Xerxes  
had conveyed to Agbatana (PAUSAN. i.  
16, 5). See note 327.

<sup>158</sup> τοὺς Βραγχίδας. This is the read-  
ing of all the MSS. In i. 92, the word is  
used, not to signify the college of priests,  
but the oracle itself, and is put in the femi-  
nine gender. So it is in ii. 159.

ικέτησι βοηθείης, Κυμαίους δὲ κελεύεις τὸν ἰκέτην ἐκδιδόναι ;” τὸν δὲ αὖτις ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσδε : “ ναὶ κελεύω, ἵνα γε ἀσεβήσαντες θάσσουν ἀπόλησθε ”<sup>329</sup>. ὥς μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ ἰκετέων ἐκδόσιος ἔλθῃτε ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον.” Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι,

160

The Cumæans send Pactyas to Mytilene, and from thence to Chios.

οὐ βουλόμενοι οὔτε ἐκδόντες ἀπολέσθαι οὔτε παρ’ ἐωντοῖσι ἔχοντες πολιορκέεσθαι, ἐς Μυτιλήνην αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπουσιν οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι, ἐπιπέμποντος τοῦ Μαζάρεος ἀγγελίας ἐκδιδόναι τὸν Πακτύην, παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῳ δὴ<sup>330</sup>. οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τοῦτό γε εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως· οὐ γὰρ ἐτελεύθη Κυμαῖοι γὰρ ὡς ἔμαθον ταῦτα πρησόμενα ἐκ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, πέμψαντες πλοῖον ἐς Λέσβον ἐκκομίζουσι Πακτύην ἐς Χίον· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ, ἐξ ἱροῦ Ἀθηναίης Πολιούχου ἀποσπασθεὶς ὑπὸ Χίων ἐξεδόθη· ἐξέδοσαν δὲ οἱ Χίοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀταρνεί μισθῷ τοῦ δὲ Ἀταρνέος τοῦτου ἐστὶ χώρος τῆς Μυσῆς, Λέσβου ἀντίος. Πακτύην μὲν νυν παραδεξάμενοι<sup>331</sup> οἱ Πέρσαι ἔχον ἐν φυλακῇ, θέλοντες Κύρῳ ἀποδέξαι. ἦν δὲ χρόνος οὗτος<sup>332</sup> οὐκ ὀλίγος γενόμενος, ὅτε Χίων οὐδεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος τοῦτου οὔτε οὐλὰς κριθῶν πρόχυσιν ἐποίετο θεῶν· οὐδενί, οὔτε πέμματα ἐπέσσετο καρποῦ τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν, ἀπείχετό τε τῶν πάντων ἰρῶν τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ταύτης γινόμενα.

The Chians sell him for Atarneus.

A ban rests upon the land thus gained.

161

Χίοι μὲν νυν Πακτύην ἐξέδοσαν. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα

<sup>329</sup> ἵνα γε ἀσεβήσαντες θάσσουν ἀπόλησθε. One might almost suspect that the response of the oracle terminated with this ambiguous phrase, and that what follows is the ingenious interpretation added by Aristodicus. See the note on v. 36: ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν λόγων.

<sup>330</sup> ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῳ δὴ, “for a certain price, whatever the sum was.” See note 525.

<sup>331</sup> Πακτύην μὲν νυν παραδεξάμενοι. CHARON of Lampsacus related the fate of Pactyas in very few and general terms: Πακτύης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο προσελάνθοντα τὸν Περσικὸν φῆχτο φεύγων ἄρτι μὲν εἰς Μυτιλήνην, ἔπειτα δὲ εἰς Χίον· καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκράτησε Κύρος. It is plain that there is no incompatibility between these accounts. In fact, as Cyrus at this time had no fleet, he could not have secured Pactyas but for his extradition by the Chians. All that follows from the comparison of the two passages is that Herodotus followed some authority besides Charon; not that he did not read him; much less that the two accounts are at variance with each other.

<sup>332</sup> ἦν δὲ χρόνος οὗτος οὐκ ὀλίγος γενόμενος, ὅτε κ.τ.λ. It is very difficult to explain this phrase on the supposition that no corruption of the text has taken place. Herodotus appears to desire to say, that long after the extradition of Pactyas none of the produce of Atarneus was ever used by the Chians for sacred purposes, on the ground apparently of a curse being supposed to cleave to a territory purchased by so sinful an act. But the word οὗτος is, on this supposition, apparently superfluous, and it is not easy to account for its insertion by any error of transcription. If οὗτος be genuine, the word ὅτε must be taken in the sense of ἐξ ὅτου, and then there results the sense that “at this period a long time had elapsed since” the Chians had refused to use the produce of Atarneus as aforesaid. But no reason can be assigned why the place should be under ban, at the time the Chians bargained for it; or why, under such circumstances, they should at all desire to possess it. I have little doubt that the passage is corrupt, but can suggest no conjecture less violent than striking out the word οὗτος.

ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβαλον<sup>533</sup>. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Πριηνέας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, τοῦτο δὲ Μαιάνδρου πεδῖον πᾶν ἐπέδραμε λήτην ποιεύμενος τῷ στρατῷ, Μαγνησίην δὲ ὠσαύτως· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτίκα νούσῳ τελευτᾷ. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου, 162  
 Ἄρπαγος κατέβη διάδοχος τῆς στρατηγίης, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μη- of the  
 δος, (τὸν ὁ Μήδων βασιλεὺς Ἀστυάγης ἀνόμῳ τραπέξῃ ἔδαισε<sup>534</sup>), Meander  
 ὁ τῷ Κύρῳ τὴν βασιλιγὴν συγκατεργασάμενος. οὗτος ὡνὴρ τότε and Mag-  
 ὑπὸ Κύρου στρατηγὸς ἀποδεχθεὶς ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, αἴρει After his  
 τὰς πόλεις χῶμασι· ὅκως γὰρ τειχίρεας ποιήσῃ, τὸ ἐνθεῦθεν Har-  
 χῶματα χῶν<sup>535</sup> πρὸς τὰ τείχεα ἐπόρθεε. πρώτη δὲ Φωκαίη pagus suc-  
 Ἰωνίης ἐπεχειρήσεε. ceeds, and  
 besieges the  
 cities, Pho-  
 cea first.

Οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες οὗτοι ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι πρώτοι Ἑλλήνων 163  
 ἐχρήσαντο· καὶ τὸν τε Ἀδρίην<sup>536</sup> καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίην καὶ τὴν Ἰση- Adven-  
 ρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες· ἐναντίλλοντο turous sp-  
 δὲ οὐ στρογγύλῃσι νηυσὶ ἀλλὰ πεντηκοντέροισι<sup>537</sup>. ἀπικόμενοι rit of the  
 Phocæans.

<sup>533</sup> ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβα-  
 λον, "against those who had joined in  
 blockading Tabalus."

<sup>534</sup> τὸν ὁ Μήδων βασιλεὺς Ἀστυάγης ἀνό-  
 μῳ τραπέξῃ ἔδαισε. See above, § 119. Har-  
 pagus must have been of mature age at this  
 time, as he was Astyages's vizier (ἐπίτροπος)  
 at the time of Cyrus's birth. See § 108.

<sup>535</sup> τὸ ἐνθεῦθεν χῶματα χῶν. The  
 mode of taking cities by building a  
 mound in an inclined plane up to the  
 walls, and bringing up on this a tower  
 which overtopped the ramparts, and fur-  
 nished the means of driving the be-  
 siegers from them, was early practised by  
 the Assyrians (see 2 Kings xix. 32), from  
 whom the art probably passed to the  
 Medes and Persians. It is an obvious  
 mode of operation where a very large  
 supply of labour is available, as was the  
 case with the Oriental sovereigns, but  
 was not applicable in the warfare of the  
 Hellenic states, where the numbers of  
 the invading force rarely exceeded that of  
 the besieged by any considerable amount.  
 With the Greeks, the usual mode of  
 taking a town was by an ἐπιτειχισμός,  
 i. e. the fortifying and garrisoning of a  
 stronghold in the neighbourhood, from  
 whence continual annoyance was inflicted  
 upon it, until at last the resources of the  
 besieged were exhausted, or their pa-  
 tience gave way. The siege of Troy is  
 an instance of this kind of proceeding.

It is to be remarked of the history

in the text, that a scientific mode of  
 attack does not take place until Harpa-  
 gus, the Mede, takes the command of the  
 Medo-Persian army. Cyrus carries  
 Sardis by a *coup-de-main*, and Mazares,  
 the Persian, overruns the territory of  
 Magnesia and the valley of the Meander,  
 merely as a plunderer. The town of the  
 Prientians was so small and insignificant a  
 place, that it was not likely to have offered  
 any resistance, if it was attacked.

<sup>536</sup> τὸν τε Ἀδρίην. Wherever Hero-  
 dotus uses this word he uses it alone,  
 and it does not seem certain that the  
 word *πόντος* is that which is necessary  
 to supply the ellipse. I should rather be  
 disposed to understand the word *κόλπον*,  
 and to refer the expression to the coast.  
 On this hypothesis there will be nothing  
 strange in the union of the phrase with  
 others which indisputably refer to land.  
 It may denote the coast of Illyria or  
 Istria, where, probably, there was a port  
 at which Phocæan vessels took in com-  
 modities (such as amber, and perhaps  
 tin), which came overland from the north  
 of Europe. (See note on iii. 115.) After  
 the destruction of Phocæa, the Corycæans  
 would be likely to monopolize the traffic,  
 and thenceforward little would be known  
 of its particulars. (See THUCYDIDES, i. 37.)

<sup>537</sup> ἀλλὰ πεντηκοντέροισι. The fifty-  
 oared galley was, until the construction of  
 the trireme, the ship of war; and the early  
 transactions of the Greeks partook in

δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσὸν<sup>133</sup>, προσφίλλες ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ταρτησσιῶν, τῷ ὄνομα μὲν ἦν Ἀργανθῶνιος<sup>134</sup>. ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὀγδῶκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα<sup>135</sup> εἰκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσφίλλες οἱ Φωκαῖες οὕτω δὴ τι ἐγένοντο, ὥς τὰ μὲν πρῶτά σφεας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνίην ἐκέλευε τῆς ἐωυτοῦ χώρας οἰκῆσαι δίκου βούλονται· μετὰ δὲ, ὥς τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἔπειθε τοὺς Φωκαίεας, ὁ δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν Μῆδον<sup>136</sup> παρ' αὐτῶν ὡς αὖξοιτο, ἐδίδου σφι χρήματα τείχος περιβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν· ἐδίδου δὲ ἀφειδέως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ περίοδος τοῦ τείχεος οὐκ ὀλβοι στάδιοι εἰσι· τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν λίθων μεγάλων καὶ εὐσυναρμοσμένων. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τείχος τοῖσι Φωκαεῦσι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἐξεποιήθη. ὁ δὲ Ἄρπαγος ὡς ἐπέλασε τὴν στρατιὴν, ἐπολιόρκει αὐτοὺς, προῖσχύμενος ἔπειτα “ὡς οἱ καταχρᾶ, εἰ βούλονται Φωκαῖες προμαχεῖναι ἓνα μῦθον τοῦ τείχεος ἐρεῖψαι, καὶ οἰκῆμα ἐν κατιράσσαι.” οἱ δὲ Φω-

164

They all desert their city rather than submit to Harpagus.

nearly equal proportions of the mercantile and the piratical character.

<sup>133</sup> ἀπαύμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσόν. The account given here seems to rest on a different foundation from the story related in iv. 162. Neither in the one case nor in the other, however, does it appear distinctly whether Tartessus is regarded as a town or a region. The same ambiguity occurs in the mention of it by PHRYGIANES (*Frags.* 33). STRABO made it a river. The vagueness of the notices in the early Greek writers probably arises from the circumstance that the Phoenicians got the trade with those parts into their hands even before the time of Homer, and held it until Carthage fell before the power of Rome (STRABO, iii. cap. 2). Hellenic enterprise in that direction must have been exceptional and highly hazardous.

<sup>134</sup> τῷ ὀνόματι μὲν ἦν Ἀργανθῶνιος. It seems not unlikely that this story is derived by Herodotus from CHALON of Lampacus, one of whose works was a περίηλος τῶν ἐκτὸς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν στηλῶν (*Suidas*, sub v. Χάλων). According to this historian, the Hellenic population of Lampacus came from Phocæa as a colony, under two twin-brothers, Phobus and Blepsus, Codrize by descent. And that the legend in the text should have grown up in the neighbourhood of Lampacus is rendered probable by the existence in Mysia of a mountain named *Arganthionis* (STRABO, vii. sub v.), so called,

it was said, after one Arganthone, the wife of Rhesus. For the vagueness of the accounts of Tartessus, see the last note.

<sup>135</sup> πάντα. Hermann and Bekker alter the text to τὰ πάντα, which is certainly the proper expression if the author meant to say that Arganthionius lived “in the whole” 120 years. But the text, as it stands, means that he lived “the whole of” that time, i. e. “not less than” 120 years. The long life of the Tartessians was proverbial. ANACREON (*ap. Strabon.* iii. cap. 2) says: ἐγὼ δ' οὐτ' ἂν Ἀμαλθίης βουλόμην κίρας, οὐτ' ἐτη πεντήκοντά τε χακατὸν Ταρτησσοῦ βασιλεύσαι. Strabo himself considers that the being long-lived was ascribed to them as a part of their notorious εὐδαιμονία, which is not unlikely. See the notes on iii. 18, τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀναβιδέσθαι, and iii. 23, ἐς εἰκόσι καὶ ἑκατὸν.

<sup>136</sup> τὸν Μῆδον. It is not necessary to consider that any particular sovereign is here alluded to. “The Mede” is nothing more than “the Median power,” so that the real transaction may be referred to a hundred years before the reign of Cyrus just as well as to that time. Wesseling and Larcher conjecture τὸν Λυδόν, which would, perhaps, be more historically correct; but in the local traditions which prevailed in the time of Herodotus it is likely that “the Mede” would generally be represented as the enemy of the Hellenic settlements on the coast.

καίᾱς περιημεκτέοντες τῇ δουλοσύνῃ, ἔφασαν "θέλειν βουλευέσθαι ἡμέρην μίαν, καὶ ἔπειτα ὑποκρινέεσθαι· ἐν ᾧ δὲ βουλευόνται αὐτοὶ, ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκείνον ἐκέλευον τὴν στρατὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος." ὁ δ' Ἀρπαγὸς ἔφη "εἰδέναι μὲν εὖ τὰ ἐκείνοι μέλλοιεν ποιεῖν, ὁμῶς δὲ σφί παρίεναι βουλευέσθαι." ἐν ᾧ ὦν ὁ Ἀρπαγὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρατὴν, οἱ Φωκαῖες ἐν τούτῳ κατασπᾱσαντες τὰς πεντεκοιτέρους, ἐσθέμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἐπιπλα πάντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, χωρὶς ὅ τι χαλκὸς ἢ λίθος ἢ γραφὴ ἦν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐσθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσβάντες ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Χίου τὴν δὲ Φωκαίην ἐρημωθεῖσαν ἀνδρῶν ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι. Οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες, 165

The Chians refuse to sell them the islands *Enusaa* out of commercial jealousy. They sail back to Phocæa, massacre the Persian garrison, and then direct their course to Corsica,

ἐπεὶ τε σφί Χίοι τὰς νήσους τὰς Οἰνούσσας καλεομένας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ὠνεομένοισι πωλέειν<sup>542</sup>, δειμαίνοντες μὴ αἱ μὲν ἐμπόριον γέκωνται ἢ δὲ αὐτῶν νήσος ἀποκληϊσθῇ τούτου εἵνεκα, πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Φωκαῖες ἐστέλλοντο ἐς Κύρνον<sup>543</sup>. (ἐν γὰρ τῇ Κύρνῳ εἰκοσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐκ θεσπροπίου ἀνεστήσαντο πόλιν, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀλαλίη Ἀργαυθώνιος δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἤδη τετελευτήκει·) στελλόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον<sup>543</sup>, πρῶτα καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην κατεφόνευσαν τῶν Περσέων τὴν φυλακὴν, ἣ ἐφρούρεε παραδεξαμένη παρὰ Ἀρπάγου τὴν πόλιν μετὰ δὲ, ὥς τοῦτό σφί ἐξέργαστο, ἐποίησαντο ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ ἑωυτῶν τοῦ στόλου πρὸς δὲ ταύτησι, καὶ μύδρον σιδήρεον κατεπόντωσαν καὶ ὤμοσαν "μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φωκαίην ἥξειν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν μύδρον τοῦτον ἀναφῆναι"<sup>544</sup>. στελλομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, ὑπὲρ ἡμί-

<sup>542</sup> οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ὠνεομένοισι πωλέειν. The Chians and the Milesians, who were fast allies, had both made terms with the Persian power, and perhaps were not altogether guiltless of the ruin of Phocæa, although at the time at which Herodotus was writing such an act would have been accounted infamous. But see note 512, above, and the first one on iv. 138.

<sup>543</sup> DIONYSIUS (v. 13) gives *Calaris* as the name of the city founded by the Phocæans in Corsica, from which they were expelled by the Tyrrhenians. *Calaris* being really not in Corsica, but the principal town in Sardinia, this notice has given much trouble to the commentators, none of whom has hit on the true solution of the difficulty, viz. that the tradition

varied in the early times. It is very doubtful whether in Eastern Hellas any distinct notion of the bearings or relative magnitude of the two islands was possessed till long after Herodotus. See the note on v. 106, νῆσον τὴν μεγίστην.

<sup>544</sup> ἀναφῆναι. The readings *ἀναφανῆναι* and *ἀναδύναι* have been proposed. But neither these nor the ellipse of *ἑωυτῶν* seems necessary. The Phocæan oath seems to have been "that they would not return till they had found and produced the mass of iron which they then threw into the sea." Horace's proposed oath (*Epod.* xvi. 25) does not profess to be that of the Phocæans, as is obvious from the way he continues it (vv. 27-34).

More than half break their oath and return home.

166

The rest sail for Corsica and become pirates.

They are crushed by the Tyrrhenes and Carthaginians, and a small remnant takes refuge at Rhegium.

167

The majority are stoned to death, for which divine vengeance is inflicted on the Agylleans.

σεας τῶν ἀστών ἔλαβε πόθος τε καὶ οἶκτος τῆς πόλιος καὶ τῶν ἡθέων τῆς χώρας· ψευδόρκοι δὲ γενόμενοι, ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ ὄρκιον ἐφύλασσαν, ἀερθέντες ἐκ τῶν Οἰνουσσέων ἔπλεον. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐς τὴν Κύρνον ἀπίκοντο, οἶκον κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν πρότερον ἀπικομένων ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ ἱρὰ ἐνιδρύσαντο· καὶ ἄγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον<sup>546</sup> τοὺς περιόλους ἅπαντας, στρατεύονται ὧν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κοινῇ λόγῳ χρῆσάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, νηυσὶ ἐκάτεροι ἐξήκοντα· οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ἐόντα ἀριθμὸν ἐξήκοντα, ἀντίαζον ἐς τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλεόμενον πέλαγος· συμμασγόντων δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, Καδμείῃ τις νίκη τοῖσι Φωκαεῦσι ἐγένετο· αἱ μὲν γὰρ τεσσεράκοντά σφι νῆες διεφθάρησαν, αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι αἱ περιεοῦσαι ἦσαν ἄχρηστοι· ἀπεστράφατο γὰρ τοὺς ἐμβόλους· καταπλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀλαλίην, ἀνέλαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κτήσιν ὅσῃν οἶαι τε ἐγίνοντο αἱ νῆες σφι ἄγειν καὶ ἔπειτα ἀφέντες τὴν Κύρνον ἔπλεον ἐς Ῥήγιον. Τῶν δὲ διαφθαρεισέων νεῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἳ τε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ ἔλαχόν τε αὐτῶν πολλῷ πλείους<sup>547</sup>, καὶ τούτους ἐξωγαγόντες κατέλευσαν. μετὰ δὲ, Ἀγυλλαίοισι πάντα τὰ παρίοντα τὸν χώρον ἐν τῷ οἱ Φωκαῖες καταλευσθέντες ἐκάτο ἐγίνετο διάστροφα<sup>547</sup> καὶ ἔμπηρα καὶ ἀπόπληκτα, ὁμοίως πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἄνθρωποι· οἱ δὲ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον<sup>548</sup> βουλόμενοι ἀκέσασθαι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα, ἣ δὲ Πυθίῃ σφέας ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν τὰ καὶ νῦν οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἔτι ἐπιτελέουσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐναγίζουσι<sup>549</sup> σφι μεγάλως, καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν ἐπιστάσι.

<sup>546</sup> ἄγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον. See notes 537, 538, above. It will be remembered that by a settlement either in Sardinia or Corsica,—if even purely for commercial purposes,—they interfered with the Tyrrhene and Carthaginian trade with Spain. See note 565, below.

<sup>547</sup> πολλῷ πλείους. This expression would seem to mean that the prisoners taken by the allied force much exceeded in number the small remnant which fled to Rhegium. It is unnecessary to suppose a *lacuna*.

<sup>547</sup> ἐγίνετο διάστροφα. This would be the result of the vengeance of the *χθόνιοι θεοί*, angry at the blood which had been shed upon the earth. See MÜLLER, *Appendix*

to the Edition of the *Eumenides*, §§ 54—57.

<sup>548</sup> ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον. The connexion of the Agylleans (*Cærites*) with Delphi appears from the fact, mentioned by STRABO, that there was an Ἀγυλλαίων καλούμενος θησαυρὸς there (v. cap. 2, p. 356). They had great reputation, he says, among the Greeks both for their courage and for their justice, in abstaining from piracy.

<sup>549</sup> ἐναγίζουσι. To this passage probably is to be referred the gloss of SUIDAS, Ἐναγίζω παρ' Ἡροδότῃ χοὰς φέρειν. The proper form of propitiating the dead was by libations (SOPH. *Elect.* 406). It may be observed that there were hot mine-

καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Φωκαίων τοιοῦτω μῶρῳ διεχρήσαντο· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον καταφυγόντες, ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμεύμενοι ἐκτίσαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτρίας ταύτην, ἣτις νῦν Ῥέλη καλεῖται<sup>560</sup>. ἔκτισαν δὲ ταύτην, πρὸς ἀνδρὸς Ποσειδωνιῆτεω μαθόντες<sup>561</sup> ὡς τὸν Κύρνον σφι ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε κτίσαι ἥρων ἐόντα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν νῆσον.

The survivors build *Velia*, and dedicate a fane to Cyranus, a hero.

Φωκαίης μὲν νυν περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὕτως ἔσχε. παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοις καὶ Τήϊοι ἐποίησαν ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ σφεων εἶλε χῶματι τὸ τεῖχος Ἀρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα οἴχοντο πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θρηκίης, καὶ ἐνθάυτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν Ἀβδηρα· τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας, οὐκ ἀπάνητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Θρηκίων ἐξελασθεὶς τιμὰς νῦν ὑπὸ Τητίων τῶν ἐν Ἀβδήροισι ὡς ἦρος ἔχει.

168  
The *Teians* desert their town, and build *Abdera*.

Οὗτοι μὲν νυν Ἰώνων μῦνοι, τὴν δουλοσύνην οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι, ἐξέλειπον τὰς πατρίδας· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἴωνες, πλὴν Μιλησίων, διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπικέατο Ἀρπάγῃ κατὰπερ οἱ ἐκλιπόντες, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἑκάστος<sup>562</sup> μαχόμενοι, ἐσσω-

169  
The rest of the Ionians on the main, after resisting separately, submit.

ral springs in the neighbourhood of Cære (STRABO, v. cap. 2), and also a grove sacred to Silvanus (VIRGIL, *Æn.* viii. 597); all the usual accompaniments, therefore, of a ritual analogous to that of Amphiaræus, Trophonius, Asclepius, and Faunus. See note 163, above.

<sup>560</sup> ἣτις νῦν Ῥέλη καλεῖται. The city in question is Elea, the native place of Parmenides and Zeno, on the coast of Italy, about twenty miles south of Paestum. The form of the name which appears on the coins is ΤΕΛΗ or ΓΕΛΙΑ,—from the latter of which, the initial letter being the *digamma*, the Latin name Velia is directly derived. The name is undoubtedly derived from its proximity to the Paestine marshes (ἔλη), just as the name Velitræ was from the proximity of that town to the Pomptine swamps.

<sup>561</sup> πρὸς ἀνδρὸς Ποσειδωνιῆτεω μαθόντες. Cyranus, the hero, was a mythical personage connected with the conjoint worship of Poseidon and Demeter. He was an Argive in the time of Inachus, who sailed to the Carian Chersonese, and there built a city called after his own name. *Triopas* (see note 587) came thither afterwards to be purified from a murder he had committed (DIOD. SIC. v. 60, 61). Now,

while Poseidonia, as its name imports, had for its tutelary deity Poseidon, Elea was famous for its worship of Demeter, inasmuch that the Romans anciently always fetched their priestesses of this goddess either from that city or Naples (CICERO, *pro Balbo*, § 24). Moreover, Poseidonia was a colony from Sybaris, which had a mixed population of Achæans and Troezenians, the former predominating (ARISTOT. *Polit.* v. p. 1303). The establishment of the fane of Cyranus, therefore, by the counsel of a Poseidonian, was probably the sealing of a compact between the two neighbouring towns, which possessed common religious traditions and common blood, and had common enemies in the Etruscans. See notes 63 and 231, above. It may be remarked, that an account given by Scymnus Chius that Neapolis was founded by Cumæans and Phocæans harmonizes very well with the statement of Strabo that it was a colony of the *former*, if we understand that the Phocæans he speaks of are really those of Velia,—and in its turn explains Cicero, in the passage above cited, coupling Neapolis and Velia together.

<sup>562</sup> περὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἑκάστος. See note 509, above.



θέντες δὲ καὶ ἀλόντες ἔμενον κατὰ χώραν ἕκαστοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασ-  
σόμενα ἐπετέλεον<sup>563</sup>. Μιλήσιοι δὲ, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται,  
αὐτῷ Κύρῳ ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι ἡσυχίην ἄγον. οὕτω δὲ τὸ δευτέ-  
ρον Ἰωνίῃ ἐδεδούλωτα. ὥς δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ἴωνας ἐχειρώσατο  
Ἄρπαγος, οἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχοντες Ἴωνες καταρρωδήσαντες ταῦτα,  
σφέας αὐτοὺς ἔδοσαν Κύρῳ.

The island-  
ers are  
struck with  
panic.

170

Advice  
offered by  
Bias to the  
Ionians;

Κεκακωμένων δὲ Ἰώνων, καὶ συλλεγομένων οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἐς τὸ  
Πανιώνιον<sup>564</sup>, πυνθάνομαι γνώμην Βίαντα ἀνδρα Πριηνέα ἀπο-  
δέξασθαι Ἴωσι χρησιμωτάτην τῇ εἰ ἐπείθοντο, παρείχε ἄν σφι  
εὐδαιμονεῖν Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα· ὃς ἐκέλευε “κοινῷ στόλῳ Ἴωνας  
ἀερθέντας πλέειν ἐς Σαρδῶν<sup>565</sup>, καὶ ἔπειτα πόλιν μίαν κτίζειν πάν-  
των Ἰώνων καὶ οὕτω ἀπαλλαχθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐδαι-  
μονήσῃν, νήσων τε ἀπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους καὶ ἀρχοντας  
ἄλλων μένουσι δὲ σφι ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίῃ οὐκ ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἐτι  
ἐσομένην.” αὕτη μὲν Βιάντος τοῦ Πριηνέος γνώμη ἐπὶ διεφθαρ-  
μένοισι Ἴωσι γενομένη· χρηστή δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διαφθάρῃναι Ἰωνίην  
Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος εὐντος Φοί-  
νικος<sup>566</sup>. ὃς ἐκέλευε “ἐν βουλευτήριον Ἴωνας ἐκτίσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι  
ἐν Τέφῳ<sup>567</sup>. Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνίης· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλεις

also by  
Thales.

<sup>563</sup> τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον. See the note on iv. 138, ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τοῖ.

<sup>564</sup> συλλεγομένων οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἐς τὸ Πανιώνιον. The Panionium appears to have been the ordinary place of meeting long afterwards. (See vi. 7, ἐς Πανιώνιον.) It will be remembered that, before the arrival of Harpagus, the Prienians had been made slaves of (§ 161). If, therefore, the following story belongs to the same historical account, Bias cannot have been at the congress in the character of a delegate from Priene,—but only in a private capacity.

<sup>565</sup> ἐς Σαρδῶν. There was excellent policy in this recommendation; for the resources of the island were one of the most important elements of the power of Carthage (see note on v. 106, νῆσων τὴν μεγίστην). A footing once obtained there, the commerce with the interior of Africa and that with Spain might have been in a great measure transferred from the Phœnician to the Hellenic race, through Cyrene in the one case, and Massilia in the other. The fear of this no doubt stimulated the attack on the Phœcæan settlement in Corsica

(§ 166); for from Corsica a formidable attack might easily have been made on Sardinia. Bias's project seems to have been entertained afterwards by Aristagoras (v. 124).

<sup>566</sup> εὐντος Φοίνικος. It is singular that Herodotus, having mentioned Thales twice before as a well-known character, should now, for the first time, give his description and descent. It is possible that this paragraph belongs to an early draft of the work, in which those two passages did not exist. Or it may be that here Herodotus is closely following an earlier written authority, in which Thales was introduced to notice as in the text. It is also remarkable that a Milesian should take part in the congress, as Miletus had made a peace with Cyrus. (See above, note 481.) But perhaps Thales, who had been in the Lydian camp at the beginning of the war (§ 75), was personally compromised, and, like Bias, present only as a private person at the congress. Or the advice may have been given even before the outbreak of the war.

<sup>567</sup> τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέφῳ. See note on vi. 7; and on vi. 8, Τήϊοι.

οἰκεόμενας μὴδὲν ἦσσαν<sup>568</sup> νομίζεσθαι, κατάπερ εἰ δῆμοι εἶεν." οὕτω μὲν δὴ σφί γνῶμας τοιάσδε ἀπεδέξαντο.

"Ἀρπαγος δὲ καταστρεφόμενος Ἰωνίην, ἐποίεετο στρατηγὴν ἐπὶ 171  
Κῆρας καὶ Καννίους καὶ Δυκίους, ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἴωνας καὶ Harpagus attacks the Carians, who were formerly islanders under the name of Leleges.  
Αἰολέας<sup>569</sup>. εἰσὶ δὲ τούτων Κῆρες μὲν ἀπυγμένοι ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκ τῶν νήσων. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἔοντες Μίνω τε κατήκοοι<sup>570</sup> καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες<sup>571</sup>, εἶχον τὰς νήσους φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελέοντες, ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατός εἰμι μακρότατον<sup>572</sup> ἐξικέσθαι ἀκοῇ, οἱ δὲ, ὅπως Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουν οἱ τὰς νέας· ἅτε δὲ<sup>573</sup> Μίνω τε κατεστραμμένου γῆν πολλὴν καὶ εὐτυχεύοντος τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ Καρικὸν ἦν ἔθνος λογιμώτατον<sup>574</sup> τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀπάντων κατὰ τοῦτον ἅμα τὸν χρόνον μακρῷ μάλιστα· καὶ σφί τριῶν ἐξευρήματα ἐγένετο<sup>575</sup>, τοῖσι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐχρήσαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα Their armour adopted by the Hellenes.  
λόφους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κῆρες εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ σημήια ποιεέσθαι, καὶ ὄχανα ἀσπίσι οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ ποιη-

<sup>568</sup> μὴδὲν ἦσσαν. These two words appear to be a conjunction of two diverse readings taken up into the text, viz. μὴδὲ νομίζεσθαι and ἦσσαν νομίζεσθαι. Either the one or the other of these will give an appropriate sense, "but that the rest should not even be looked upon as inhabited cities, just as would be if they were demes;" or, "should be less regarded as inhabited cities," &c. It should be remembered, that into the notion of a πόλις always entered that of self-government, in foreign relations as well as in domestic. By absolutely delegating the former of these, each member of the confederacy would become a mere parish.

<sup>569</sup> καὶ Ἴωνας καὶ Αἰολέας. See above, note 476; and below, 593. See also note on iv. 138, ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι.

<sup>570</sup> Μίνω τε κατήκοοι. This must be taken as merely resting upon tradition, and not having the certainty of history. See the distinction drawn by Herodotus himself between the stories of Minos and others of the olden time, and genuine history (iii. 122). The most ancient authentic naval engagement took place 260 years before the end of the Peloponnesian war (THUCYD. i. 18).

<sup>571</sup> καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες. PHILIP of Theangela, in an especial treatise on the relation between the Carians and Lelegians, considered the latter as standing in the same relation to the former as the Helots to the Lacedæmonians, or the

Penestæ to the Thessalians (*ap. Athen.* vi. p. 271). Both Carians and Lelegians appear as equals in the Trojan army (*Iliad* x. 428), and the latter have the epithet φιλοπτόλεμοι applied to them (xii. 86); but the Vilhoison Schol. says that *they* are the inhabitants of a Pedasus in Mount Ida, mentioned *Iliad* xx. 92. 96.

<sup>572</sup> ὅσον . . . μακρότατον. The preposition is used in a similar phrase, ii. 34, ἐν ὅσον μακρότατον, and iv. 16. 192, ὅσον ἐπὶ μακρότατον.

<sup>573</sup> ἅτε δὲ. One MS has ἅτε δὴ, another ἅτε δὲ δὴ, which Gaiford adopts.

<sup>574</sup> λογιμώτατον. STEPH. BYZ. (v. Καρία) has the variation δοκιμώτατον.

<sup>575</sup> καὶ σφί τριῶν ἐξευρήματα ἐγένετο. This seems to have been an inference (and a reasonable one) from the appearance of the armour found in the tombs of the Carians, whose remains were removed from the whole of Delos in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war. This armour was identical with that used by the continental Carians (THUCYD. i. 8). Delos had been similarly purified, as much of it as was within sight of the temple, by Pisistratus (above, § 64), so that no argument can be drawn as to the date of the composition of this passage. The greater part of the islands of the Ægean were inhabited by "Carians and Phœnicians," pirates by profession, before the seas were swept clear by Minos (THUCYD. i. 8).

σάμενοι πρῶτοι· τέως δὲ ἀνευ ὀχάνων ἐφόρεον τὰς ἀσπίδας πάντες οἵπερ ἐώθεσαν ἀσπίσι χρέεσθαι τελαμῶσι σκυτίνουσι οἰηκίζοντες, περὶ τοῖσι αἰχέσι τε καὶ τοῖσι ἀριστεροῖσι ὤμοισι περικείμενοι. μετὰ δὲ, τοὺς Κᾶρας χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ Δωριεὺς τε καὶ Ἴωνες ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν νήσων καὶ οὕτω ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπίκοντο<sup>576</sup>. κατὰ μὲν δὴ Κᾶρας οὕτω Κρήτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε ὁμολογέουσι τοῦτοις οἱ Κᾶρες, ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἐωντοὺς εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἡπειρώτας, καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷπερ νῦν ἀποδεικνύσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοισι Διὸς Καρίου ἱρὸν ἀρχαῖον<sup>577</sup>, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὡς κασιγνήτοισι· εὐδοῖσι τοῖσι Καρσί· τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεούς· τοῦτοις μὲν δὴ μέτεστι· ὅσοι δὲ εἶντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος ὁμόγλωσσοι τοῖσι Καρσί ἐγένοντο, τοῦτοις δὲ οὐ μέτα. Οἱ δὲ Καίνιοι αὐτόχθονες, δοκέειν ἐμοί, εἰσὶ· αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶ εἶναι· προσκεχωρήκασι δὲ γλῶσσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸ Καρικὸν ἔθνος, ἣ οἱ Κᾶρες πρὸς τὸ Καυνικόν· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι· νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται κεχωρισμένοις πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ Καρῶν. τοῖσι γὰρ κάλλιστόν ἐστι κατ' ἡλικίην τε καὶ φιλότητα εἰλαδὸν συγγίνεσθαι ἐς πόσιν, καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναῖξι καὶ παισί. ἰδρυθέντων δὲ σφί ἱρῶν ξειικῶν, μετέπειτα ὥς σφί ἀπέδοξε, (ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖσι πατρίοισι μόνον χρᾶσθαι θεοῖσι,) ἐνδύντες τὰ ὄπλα<sup>578</sup> ἅπαντες Καίνιοι

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The Carians speak a language like the Carian, but have peculiar customs;

they worship no foreign gods.

<sup>576</sup> καὶ οὕτω ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπίκοντο. This would be a natural way of looking at the matter for the Cretans, if we suppose the islands and the main to have been originally covered with a *Lelegian* population, which in the former was exterminated by Dorian and Ionian invaders. If in the latter, it was overlaid by, and absorbed into, a *Carian* population (a kindred race to the Mysians and Lydians), the native legends of the Carians on the main would, as naturally, represent them to be autochthonous.

<sup>577</sup> Διὸς Καρίου ἱρὸν ἀρχαῖον. This Zeus Carius must not be confounded with the Ζεὺς Στράτιος who was worshipped by the Carians alone (see note on v. 119). He belongs to an entirely distinct religious system, and is substantially identical with the Poseidon of Mantinea (PAUSANIAS, viii. 10. 4), with the Poseidon or Erechtheus associated with Athene Polias

at Athens, with Triopas (see note 567), and with the primeval deity worshipped in the earliest times on the acropolis at Megara. (See the note on the family worship of Isagoras, v. 66, and that on the native legendary accounts of the early population of the Megarid, v. 76.) His native name seems to have been *Ogos*. Possibly he is the Poseidon mentioned by THEOPHRASTUS (*ap. Athen.* ii. p. 42), whose temple stood by a river in Caria, the quality of whose water had been changed by volcanic action,—or, as Theophrastus expresses it, by thunderbolts entering the ground in its neighbourhood.

<sup>578</sup> ἐνδύντες τὰ ὄπλα. It may be presumed from this custom that the *πάτριος θεὸς* of the Caunians was a war-god. Traces of something very similar appear in an old Westphalian saw, given by GERM (Deutsche Mythologie, p. 211), in which *Ermin*, the Teutonic Mars, is invoked to

ἡβηδὸν<sup>579</sup> τύπτοντες δούρασι τὸν ἥρα μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Καλυδικῶν<sup>580</sup> ἔποντο, καὶ ἔφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς ξεινικοὺς θεοὺς. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τρόποισι τοιοῦτοιςι χρέωνται. Οἱ δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης<sup>581</sup> τῶρχαῖον γεγόνασι. τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην<sup>582</sup> εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βάρβαροι· διενειχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιλῆως τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων<sup>583</sup> Σαρπηδόνοιο τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσει Μίνωος, ἐξήλασε αὐτὸν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς γῆν τὴν Μιλυάδα<sup>584</sup>. τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται αὕτη τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλυάς· οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο<sup>585</sup>. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδῶν ἦρχε, οἱ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τό περ τε ἡνείκαντο οὖνομα καὶ νῦν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιόικων οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαι<sup>586</sup>. ὥς δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος ἐξελασθεὶς καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ Διγέως, ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα, οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τοῦ Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν νόμοισι δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖσι τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖσι χρέωνται· ἐν δὲ τόδε ἴδιον νενομίκασι, καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοιςι συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἐωντοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ

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The Lycians came from Crete under Sarpedon, the brother of Minos;

they are called Lycians from Lycus, a son of Pandion.

"rouse himself and let his fifes and drums sound; for that the emperor" (probably Charlemagne) "is coming to hang him up." One may be inclined to conjecture that the Caunians were a comparatively pure remnant of the race which in Caria had amalgamated with the Leleges, and adopted their worship, — although even there, at Labranda, there was a purely martial deity. See v. 119.

<sup>579</sup> ἡβηδόν. This phrase occurs again in vi. 21, where see the note.

<sup>580</sup> μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Καλυδικῶν. See note 585.

<sup>581</sup> τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην . . . βάρβαροι. From this expression it may be inferred that the Cretan νόμιμα (whatever they were), which prevailed among the Lycians, were such as existed in that island antecedently to the great influx of Hellenes into it. See the sketch of the fortunes of Crete, apparently resting on Delphic traditions (vii. 169—171).

<sup>582</sup> τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων. It will be observed that this is a different legend from that in the *Iliad* (vi. 199). There Sarpedon is made a son of Bellerophon and the daughter of the Lycian king; here he is a Cretan, son of Zeus and Europa; and in a third account (ΕΡΜΟΒΟΥΣ

ap. Strabon. xiv. c. i. p. 165) he comes not to Lycia, but to Miletus.

<sup>583</sup> ἐς γῆν τὴν Μιλυάδα. Probably the name Μιλυάς is significant: otherwise one can hardly conceive a country called by that name while its inhabitants went by that of *Solymi*. It seems likely that there is some etymological connexion, yet to be defined, between the words Μιλυάς and Τερμίλαι.

<sup>584</sup> τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. HOMER makes Bellerophon, when sent to Lycia, engage Σολύμοισι κυδαλίμοισι (*Iliad*, vi. 186), and some have thought that these *Solymi* were the "ancient Lycians," whose language has been recently recovered. This can hardly be the case unless the Τερμίλαι and Σόλυμοι are identical.

<sup>585</sup> Τερμίλαι. The researches of FELLOWES in Lycia have pretty well established the following points with regard to the Tremilæ or Termilæ, whom he considers as the "ancient Lycians," exterminated by Harpagus.

1. They are characterized by inscriptions in a distinct language, which appears to be of the Indo-Germanic family, but contains some Semitic words taken in *ab extra*. This may arise from intercourse with Phœnicia.

They name themselves after their mothers.

174

Caria is easily subdued by Harpagus.

τῶν πατέρων εἰρομένοι δὲ ἑτέρου τὸν πλησίον τίς εἶη ; καταλέξει  
ἑαυτὸν μητρόθεν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τὰς μητέρας· καὶ ἦν  
μὲν γε γυνὴ ἀστὴ δούλῳ συνοικήσῃ, γενναῖα τὰ τέκνα νενόμισται·  
ἦν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀστὸς καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν γυναικα ξένην ἢ παλλακὴν  
ἔχῃ, ἄτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεται.

Οἱ μὲν νυν Κᾶρες οὐδὲν λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἀποδεξάμενοι, ἔδου-  
λῶθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀρπάγου οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Κᾶρες ἀποδεξάμενοι οὐδὲν  
οὔτε ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων ταύτην τὴν χώραν οἰκέουσι. οἰκέουσι δὲ καὶ  
ἄλλοι<sup>174</sup> καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι Κνίδιοι<sup>175</sup>, τῆς χώρας τῆς  
σφετέρης<sup>176</sup> τετραμμένης ἐς πόντον, ἀργμένης δὲ ἐκ τῆς χερσονήσου

2. In these inscriptions the parties are invariably named after their mothers, not after their fathers.

3. On the coins, with inscriptions in this language, appear the Triquetra (a triangle formed of three human legs—like the device of the Isle of Man, and that which appears on some Sicilian coins), the Asiatic Sphinx, Bellerophon, Pegasus, and Pan.

4. There is a peculiar kind of pointed arch in the rock tombs; and on the bas-reliefs the legends of Sarpedon, Glaucus, and Europa, are common; also the figures of a lion and a bull.

Fellows considers the country to have consisted of a northern and southern division, the metropolis of the former being, in old Lycian *Troouneme*, in Greek *Tlios*; that of the latter, in old Lycian perhaps *Kopalle* perhaps *Arina*, but in Greek *Xanthus*. Other Lycian towns are *Pinara*, *Méré* (Gr. *Myra*), *Gagéa* (Gr. *Gagæ*), *Trabala*, *Ereclé*, and *Pedassia*. Traces of Lycians are also found in the tombs of those cities which the Greeks called *Calynda*, *Teimesus*, *Massicytus*, *Antiphellus*, *Limyra*, and *Cadyanda*, all lying within the district cut off by the range of Taurus running east and west.

<sup>174</sup> καὶ ἄλλοι. Possibly there is a reference here to Halicarnassus. See above, § 144.

<sup>175</sup> Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι Κνίδιοι. This colony was probably founded before the Heraclide invasion, while the Laconian territory was filled with an Achæo-Minyæan population (see note on v. 72), and on this supposition Herodotus's statement is reconcilable with the local traditions of the Cnidians, who considered *Triopas* as their founder (PAUSAN. x. 11. 1). *Triopas* undoubtedly belongs to the religious

system which prevailed in the Peloponnese antecedently to the Heraclide invasion. His son *Pelasgus* was the reputed founder of the temple of *Demeter Pelasgis* at Argos (PAUSAN. ii. 22. 1). His daughter *Messene*, marrying a younger son of *Lelex*, king of *Laconia*, colonized and gave her name to *Messenia* (PAUSAN. iv. 1. 1), and the orgies of the *μεγάλαι θεαί* were brought from *Eleusis* to the newly-occupied territory in her time, although afterwards much extended by *Lycus* the son of *Pandion* (PAUSAN. iv. 1. 5). Under these circumstances the *Apollo* of the *Triopian* temple would be nearly identical with the *Achæan* deity worshipped at *Thornax*, and at *Amyclæ* (see note 236). The coins of *Cnidus* bear the impress of *Aphrodite*, *Apollo*, *Dionysus*, *Athene*, and *Poseidon*; with which last undoubtedly *Triopas* has much affinity. See the myths relative to him given (*sub voce*) in *Smith's Dictionary of Biography and Mythology*, and the description of the offering of the *Cnidians* in note 492.

<sup>176</sup> τῆς χώρας . . . τὸ δὲ Τρίπιον καλεῖται. "Their domain looking seaward, and commencing from the Bubassian peninsula, that which goes by the name *Triopium*." I have transposed the clauses of the sentence. In the MSS which Gaisford follows, the words τὸ δὲ Τρ. α. come between πόντον and ἀργμένης, allowing of no adequate sense. In the peninsula in question there was a *τέμενος* of *Artemis* (called in Egyptian *Bubasti*, ii. 137. 156), possibly for the belief of Egyptianized Greeks who traded to *Cnidus*, just as there was a temple at *Naucratis*, at which the *Cnidians* sacrificed (ii. 178). *Diodorus* gives the legend by which the Greeks connected this *Perithemnos*, as he calls her, with the *Triopian*

τῆς Βυβασσίδος τὸ δὴ Τριόπιον καλέσται, εὐούσης τε πάσης [τῆς Κνιδίης,] πλὴν ὀλίγης περιρροῦν (τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορῇν ἄνεμον ὁ Κεραμεικὸς κόλπος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἢ κατὰ Σύμην τε καὶ Ῥόδον θάλασσα) τὸ ὦν δὴ ὀλίγον τοῦτο, ἐὼν ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πέντε στάδια, ὥρυσσον οἱ Κνιδιοὶ ἐν ὅσῳ Ἀρπαγὸς τὴν Ἰωνίην κατεστρέφετο, βουλόμενοι νῆσον τὴν χώρην ποιῆσαι· ἐντὸς δὲ πᾶσά σφι ἐγένετο<sup>189</sup>. τῇ γὰρ ἡ Κνιδίη χώρῃ ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τελευτᾷ, αὐτῇ ὁ ἰσθμὸς ἐστὶ τὸν ὥρυσσον καὶ δὴ πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐργαζομένων τῶν Κνιδίων, μᾶλλον γάρ τι καὶ θειότερον ἐφαίνοντο τιτρώσκεισθαι οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ οἰκότος τά τε ἄλλα τοῦ σώματος καὶ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς θραυομένης τῆς πέτρης, ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους ἐπερησομένους τὸ ἀντίξουν ἢ δὲ Πυθίῃ σφι, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κνιδιοὶ λέγουσι, χρᾶ ἐν τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε

The Cnidi-  
ans at first  
make an  
effort, but  
the Delphic  
oracle dis-  
couragees  
them.

Ἴσθμῶν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε, μήθ' ὀρόσσετε·

Ζεὺς γὰρ κ' ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἰ κ' ἐβόλετο.

Κνιδιοὶ μὲν, ταῦτα τῆς Πυθίης χρησάσης, τοῦ τε ὀρύγματος ἐπαύ-  
σαντο καὶ Ἀρπάγῳ ἐπίοντι σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀμαχητὶ σφεας αὐτοὺς  
παρέδωσαν. Ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασέες<sup>190</sup> οἰκούντες ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ 175  
μεσόγαίαν τοῖσι ὅκως τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδεον ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοῖσι τε  
καὶ τοῖσι περιοίκοις, ἡ ἱερεὶά τῆς Ἀθηναίης πύγωνα μέγαν ἴσχει  
τρὶς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο<sup>191</sup>. οὗτοι τῶν περὶ Καρίην ἀνδρῶν μόνον  
τε ἀντέσχον χρόνον Ἀρπάγῳ καὶ πρήγματα παρέσχον πλείστα,  
ὄρος τειχίσαντες τῷ οὐνομὰ ἐστὶ Λίδη.

The Peda-  
seans near  
Halicarnas-  
sus alone  
make a  
strong re-  
sistance.

Apollo (v. 63). It seems therefore scarcely doubtful, that the same peninsula which the Cnicians called Triopium, the navigators, whose home was in Egypt, would call the Bubassian peninsula; and it becomes highly probable, under such circumstances, that Cnidius furnished one instance among many of the intercourse of Achæans and Egyptians, at least for the purposes of commerce, in very early times. See the note on ii. 154. It should be however remarked, that *Βυβασσίδης* is a conjectural emendation of Voss's (by the help of a passage in POMFONIUS MELA, i. 16), all the MSS having *Βυβασίης*.

<sup>189</sup> ἐγένετο. This is the conjectural emendation of Bekker, the MSS having the aorist ἐγένετο. It is equivalent to ἐμελλε γενήσεσθαι.

<sup>190</sup> ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασέες. This phrase

seems to indicate that, at the time Herodotus was writing, a town Πήδασα no longer existed. These Pedasians were originally, according to some accounts, Leleges from Ida (see note on viii. 87, ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνθένων). STRABO says that in his time the region was called Pedasis, but that there were no traces of the town. Possibly when Miletus was taken (vi. 20), and the land round about it given to the Pedaseans, Pedasa was razed to the ground. Strabo speaks of traces of Leleges remaining at Miletus, as well as throughout Caria (τάφοι καὶ ἐρύματα καὶ ἵχνη κατοικίων δέικνυται, xiii. c. 1, p. 128). The remains at Miletus are perhaps due to the occupation mentioned by Herodotus (vi. 20).

<sup>191</sup> τρὶς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο. See note on viii. 104, δὲς ἤδη ἐγένετο.

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Obstinate  
defence of  
Xanthus  
in Lycia.

Πηδασέες μὲν νυν χρόνῳ ἐξαιρέθησαν. Λύκιοι δὲ, ὡς ἐς τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδῖον ἤλασε<sup>593</sup> ὁ Ἄρπαγος τὸν στρατὸν, ὑπεξιώντες καὶ μαχόμενοι ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀρετὰς ἀπεδείκνυντο· ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ κατειληθέντες ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, συνήλισαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, καὶ ἔπειτα ὑπήψαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πᾶσαν ταύτην καλεσθαι ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνομώσαντες ὄρκους δεινοὺς, ὑπεξελθόντες ἀπέθανον πάντες Ξάνθιοι μαχόμενοι· τῶν δὲ νῦν Λυκίων φαμένων Ξανθίων εἶναι, οἱ πολλοὶ, πλὴν ὀγδώκοντα ἰστίων, εἰσὶ ἐπήλυδες· αἱ δὲ ὀγδώκοντα ἰστίαι αὐταὶ ἔτυχον τῆνικαῦτα ἐκδημέουσai, καὶ οὕτω περιεγέγοντο· τὴν μὲν δὴ Ξάνθον οὕτως ἔσχε ὁ Ἄρπαγος<sup>594</sup>. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Καῦνον ἔσχε. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καῦνιοι τοὺς

177

Cyrus him-  
self subdues  
Upper Asia.

Λυκίους ἐμμήσαντο τὰ πλέω. Τὰ μὲν νυν κάτω τῆς Ἀσίης Ἄρπαγος ἀνάστατα ἐποίησε, τὰ δὲ ἄνω αὐτῆς αὐτὸς Κύρος, πᾶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος καὶ οὐδὲν παριείς. τὰ μὲν νυν αὐτῶν πλέω παρήσομεν· τὰ δὲ οἱ παρέσχε πόνον τε πλεῖστον καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατά ἐστι, τούτων ἐπιμνήσομαι.

178

Babylon, its  
size.

Κύρος<sup>594</sup> ἐπεὶ τε τὰ πάντα τῆς ἡπείρου ὑποχείρια ἐποίησατο, Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐπετίθετο. τῆς δὲ Ἀσσυρίης ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν κού καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα μεγάλα πολλὰ, τὸ δὲ ὀνομαστότατον καὶ ἰσχυ-

<sup>593</sup> ὡς ἐς τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδῖον ἤλασε. It will be observed that Herodotus is entirely silent as to the subjugation of the northern division of Lycia (see note 585), and also does not mention any of the many towns in the country, other than Xanthus and Patara, with which there was the most habitual commercial intercourse on the part of the Greeks. For a possible reason of the fragmentary account given of the campaign in Caria, Caunia, and Lycia, see the next note.

<sup>594</sup> τὴν μὲν δὴ Ξάνθον οὕτως ἔσχε ὁ Ἄρπαγος. In the monument discovered by FELLOWES (a model of which is in the British Museum), which is supposed to represent the capture of Xanthus, it has been remarked that the costume both of the besiegers and defenders is the same, and is the ordinary Greek armour. Perhaps this may arise from the circumstance of the monument having been executed long after the event it commemorates,—Leake and Head conjecture 150 years;—but on the other hand it may have been by a force levied in Ionia and Æolis, under

Persian command (see § 171, *init.*), that Xanthus was reduced, without Asiatic troops being employed in that part of the operations. And this may furnish a clue to the very strange fact noticed in the last note. Herodotus apparently has only Hellenic traditions to follow: and the Hellenic forces employed by Harpagus may have acted only against the particular places he mentions. Of what was done by the other *corps* of the grand army they would be ignorant; and therefore no memory of the transactions would be preserved. And also, as becoming early incorporated among the Persian auxiliaries, the circumstances of their own subjugation would die away in their recollections, and thus produce the similar omission noticed in the note 476. It may be also doubted whether, in some important instances, the vassalage of the Ionians and Æolians to the Persian king was altogether involuntary. See the note on iv. 138, ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι.

<sup>595</sup> Κύρος. S, V, &, and *d* here resume the thread of the history (see note 468) with the words Κύρος δὲ.

ρότατον καὶ ἔνθα σφί Νίνου ἀναστάτου γενομένης τὰ βασιλῆϊα  
κατεστήκεε ἦν Βαβυλῶν<sup>196</sup>, ἐοῦσα τοιαύτη δὴ τις· πόλις κέεται ἐν  
πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ, μέγαθος ἐοῦσα μέτωπον ἑκαστον εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν  
σταδίων, ἐούσης τετραγώνου· οὔτοι στάδιοι τῆς περιόδου τῆς  
πόλιος γίνονται συνάπαντες ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι· τὸ μὲν  
νυν μέγαθος τοσοῦτόν ἐστι τοῦ ἄστεος τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου. ἐκε-  
κόσμητο<sup>196</sup> δὲ ὥς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν τάφρος μὲν  
πρῶτά μιν βαθέα τε καὶ εὐρέα καὶ πλήη ὕδατος περιθέει· μετὰ δὲ,  
τείχος πεντήκοντα μὲν πηχέων βασιλεῶν ἐὼν τὸ εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ,  
διηκοσίων πηχέων (ὁ δὲ βασιλῆϊος πῆχυς τοῦ μετρίου ἐστὶ  
πῆχυς μέζων τρισὶ δακτύλοις<sup>197</sup>). Δεῖ δὴ με πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι 179  
φράσαι, ἵνα τε ἐκ τῆς τάφρου ἡ γῆ ἀναισιμώθη καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὄντινα  
τρόπον ἔργαστο. ὀρύσσοντες ἅμα τὴν τάφρον ἐπλίνθουον τὴν γῆν  
τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἐκφερομένην, ἐλκύσαντες δὲ πλίνθους<sup>198</sup> ἱκα-  
νὰς ὥπτησαν αὐτὰς ἐν καμίνουσι· μετὰ δὲ, τέλματι χρεώμενοι  
ἀσφάλτῃ θερμῇ, καὶ διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων πλίνθου ταρσοὺς καλά-  
μων διαστοιβάζοντες<sup>199</sup>, ἔδειμαν πρῶτα μὲν τῆς τάφρου τὰ χεῖλεα,

Mode of  
building the  
walls.

Use of  
asphalt for  
mortar;

<sup>196</sup> ἦν Βαβυλῶν. Herodotus speaks of this city in the past tense, a form of speech appropriate to an extremely altered condition. Compare ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασεῖς above, § 176, and THUCYDIDES, i. 10: *ὅτι μὲν Μικῆμαι μικρὸν ἦν*, (Mycenae having at the time he wrote been dismantled by the Argives.) So, below, the expression ἐκεκόσμητο, and § 180, *τετείχιστο* is used.

<sup>198</sup> ἐκεκόσμητο. Here again the tense used is such as to imply that the state of things described no longer existed. The dimensions assigned by Herodotus, if reduced to English measures, give in round numbers for the periphery of the rampart 55 miles, 340 feet for the height, and 85 feet for the thickness of the walls. Some idea may be formed of the magnitude of the work by conceiving a viaduct for five or six lines of railway of the height of St. Paul's Cathedral carried from the Shoreditch to the Cambridge Station of the Eastern Counties Railway. Supposing the wall to be at the summit only half the thickness of the base, the mere *laying* of the bricks above the level of the ditch would, at an extremely favourable computation, have employed the incessant labour of 178,000 men for eleven months. This does not include those employed in excavating the earth, making the bricks, preparing the mortar,

overlooking the task-work, or any other service whatever.

<sup>197</sup> μέζων τρισὶ δακτύλοις. There is a good deal of difficulty in understanding this notice if we suppose the δακτύλοι to be each the twenty-fourth part of the common πῆχυς, which would be the obvious way of taking the passage. BOECKH (*Metrolologische Untersuchungen*, pp. 212, *seqq.*) has shown very satisfactorily that the βασιλῆϊος πῆχυς stood to the common one in the relation of the cube-root of 3 to the cube-root of 2. He estimates the former at 234·654975 Paris lines (= 20·8397 inches), and the latter at 204·99 lines. Now, if the "three dactyls" be common ones, the addition of them to the common cubit will give only 230·615 lines, which is 4·04 lines too little. If, however, they are royal ones, their addition will make the royal cubit 234·322 lines, which is only  $\frac{322}{1000}$  of a line too small, quite an inconsiderable quantity in practice, being about the  $\frac{1}{16}$  of an inch. For a reason why the royal πῆχυς should have been tacitly adopted, see note on ii. 168. It was nearly coincident with the *Egyptian* and the *Samian*, i.e. with the measure familiar to merchants.

<sup>199</sup> ἐλκύσαντες πλίνθους. See below, ii. 136, πλίνθους ἐλκυσαν.

<sup>199</sup> ταρσοὺς καλάμων διαστοιβάζοντες,



δεύτερα δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπάνω δὲ τοῦ τεύχεος παρὰ τὰ ἔσχατα, οἰκήματα μονόκωλα<sup>600</sup> ἔδειμαν τετραμμένα ἐς ἀλλήλα· τὸ μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἔλιπον τεθρίπῃ περιέλασιν. πύλαι δὲ ἐνεστᾶσι πέριξ τοῦ τεύχεος ἑκατὸν, χάλκεαι πᾶσαι, καὶ σταθμοὶ τε καὶ ὑπέρθυρα ὡσαύτως. ἔστι δὲ ἄλλη πόλις ἀπέχουσα ὀκτὼ ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος<sup>601</sup>. Ἴς οὖνομα αὐτῇ· ἔνθα ἔστι ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας· Ἴς καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ οὖνομα ἐσβάλλει δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τὸ ῥέθρον. οὗτος ὦν ὁ Ἴς ποταμὸς ἅμα τῷ ὕδατι θρόμβους ἀσφάλτου ἀναδιδοὶ πολλοὺς· ἔνθεν ἡ ἀσφαλτος ἐς τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τεῖχος ἐκομίσθη. Τετείχιστο<sup>602</sup> μὲν νυν ἡ Βαβυλὼν τῷ τῷ τοιῷδε. ἔστι δὲ δύο φάρσες<sup>603</sup> τῆς πόλιος· τὸ γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ποταμὸς διέρχει, τῷ οὖνομά ἐστι Εὐφρήτης. ῥέει δὲ ἐξ Ἀρμενίων ἐὼν μέγας καὶ βαθὺς καὶ ταχύς· ἐξίει<sup>604</sup> δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. τὸ ὦν δὴ τεῖχος ἐκάτερον τοὺς ἀγκῶνας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλήλαται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου [αἱ ἐπικαμπαὶ] παρὰ χεῖλος ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ αἵμασιν πλύνθων ὀπτέων παρατείνει. τὸ δὲ ἄστυ αὐτὸ, ἐὼν

whence procured.

180

The city is divided by the Euphrates.

"interposing layers of wattled reeds." According to RENNELL, modern travellers find a layer of this description "at every sixth, seventh, or eighth course in *Aggar-kuf*, apparently a Babylonish building; and M. Beauchamp found them at every course in some of the buildings in Babylon." (*Geography of Herodotus*, p. 353.) RICH (*Memoir on Babylon*) confirms this statement. The walls of *Sais* are built in a similar manner. See WILKINSON, quoted in note on ii. 169.

<sup>600</sup> οἰκήματα μονόκωλα. These appear to be a mere covered way along the summit of the wall, on each side of it, something like what is seen in the streets of Bern, and in parts of Chester. One great advantage would be the shade which it furnished to foot-passengers. It does not seem necessary to translate τεθρίπῃ περιέλασιν, "room to turn a quadriga," the sense "room for a quadriga to drive round the walls" being as appropriate. STRABO's account is, that there is good room to pass: ὡς τέθριππα ἐναντιοδρομεῖν ἀλλήλοις βῆδibus (xvi. c. i. p. 335).

<sup>601</sup> ὀκτὼ ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος. If these be reckoned as caravan journeys of sixteen miles a day, the site of Babylon may be very fairly determined. Taking the ruin now called the tower of Belus

for the centre of the city, its latitude is 32° 31' N.; and 128 geographical miles above, reckoning along the bank of the Euphrates, is a town called *Hit*, near which are some bituminous fountains. These are no doubt the ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας, and *Hit* the Ἴς of Herodotus. (RENNELL, *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 350.)

<sup>602</sup> τετείχιστο. See note 595 and 596.

<sup>603</sup> φάρσες. This is probably the Greek form of the Chaldaic word which signified a division. The root is apparently the same as that of the word *Pharisee*, and of the expressions *ὑψηλοῖς* and *peres* in DANIEL (v. 25, 28).

<sup>604</sup> ἐξίει. Schaefer writes this word, which is a present tense, ἐξίει. But Schweighäuser rightly argues that it must be regarded as derived from the full form ἐξίειε, not by the contraction of the two last syllables into one, which would be alien from the genius of the Ionic dialect, but by the elision of the penultimate syllable for the sake of euphony. This proceeding would be analogous to the derivation of αἰτέο, ἐξηγέο, φοβέαι, προθυμέαι, Ἡρακλέος, from αἰτέο, ἐξηγέο, φοβέαι, προθυμέαι, Ἡρακλέες. See also notes 138 and 314, above.

πλήρες οἰκίεων τριωρόφων τε καὶ τετρωρόφων<sup>605</sup>, κατατέμνηται τὰς ὁδοὺς ἰθείας, τὰς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἔχουσας. κατὰ δὴ ὧν ἐκάστην ὁδὸν ἐν τῇ αἵμασιῇ τῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδες ἐπήσαν<sup>606</sup>, ὅσαι περ αἰ λαῦραι τοσαῦται ἀριθμόν ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ χάλκεαι, φέρουσai καὶ αὐταὶ ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμόν. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος θώρηξ ἐστί· ἕτερον δὲ 181  
ἔσθθεν τεῖχος περιβεί, οὐ πολλῶ τέφ ἀσθενέστερον τοῦ ἐτέρου  
τεῖχος στενωπότερον δέ. ἐν δὲ φάρσει ἐκατέρφ<sup>607</sup> τῆς πόλιος  
τετελίστο ἐν μέσφ ἐν τῷ ἦεν τὰ βασιλῆα<sup>608</sup>, περιβόλφ μεγάλη  
τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ<sup>609</sup>. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρφ, Διὸς Βήλου ἱρὸν χαλκόπυλον,  
καὶ ἐς ἐμέ τοῦτο ἔτι ἐόν<sup>610</sup>, δύο σταδίων πάντη, ἐὼν τετράγωνον. ἐν  
μέσφ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ  
μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέ-  
βηκε καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρις οὐ ὀκτὼ πύργων· ἀνα-  
βασίς δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔσθθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα  
πεποιήται· μεσοῦντι δὲ κου τῆς ἀναβάσιός ἐστι καταγωγὴ τε καὶ  
θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀνα-

In each division a large edifice existed: in one the royal palace; in the other, the temple of Belus still remains.

Its dimensions,

description,

<sup>605</sup> τριωρόφων τε καὶ τετρωρόφων. The MSS have τριωρόφων, which is probably a mere mistake. DIONYSIUS (*Art. Rhet.* i. 3) seems to have found τετρωρόφων καὶ ἑξωρόφων, which is more likely to have been from a variation in the MS which he used, than from a slip of the memory. See note 352.

<sup>606</sup> ἐπήσαν. The manuscript S has ἰσθήκεσαν.

<sup>607</sup> ἐν δὲ φάρσει ἐκατέρφ. S, V, b, d leave out what follows to the beginning of § 184. It is very remarkable that STRABO speaks of the walls of Babylon and of the hanging garden as if they still existed, though he does not positively say so. But of the temple of Belus (which he calls Βήλου τάφος) he expressly says it was in ruins, having been destroyed, according to report, by Xerxes (see note 631). Alexander, he adds, wished to restore it, but was prevented by the magnitude of the works; for the clearing away of the rubbish employed 10,000 men, and just afterwards the king died, and his successors thought nothing more of the matter (xvi. c. i. p. 336). See note 610.

<sup>608</sup> ἦεν τὰ βασιλῆα. The MS F has ἦεν τὰ β. Gronovius reads from conjecture ἐν τῷ μὲν τὰ β., which is ap-

proved by Bekker. Another conjectural change is ἐν τῷ μὲν ἐν τ. β. But there appears to be an intentional opposition between the palace "which had existed" and the temple of Bel which was "remaining to the author's time." See, however, the last note.

<sup>609</sup> I should be inclined to transpose the clause περιβόλφ μεγάλη τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ, and to read τετελίστο ἐν μέσφ, περιβόλφ μεγάλη τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ, ἐν τῷ ἦεν τὰ βασιλῆα, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρφ, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>610</sup> καὶ ἐς ἐμέ τοῦτο ἔτι ἐόν. It is to me doubtful whether this is the assertion of Herodotus as an eye-witness. See the passage from STRABO, quoted in note 607. Strabo's account of the original dimensions of the tomb (which he says had been a pyramid) makes each side one stade, and the height the same. He makes no mention of a precinct, probably because the space between it and the central monument was covered with the ruins of the latter, and the whole area was reckoned as the base of the tomb. The dimensions which he gives of the walls of the city are very much below those of Herodotus. See the note on iv. 124, τῶν ἔτι ἐς ἐμέ τὰ εἰρήνια οἶα ἦν.

and ritual on the summit, superintended by Chaldean priests.

182

Similar customs at Egyptian Thebes and Patara.

183

Another temple on the same site below, with a golden statue of Zeus, and an altar.

Another large altar.

A colossus of solid gold once existed, carried off by Xerxes.

βαίνοντες· ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ νῆος ἔπεστι μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῷ νηφὶ κλίνη μεγάλη κέεται εὖ ἐστρωμένη, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα παρακείμεται χρυσῇ· ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἐνι οὐδὲν αὐτόθι ἐνδρυμένον οὐδὲ νύκτα οὐδεὶς ἐναυλίζεται ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μὴ γυνὴ μούνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τὴν ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἔλθῃ ἐκ πασέων, ὥς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, εἶντες ἱρέες τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ. Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν τε ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ ἀμπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, κατὰ περ ἐν Θήβῃσι τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὥς λέγουσι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖθι κοιμάται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Θηβαίου<sup>111</sup> γυνὴ· ἀμφότεραι δὲ αὐταὶ λέγονται ἀνδρῶν οὐδαμῶν ἐς ὁμίλῃν φοιτᾶν καὶ κατὰ περ ἐν Πατάροις τῆς Λυκίας ἢ πρόμαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὰν γένηται· οὐ γὰρ ὦν αἰεὶ ἐστὶ χρηστήριον αὐτόθι<sup>112</sup>. ἐπεὰν δὲ γένηται, τότε ὦν συγκατακληῖται τὰς νύκτας ἔσω ἐν τῷ νηφί. "Ἔστι δὲ τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱεροῦ καὶ ἄλλος κάτω νηός<sup>113</sup>. ἐνθα ἄγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Διὸς ἐνι κατήμενον χρύσειον, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα μεγάλη παρακείμεται χρυσῇ, καὶ τὸ βάθρον οἱ καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρυσεὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ, ὥς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, τάλαντων<sup>114</sup> ὀκτακοσίων χρυσίου πεποιεῖται ταῦτα· ἔξω δὲ τοῦ νηοῦ βωμός ἐστι χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς μέγας, ὅπου θύεται τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ χρυσεοῦ βωμοῦ οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν ὅτι μὴ γαλαθηνὰ μούνα· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέζονος βωμοῦ καὶ καταγίξουσι λιβανωτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα<sup>115</sup> ἔτεος ἐκάστου οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, τότε ἐπεὰν τὴν ὀρθὴν ἄγωσι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ. ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ ἔτι τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον<sup>116</sup> καὶ ἀνδριάς δυνάδεκα πηχέων, χρύσεος, στερεός. ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ εἶδον τὰ δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων, ταῦτα λέγω. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδριάντι Δαρεῖος μὲν ὁ Ὀττάσπεος ἐπι-

<sup>111</sup> Θηβαῖος. The MSS which have this form here have in ii. 52 the more common one, Θηβαῖον. In ii. 54, all agree in this form. So little constancy is there in the existing MSS of this author.

<sup>112</sup> οὐ γὰρ ὦν αἰεὶ ἐστὶ χρηστήριον αὐτόθι. The tradition ran, that the deity divided his time between Delos and Patara, passing the summer in the former, and the winter in the latter (SEANIUS, ad *Æn.* iv. 143). Hence HORACE uses the title "Delius et Patareus Apollo." (3 *Od.* iv. 64.)

<sup>113</sup> ἄλλος κάτω νηός. This seems to have been "a crypt."

<sup>114</sup> τάλαντων. The talent here spoken

of will no doubt be the Babylonian; for the magnitude of which see the note on iii. 89, δύναται Εὐβοίας ἐβδομήκοντα μνίας.

<sup>115</sup> χίλια τάλαντα. See the last note.

<sup>116</sup> τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον. It is not very easy to explain this phrase, if we suppose it to have come from the hand of Herodotus. I should be almost inclined to suspect the passage ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει . . . τὸν ἀνδριάντα, a subsequent annotation, and then τ. χρ. ἐκείν. might mean "that time of which Herodotus was just speaking," in the present tense. See note 532.

βουλεύσας, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε λαβεῖν Ἑρέξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου ἔλαβε<sup>617</sup>, καὶ τὸν ἱέρα ἀπέκτεινε ἀπαγορεύοντα μὴ κινέειν τὸν ἀνδριάντα. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὕτω κεκόσμητο<sup>618</sup>, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἴδια ἀναθήματα πολλά.

Τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης<sup>619</sup> πολλοὶ μὲν κου καὶ ἄλλοι ἐγένοντο 184  
 βασιλεές, τῶν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγοισι<sup>620</sup> μνήμην ποιήσομαι, Babylon  
 οἱ τὰ τείχεά τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες had many  
 δύο. ἡ μὲν πρότερον ἄρξασα τῆς ὑστερον γενεῇσι πέντε πρότερον kings of  
 γενομένη, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Σεμίραμις<sup>621</sup>, αὕτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χώματα note, who  
 ἀνὰ τὸ πεδῖον ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητα· πρότερον δὲ ἑώθεε ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνὰ built the  
 τὸ πεδῖον πᾶν πελαγίζειν. Ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενομένη ταύτης walls and  
 βασιλεία, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Νίτωκρις, (αὕτη δὲ συνετωτέρη γενομένη the temple,  
 τῆς πρότερον ἀρξάσης,) τοῦτο μὲν μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ ἐγὼ and among  
 ἀπηγγέλλομαι· τοῦτο δὲ τὴν Μήδων ὀρώσα ἀρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ them two  
 οὐκ ἀτρεμίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τε ἀραιρημένα ἄσπετα αὐτοῖσι ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ women,—  
 τὴν Νίνον<sup>622</sup>, προσφυλάξατο ὅσα ἐδύνατο μάλιστα, πρῶτα μὲν τὸν 185  
 Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ῥέοντα πρότερον ἰδὺν, ὅς σφι διὰ τῆς πόλιος Semiramis,  
 μέσης ῥέει, τοῦτον ἀνωθεν διώρυγας ὀρύξασα οὕτω δὴ τι ἐποίησε and, five  
 σκολιὸν, ὥστε δὴ τρεῖς ἐς τῶν τινὰ κωμέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίῃ generations  
 afterwards,  
 Nitocris,—  
 both notable  
 for their  
 engineering  
 operations  
 with regard  
 to the river.

<sup>617</sup> Ἑρέξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου ἔλαβε. See note 631, and that on iii. 153, τῶν οἱ . . . μία ἔρεκε.

<sup>618</sup> κεκόσμητο. This is the reading retained by Gaisford, on the authority of one MS. The others have κεκόσμηται. See note 595.

<sup>619</sup> τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης. The manuscripts S, V, δ, d, here resume the thread of the narrative from § 181.

<sup>620</sup> ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγοισι. In this portion of his work (which it would seem he never executed), Herodotus probably intended to insert the capture of Nineveh by Cyaxares, of which he promises an account above (§ 106). Compare a similar case, vii. 213. In one MS of ARISTOTLE, the word Ἡρόδοτος stands instead of Ἡρόδοτος, which is the reading of four other MSS, in a passage (*Hist. Animal.* viii. 18) which speaks of a work called the *πολιορκία τῆς Νίνου*: but this doubtful reference is the only one to be found to such a work in all the remaining writers of antiquity.

<sup>621</sup> τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Σεμίραμις. STRABO (xvi. c. i. p. 333) says that there are at-

tributed to her, besides the works at Babylon, πολλά καὶ ἄλλα κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν σχεδόν, ὅση τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης (Asia) ἐστὶ· τὰ τε χώματα ἃ δὴ καλοῦσι Σεμιράμιδος, καὶ τείχη, καὶ ἐρυμάτων κατασκευαί, καὶ συρίγγων τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὀδρῶν, καὶ κλιμάκων, καὶ διωρύχων ἐν ποταμοῖς καὶ λίμναις, καὶ ὁδῶν, καὶ γεφυρῶν. In the early history of Armenia, by MOSES of Chorene, works are attributed to her in the neighbourhood of the lake Van, which appear to be products of the imagination, suggested by volcanic phenomena. At the present day, works which were formerly attributed to Semiramis are ascribed to Nimrod (see note 628). The dyke described in the next section is, not improbably, the very work which STRABO (xi. c. 14, p. 461) describes as τὸ τῆς Σεμιράμιδος καλούμενον διατείχισμα, which was on the Tigris, at no great distance from Opis.

<sup>622</sup> ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νίνον. This capture is represented by Herodotus as taking place in the latter part of the reign of Cyaxares (§ 106). But see note 352.

Circuitous  
navigation.

Pool in the  
vicinity of  
Babylon.

ἀπικνέεται ρέων τῇ δὲ κόμῃ οὐνομά ἐστι ἐς τὴν ἀπικνέεται ὁ  
Εὐφρήτης Ἀρδέρικκα<sup>623</sup>. καὶ νῦν οἱ ἂν κομίζονται ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς  
θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυλῶνα, καταπλέοντες ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποτα-  
μὸν<sup>624</sup> τρίς τε ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην κόμην παραγίνονται καὶ ἐν  
τρισὶ ἡμέρησι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐποίησε, χῶμα δὲ παρέχωνσε  
παρ' ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χεῖλος, ἄξιον θάουματος μέγαθος καὶ  
ὑψος ὅσον τί ἐστι κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῷ Βαβυλῶνος ὄρουσε  
ἐλντρον λίμνη<sup>625</sup> ὀλγὸν τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, βάθος  
μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ ὀρύσσουσα<sup>626</sup> εὖρος δὲ τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ  
ποιεῖσα εἰκοσί τε καὶ τετρακοσίων σταδίων τὸν δὲ ὀρυσσόμενον  
χοῦν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἀναισίου παρὰ τὰ χεῖλεα τοῦ  
ποταμοῦ παραχέουσα, ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οἱ ὄρυκτο, λίθους ἀναγομένη  
κρηπίδα κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν ἤλασε. ἐποίηε δὲ ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα,  
τόν τε ποταμὸν σκολὸν καὶ τὸ δρυγμα πᾶν ἔλος, ὥς δ' τε ποταμὸς  
βραδύτερος εἴη<sup>627</sup> περὶ καμπᾶς πολλὰς ἀγνύμενος, καὶ οἱ πλόοι  
ἔωσι σκολιοὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἕκ τε τῶν πλῶων ἐκδέκῃται περι-  
οδος τῆς λίμνης μακρὴ<sup>628</sup>. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ εἰργάζετο τῆς χώρας τῇ

<sup>623</sup> Ἀρδέρικκα. The σταθμοὶ in the neighbourhood of Susa, where Darius located the captive Eretrians (vi. 119), was called by the same name, which was doubtless significant in Chaldaic. See the note on that passage.

<sup>624</sup> καταπλέοντες ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμόν. This is a very strange phrase, and seems to indicate a belief on the part of the narrator, that a water-passage existed from the Mediterranean (τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης) into the Euphrates; a notion which may possibly have arisen from an indistinct knowledge of the line of traffic passing up the Orontes, and after a land-portage meeting the Euphrates, a course analogous to that by the Phasis and Cyrus, described above in note 363.

<sup>625</sup> ἐλντρον λίμνη, "a reservoir for a pool." Thus ἐλντρα ὀδόντων (iv. 173) are "tanks" to hold the potable water.

<sup>626</sup> ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ ὀρύσσουσα, "digging till she came to water." This is not *stagnant*, but *spring* water, that which rose up from a pervious stratum, after the alluvium of the surface had been removed. I believe that Herodotus never uses the word ὕδωρ except where *potable* water is meant.

<sup>627</sup> ὥς δ' τε ποταμὸς βραδύτερος εἴη. Here no doubt we have the real reason

of the formation of the canal. It was made to equalize the variable supply by the river, which rendered navigation impossible. The pool too, besides its uses as a reservoir, probably formed a dock for the barges to lie in, which, before Babylon was depopulated, must have brought provisions for the use of the population within the walls. The κρηπίς was a stone quay which ran round the margin. But the Greeks, quite unfamiliar with artificial navigation, viewed all the works as parts of a system of defence. See the next note.

<sup>628</sup> ἕκ τε τῶν πλῶων ἐκδέκῃται περίοδος τῆς λίμνης μακρὴ. It seems probable that an additional supply of water for the "pool" was gained by running a dam across the whole or a great part of the river, so that the navigation of the upper Euphrates ended here. The following passage from LAYARD'S *Ninereh* will serve to illustrate not only the text, but also the whole account of the great engineering works attributed to the two queens. The writer was passing down the Tigris in a raft in the middle of April, and in the vicinity of Nimroud "the waters of the river, swollen by the melting of the snows on the Armenian hills, were broken into a thousand foam-

αἷ τε ἐσβολαὶ ἦσαν καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μήδων ὁδοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιμισγόμενοι οἱ Μῆδοι ἐκμανθάνοιεν αὐτῆς τὰ πρήγματα. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περιεβάλετο, τοιήνδε δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενθήκην ἐποίησατο· τῆς πόλιος ἐούσης δύο φαρσέων<sup>629</sup>, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον ἔχοντος, ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων ὅπως τις ἐθέλοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐτέρου φάρσεος ἐς τοῦτερον διαβῆναι, χρῆν πλοῖφ διαβαίνειν καὶ ἦν, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ὀχληρὸν τοῦτο· αὕτη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεῖδε· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ὤρυσσε τὸ ἔλντρον τῇ λίμνῃ, μνημόσυνον τόδε ἄλλο ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλίπετο· ἐτάμνετο λίθους περιμήκειας· ὥς δέ οἱ ἦσαν οἱ λίθοι ἐτοίμοι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀρώρυκτο, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέεθρον πᾶν ἐς τὸ ὤρυσσε χωρίον, ἐν τῷ ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεξηρασμένον τοῦ ἀρχαίου ῥέεθρου, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ χεῖλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ, κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς καταβάσις τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλίδων ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας, ἀνοικοδόμησε πλίνθοισι ὀπτῆσι, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τείχεϊ, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ μέσσην κου μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν<sup>630</sup>, τοῖσι λίθοισι τοὺς ὠρύξατο οἰκοδόμει

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Quays along the banks of the river, and a dam across.

ing whirlpools by an artificial barrier built across the stream. On the eastern bank the soil had been washed away by the current, but a solid mass of masonry still withstood its impetuosity. The Arab who guided my small raft gave himself up to religious ejaculations as we approached this formidable cataract, over which we were carried with some violence. Once safely through the danger, he explained to me that this unusual change in the quiet face of the river was caused by a great dam which had been built by Nimrod, and that in the autumn, before the winter rains, the huge stones of which it was constructed, squared and united by cramps of iron, were frequently visible above the surface of the stream. It was, in fact, one of those monuments of a great people, to be found in all the rivers of Mesopotamia, which were undertaken to ensure a constant supply of water to the innumerable canals spreading like network over the surrounding country, and which, even in the days of Alexander, were looked upon as the works of an ancient nation. No wonder that the traditions of the present inhabitants of the land should assign them to one of the founders of the human race! The Arab explained the connexion between the dam and the city built by *Alhur*, the lieu-

tenant of Nimrod, the vast ruins of which were then before us, and of its purpose as a causeway for the mighty hunter to cross to the opposite palace now represented by the mound of *Hammum Ali*." (Chap. i. p. 9.)

<sup>629</sup> τῆς πόλιος ἐούσης δύο φαρσέων, "the city being one composed of two divisions;" an uncommon construction. There is said to be an ample supply of stone a little above *Hit*, where the bitumen springs were (see note 601), and from hence probably the masses used in the works near Babylon were floated down. That they came from a distance seems implied in the expression λίθους ἀγαγομένην, § 185.

<sup>630</sup> κατὰ μέσσην κου μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν. It is not easy to conceive the operations described by Herodotus as taking place in the order in which he represents. The natural course would be, first to dig the basin, then to form a dam across the river just below the intended entrance, and, finally, to open this. If the last operation took place just when the river began to fall, a considerable time would elapse before the basin filled, and in the meanwhile the bed below the dam would be left dry, and the χεῖλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν might be built up with bricks. But such a dam would not be

γέφυραν δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρῳ τε καὶ μολύβδῳ. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὴν, ὅπως μὲν ἡμέρη γένοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα ἐπ' ὧν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεύντο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι· τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαιρέεσκον τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφοιτέοντες τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ' ἀλλήλων. ὥς δὲ τό τε ὀρυχθὲν λίμνη πλήρης ἐγεγόνει ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμητο, τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ῥέεθρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξήγαγε καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὀρυχθὲν ἔλος γενόμενον ἐς δέον ἐδόκει γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ τοῖσι πολίτησι γέφυρα ἦν κατεσκευασμένη.

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Sepulchre  
of Nitocris  
opened by  
Darius.

Ἡ δ' αὐτὴ αὕτη βασιλεία καὶ ἀπάτην τοιήνδε τινὰ ἐμυχαῖσαστο ὑπὲρ τῶν μάλιστα λεωφόρων πυλέων τοῦ ἄστεος τάφον ἐσυντή κατεσκευάσατο μετέωρον ἐπιπολῆς αὐτέων τῶν πυλέων· ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε ΤΩΝ ΤΙΣ ΕΜΕΤ ὙΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΓΙΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΗΝ ΣΠΑΝΙΣΗΙ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ, ΑΝΟΙΞΑΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΑΦΟΝ ΛΑΒΕΤΩ ὍΚΟΣΑ ΒΟΤΛΕΤΑΙ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΑ. ΜΗ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΓΕ ΜΗ ΣΠΑΝΙΣΑΣ ΓΕ, ΑΛΛΩΣ ΑΝΟΙΞΗΙ· ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΑΜΕΙΝΟΝ. οὗτος ὁ τάφος ἦν ἀκίνητος μέχρι οὗ ἐς Δαρείον περιήλθε ἡ βασιλιή· Δαρεῖω<sup>31</sup> δὲ καὶ δευρὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι τῇσι πύλῃσι ταύτησι μηδὲν χρεῖσθαι, καὶ χρημάτων κειμένων καὶ αὐτῶν [τῶν χρημάτων] ἐπικαλεσμένων, μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά· τῇσι

in the middle of the city, but above it. Possibly a second one was built, the γέφυρα spoken of by Herodotus, in order to head up the water and keep a constant level in the neighbourhood of the palace; an effect which would be produced if a supply was furnished by sluices, some communicating between the "pool" and the "old bed," and the others in the upper dam. This supply would take place only when the river was low, so that its level became inferior to that of "the pool," and the latter, by letting the water out of it, would become a swamp, and oblige those who came down the Euphrates to make a great circuit, thus giving a colour to the notion expressed above (see note 627). It will be seen that all the particular operations spoken of by Herodotus may have taken place, but not in the manner or with the object he represents. Nothing is more likely than that he was unaware of the existence

of the upper dam, which, if it existed in his time, was κατ' ὅσον πολλὰ Βαβυλώνιοι (§ 185).

<sup>31</sup> Δαρεῖω. Ctesias does not appear to have related any expedition of Darius against Babylon, nor any profanation of the tomb by him. But he does make Xerxes open the sarcophagus (πόλεος) of Belitanas (= Belus) there, which was religiously preserved, and fail in the attempt to fill it with oil, as, says Ctesias, καὶ ἐνεγέγραπτο (ap. Photium, Bibl. p. 39, ed. Bekker). ALIAN (Var. Hist. xiii. 3) gives the same account, with fuller particulars, one of which is that the sarcophagus was of glass,—a circumstance which derives some plausibility from the discoveries recently made at Nineveh. STRABO (xvi. c. 1, p. 336) likewise says that the tomb of Belus was in ruins,—“destroyed, as they say, by Xerxes.”

δὲ πύλῃσι ταύτησι οὐδὲν ἐχράτο τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οἱ ἐγένετο ὁ νεκρὸς διεξελαίνοντι· ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον, εὗρε χρήματα μὲν οὗ, τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν, καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· Εἰ μὴ ἀπληστὸς τε εἶας<sup>632</sup> χρήματων καὶ δισχροκερδῆς, ὅτε ἂν νεκρὸν θῆκας ἀνεπίτεσ· αὕτη μὲν νῦν ἡ βασιλεία τοιαύτη τις λέγεται γενέσθαι.

Ὁ δὲ δὴ Κύρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα ἐστρατεύετο, 188  
ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐωντοῦ τοῦνομα Λαβυνήτου<sup>633</sup> καὶ τὴν Cyrus in-  
'Ασσυρίαν ἀρχήν. (στρατεύεται δὲ δὴ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ vades Laby-  
σιτίωσι εὖ ἐσκευασμένοισι ἐξ οἴκου καὶ προβάτοισι· καὶ δὴ καὶ netus, the  
ὑδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ<sup>634</sup> ἅμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα son of Nito-  
ρέοντος, τοῦ μόνου πίνει βασιλεὺς<sup>635</sup> καὶ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ποταμοῦ cria.  
τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπεψημένου πολλὰ κάρτα  
ἅμαξαι τετράκυκλοι ἡμίονοι κομίζουσαι ἐν ἀγγείοισι ἀργυρέοισι,  
ἔπονται ὅπῃ ἂν ἐλαύνῃσι ἐκάστοτε.) Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ὁ Κύρος πορευό- 189  
μενος ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ ποταμῷ<sup>636</sup>, τοῦ αἰ μὲν His anger at  
the river  
Gyndes.

<sup>632</sup> εἶας. The form εἶα is used ii. 19.

<sup>633</sup> Λαβυνήτου. It is questionable whether this name, like the Etruscan *Lars*, is not a title of honour or dignity rather than a proper name. "Labyntus the Babylonian" is mentioned in conjunction with "Syennesis the Cilician" (above, § 74), as mediating a peace between the Lydians and Medes in the year 610 B.C. A Labyntus is also represented as king of the Babylonians, and an ally of Croesus in § 77. It is natural to presume that this latter Labyntus is the same with the one in the text, according to the view of Herodotus; but it does not, from Herodotus, appear in what exact relation he stood to the Labyntus mentioned § 74. Neither does it seem certain that the historical cycle to which the account of Babylon (§§ 178—191) belongs, contained the account of the Lydian and Median war (§§ 73, 74).

<sup>634</sup> τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ. See note on v. 49.

<sup>635</sup> τοῦ μόνου πίνει βασιλεὺς. RENNELL remarks on the much greater importance attached by Asiatics than by Europeans to the quality of water. It may also be observed that some waters travel much better than others; and that this property was considered in the regulation in question seems evident from the boiling the water before bottling it. When

MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE went on his embassy to Cabul, Bahawal Khan sent him four brazen jars of pure water from the Hyphasis, sealed with his own seal, several days' journey into the desert east of the Indus (*Cabul*, p. 15). See too the commendation of the Taurus (iv. 91). For the extremely unusual form ἐλαύνῃσι in the next sentence, several MSS have ἐλαίνῃ.

<sup>636</sup> ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ ποταμῷ. It must be remembered that the march of Cyrus upon Babylon takes place from *Agbatana*, not from *Susa*. (See above, § 153.) This would make it not unreasonable to suppose the Gyndes the *Diyeleh*, which falls into the Tigris from the East a little below Baghdad,—a site which appears to be required by the route of Aristagoras (v. 52). But RENNELL remarks that there is great inaccuracy in the topography, as the language of the author suggests that *Opis* lies on the Tigris below the junction of the Gyndes; whereas it appears from the *Anabasis* of Xenophon (ii. 4. 25) that Opis was twenty parasangs higher up the stream than Sitace, and Sitace above the junction of the Diyeleh. (*Geography of Herodotus*, p. 202.) Certainly the vagueness is against the supposition of Herodotus having himself seen the site of Cyrus's exploit, the story of which appears to be a later legend



πηγαὶ ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι οὖρεσι<sup>637</sup>, ῥέει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων<sup>638</sup>, ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τίγριν· ὁ δὲ παρὰ Ὀπιν πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοὶ· τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο ὁ Κῦρος, εὐντα νηυσιπέρητον<sup>639</sup>, ἐνθαυτὰ οἱ τῶν τις ἱρῶν ἱππων τῶν λευκῶν<sup>640</sup> ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσβάς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν, διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο· ὁ δὲ μιν συμψήσας ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦτο ὑβρίζαντι, καὶ οἱ ἐπητείλῃσε οὕτω δὴ μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσκειν, ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναικάς μιν εὐπετέως τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας διαβήσεσθαι· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπειλὴν, μετεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα στρατεύουσιν διαίρειε τὴν στρατιὴν δίχα, διελὼν δὲ, κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας ὑποδέξας διώρυχας<sup>641</sup> ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παρ' ἑκάτερον

to account for certain works of irrigation. (See note 621.) The city *Opis* was, according to Xenophon, one of importance; and the especial particulars which a Greek merchant would know of it would be that it was in the vicinity of an important water communication with the Eastern markets. As to whether it was higher or lower than the natural mouth of the Gyndes he would neither know nor care. The importance of the site for a commercial city is evident from the fact that it was the point *up to which* Alexander made the Tigris navigable from the sea (STRABO, xvi. cap. i. p. 338).

<sup>637</sup> ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι οὖρεσι. See note 681.

<sup>638</sup> διὰ Δαρδανέων. One MS (K) has *Δαρδανέων*. RAWLINSON (*Geogr. Journal*, vol. ix. p. 28), with great plausibility, proposes to read *διὰ Δαρνέων*. The Diyeleh in its upper course flows through a remarkable defile called *Darneh* (lat. 35° 10', long. 46° 30'), which he identifies with the *Darna* of PROLEMY, and supposes to be alluded to here.

<sup>639</sup> εὐντα νηυσιπέρητον, "being a river crossed by a ferry," or possibly "by a bridge of boats." The Diyeleh "is crossed by a bridge of boats a little above its mouth, and its breadth is there sixty yards." (*Penny Cyclopædia*, vol. iii. p. 267.) The same writer, speaking from personal observation, says, "at Bakooba, about forty miles above its mouth, it may, during the summer, be forded on horseback, although its stream is very rapid."

<sup>640</sup> τῶν τις ἱρῶν ἱππων τῶν λευκῶν. This feature in the narrative, like that of the transport of the Choaspes water,

bespeaks a pomp and state proper to the Persian kings *after* the time of Darius (see vii. 40), but hardly before. It implies a high development of the worship of the *Sea-god* (see vii. 54, 55); and this circumstance, combined with the number 360 (that of the days in the Babylonian and Egyptian year), leads me to think that the temple of Belus at Babylon is probably the locality where this story originated. The number 360 entered so much into Persian ideas in after-times, that STRABO speaks of a popular song, of which the subject is the useful qualities of the date-palm, and of these *that number* is enumerated (xvi. c. i. p. 343).

<sup>641</sup> κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας . . . διώρυχας. There seems little doubt this work was entirely one of irrigation, by which the neighbourhood both of the Euphrates and the Tigris was brought into a state of garden cultivation. The Greeks probably became generally familiar, for the first time, with this process, by the expedition of the 10,000. XENOPHON (*Anab.* ii. 4. 13) describes very graphically two canals running out of the Tigris, which the army passed, the one on a bridge, the other on a raft of seven boats: κατέτεμντο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τάφροι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν αἱ μὲν πρῶται μεγάλαι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐλάττους, τέλος δὲ καὶ μικροὶ ὄχθοι, ὥστερ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπὶ τὰς μελίνας. And, if the Gyndes be the Diyeleh, that river actually formed the principal feeder of a system of irrigation on the east bank of the Tigris. "The most important of these canals," says an eye-witness, "is the Naharawan, which commenced near

τὸ χεῖλος τετραμμένως τοῦ Γύνδεω πάντα τρόπον διατάξας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε· οἷα δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζομένου ἦνετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὅμως μέντοι τὴν θερεῖν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ταύτη διέτριψαν ἐργαζόμενοι.

Ὡς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κύρος ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ 190  
 ἐξήκοντά μιν διώρυχας διαλαβὼν<sup>642</sup>, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, He advances  
 οὕτω δὴ ἤλανε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα· οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ἐκστρατευ- upon Baby-  
 σάμενοι ἔμενον αὐτόν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐλαύνων ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλιος, second  
 συνέβαλόν τε οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ κατειλήθησαν spring, and  
 ἐς τὸ ἄστυ· οἷα δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἔτι πρότερον τὸν Κύρον οὐκ shuts the  
 ἀτρεμίζοντα, ἀλλ' ὀρέοντες αὐτὸν παντὶ ἔθνεϊ ὁμοίως ἐπιχειρόντα, enemy up  
 προεσάξαντο σιτία ἐτέων κάρτα πολλῶν. ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν λόγον in their  
 εἶχον τῆς πολιορκίης οὐδένα· Κύρος δὲ ἀπορήσει ἐνείχετο, ἅτε walls.  
 χρόνου τε ἐγγινομένου συχυοῦ ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδὲν τῶν πρηγμάτων  
 προκοπτομένων. Εἴτε δὴ ὦν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέοντι ὑπεθήκατο εἴτε 191  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἦν, ἐποίησε δὴ τοιούτῃ τάξας τὴν He succeeds  
 στρατιὴν ἅπασαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν in taking  
 ἐσβάλλει, καὶ ὅπισθε αὐτῆς τῆς πόλιος τάξας ἐτέρους τῇ ἐξίει ἐκ the city by  
 τῆς πόλιος ὁ ποταμὸς, προεῖπε τῷ στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατὸν τὸ a stratagem.  
 ῥέεθρον ἴδωνται γενόμενον, ἐσιέναι ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω τε  
 δὴ τάξας καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα παραινέσας, ἀπήλανε αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ  
 ἀχρητῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην, τὰ περ ἢ τῶν  
 Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεία ἐποίησε κατὰ τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν  
 λίμνην, ἐποίησε καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἕτερα τοιαῦτα· τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν δι-  
 ὠρυχι ἐσαγωγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην εὐῶσαν ἔλος, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον δια-  
 βατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ γενομένου δὲ  
 τούτου τοιούτου, οἱ Πέρσαι οὔπερ ἐτετάχατο ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ  
 τὸ ῥέεθρον τοῦ Εὐφρήτῳ ποταμοῦ, ὑπονοεωσθηκότος ἀνδρὶ ὥς ἐς  
 μέσον μηρὸν μάλιστά κη, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσήεσαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυ-  
 λῶνα<sup>643</sup>. εἰ μὲν νυν προεπύθοντο ἢ ἔμαθον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ

Samara on the east bank of the Tigris, from whence its remains may be traced to below Koote; and, although all further traces are lost in the marshes of Susiana, it appears that it originally extended to the Kerah. It received the Diyeleh in its course, and it is a fact notorious in the neighbourhood, that the existing channel of that river, from the Naharawan to the

Tigris, is of comparatively recent formation." (*Penny Cyclopædia*, vol. iii. p. 267.) See notes 621 and 636.

<sup>642</sup> διαλαβόν. See note 402.

<sup>643</sup> κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσήεσαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. That the coup-de-main of Cyrus could have been executed in the way described is impossible to conceive. The pool into which he is said to have turned

τοῦ Κύρου ποιούμενον, οὐδ' ἂν περιϋδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφθειραν κάκιστα· κατακληίσαντες γὰρ ἂν πάσας τὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδας ἐχούσας, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἵμασιās ἀναβάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ χεῖλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλαμένας, ἔλαβον ἂν σφεας ὡς ἐν κύρτῃ<sup>644</sup>. νῦν δὲ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκίτου σφὶ παρέστησαν οἱ Πέρσαι. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῆς πόλιος, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλιος ἐαλωκότων, τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκόντας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὐ μανθάνειν ἐαλωκότας<sup>645</sup>. ἀλλὰ (τυχεῖν γάρ σφὶ εἴδυσαν ὀρτὴν) χορεύειν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι εἶναι, ἐς δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸ κάρτα ἐπύθοντο.

192

Immense  
resources  
of Baby-  
lonia.

Καὶ Βαβυλῶν μὲν οὕτω τότε πρῶτον ἀραιήρητο. τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι δηλώσω ὅση τίς ἐστι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς τροφήν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιῆς διαραιήρηται, πᾶρεξ τοῦ φόρου, γῇ πᾶσα ὅσης ἄρχει· δυνάδεκα ὧν μηνῶν ἐόντων ἐς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας τρέφει μὴν ἡ Βαβυλωνίη χώρα, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἡ λοιπὴ

the river was far above the city, and was already empty. As it was the summer time, its bottom would (if the theory in the note 630 be well founded) be little, if at all, below the level of the neighbouring river. The water therefore would have had to run up hill in order to get into it from the centre of Babylon. But, if the level of the pool be supposed such as to admit of the operation as described by Herodotus, it could not have been a swamp at the time, as he states it to have been,—nor could the operation of Nitocris ever have taken place.

The whole of the proceeding is very intelligible however, if the works were such as imagined in the note above referred to, and the siege was laid not to the whole town but to the palace-fortress,—no longer standing, apparently, in the time of Herodotus, but which DIONORUS (ii. 8 and 11), probably from Ctesias, and STRABO (xvi. p. 336), describe as built on the bank of the river, with well-watered ornamental gardens. These could not have been kept up in the dry season without damming up the water, as suggested in the above note. The destruction of this dam would readily and rapidly effect the lowering of the water, and a scaling party being directed upon the wall at the *farthest* part from the dam, where of course the water would

first be sufficiently low, would meet but little opposition. The scientific Babylonians probably looked upon the Persians as the generals of 1745 might on the Highland invaders of England, and, when Cyrus appeared to withdraw his army, thought the risk was over. From the suggestion of Herodotus, *εἴτε ἄλλος εἰ ἀπορέοντι ἐπεθήκετο*, one may conjecture that a Babylonian deserter, or some other person, might have pointed out to him the mode of striking a fatal blow.

<sup>644</sup> *κύρτῃ*. The MS S has the reading *κυρτήφ*, from an incorporation of the marginal reading *κύρτφ* with the textual *κύρτῃ*, or the converse.

<sup>645</sup> *οὐ μανθάνειν ἐαλωκότας*. ARISTOTLE, speaking of the magnitude of the city, says, *ἥ γὰρ φασιν ἐαλωκυίας τρίτην ἡμέραν οὐκ αἰσθῆσθαι τι μέρος τῆς πόλεως*. (*Politic.* iii. p. 1276.) The statement given by Herodotus seems to result from a blending of this fact together with the other well-known one, that a festival was going on in the palace. It may be observed in reference to the explanation given in note 643, that a passage of the Old Testament (JEREMIAH li. 31), which in our version appears opposed to it, is not at all so in Dathe's translation. In the LXX it does not exist.

πᾶσα Ἀσίη οὕτω τρυτημορή ἢ Ἀσσυρίη χώρα τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίας καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, τὴν οἱ Πέρσαι σατραπητὴν καλέουσι, ἔστι ἀπασέων τῶν ἀρχέων πολλόν τι κρατίστη ὅκου Τριτανταίχμη<sup>646</sup> τῷ Ἀρταβάζου ἐκ βασιλέως ἔχοντι τὸν νομὸν τοῦτον<sup>647</sup> ἀργυρίου μὲν προσήει ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἀρτάβη μεστή (ἡ δὲ ἀρτάβη, μέτρον ἐν Περσικόν<sup>648</sup>, χωρεῖ μεδίμνου Ἀττικῆς πλείον χοίνιξι τρισὶ Ἀττικῇσι) ἵπποι δὲ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ἰδίῃ, πάρεξ τῶν πολεμιστέων<sup>649</sup>, οἱ μὲν ἀναβαίνοντες τὰς θηλάς ὀκτακόσιοι, αἱ δὲ βαινόμεναι ἑξακισχίλιναι καὶ μύριαι ἀνέβαινε γὰρ ἕκαστος τῶν ἐρσένων τούτων εἴκοσι ἵππους· κυνῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν τοσοῦτο δὴ τι πλῆθος ἐτρέφετο, ὥστε τέσσερες τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κῶμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων εἶναι ἀτελεές, τοῖσι κυσὶ προσεταχάτο σιτία παρέχειν. τοιαῦτα μὲν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ὑπῆρχε εἶναι. Ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἕται<sup>650</sup> μὲν ὀλίγη, καὶ 193

<sup>646</sup> Τριτανταίχμη. The MSS vary between this form, Τριτανταίχμης and Τριταίχμης. But all have the form in the text in vii. 82. At the same time it will be observed that the name of the father is in that place *Artabanus*.

<sup>647</sup> τὸν νομὸν τοῦτον. The term *nomos* is more especially applied to the territorial divisions of *Egypt*, as appears from many passages in book ii. See note 474.

<sup>648</sup> ἡ δὲ ἀρτάβη, μέτρον ἐν Περσικόν. The *artabe* was the name of an Egyptian as well as a Persian measure, and is said to have a Coptic root. (See the commentators on *HERYCHIUS* *suo v.*) This would lead one to suppose that the name is either Egyptian or Babylonian. But the dimensions given in the text are different from those of the Egyptian *artabe*. This, according to *Ворскн* (*Metrologische Untersuchungen*, pp. 242, 3) was equal to seventy-two Roman sextarii, and identical with the Hebrew *Bath* or *Ephah*, and the Attic *Metretes*. But there was also a more modern Egyptian *artabe*, which stood to the other in the relation 20 : 27. The measure in the text is much more than the greater of these, as it =  $72 + 24 + 3.2 (= 102)$  sextarii, and it bears no relation to any known system of measurement. Perhaps the true explanation is, that the unit of measurement in which the tribute was paid entered into the metrological system of the Persian mountaineers, somewhat as the *artabe* entered into the more scientific scale of the Egypt-

tians and the Chaldeans, and was therefore called by that name. On the eastern coast of England, when the fishing boats come in, the herrings are sold by "the hundred,"—which however means 140 in practice. A foreigner, who witnessed this transaction, might naturally speak of "a hundred" as a Lowestoft word of number meaning seven score. It is by just the converse process that the common people ordinarily speak of a 4lb. loaf as a *quarter*.

<sup>649</sup> πολεμιστέων. This is the reading of S, V, b, and d. Other MSS have *πολεμιστηρίων*, which Gaisford adopts. The well-known passage in *ΤΑΚΕΟΚΙΤΟΣ* (xv. 51),

τοὶ πολεμισταὶ  
ἵπποι τῷ βασιλεῖ,

favours the reading in the text. Similarly *Bucephalus* is called *πολεμιστῆς ἀγαθός* by *ΣΤΡΑΒΟ*; and *DIONORUS* (ii. 41) speaks of *πολεμισταὶ ἵπποι* in India.

<sup>650</sup> ἕται μὲν ὀλίγη. The writer quoted in note 639, says that at Baghdad it is very rare for rain to fall between the beginning of May and the middle of September. A considerable amount of water, he says, falls in the autumn, but the whole number of days on which it rains is probably not more than twenty-five in the year. *LAYARD* (*Nineveh*, p. 7) describes the luxuriant vegetation of the plains after the spring rains, which appear to fall in January (p. 53).

Irrigation of the plain of Babylon unlike that of Egypt.

The soil excellent for cereals, but producing nothing else.

τοῦ ἐκτρέφον τὴν ῥίζαν τοῦ σίτου ἐστὶ τοῦτο· ἀρδόμενον μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀδρύνεται τε τὸ λήιον, καὶ παραγίνεται ὁ σίτος, οὐ κατὰπερ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος<sup>651</sup> ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας, ἀλλὰ χερσὶ τε καὶ κηλωνητοῖσι<sup>652</sup> ἀρδόμενος· ἡ γὰρ Βαβυλωνίη χώρα πᾶσα, κατὰπερ ἡ Αἰγυπτία, κατατέμνηται ἐς διώρυχας· καὶ ἡ μεγίστη τῶν διωρύχων ἐστὶ νηυσυπέρητος, πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένη τὸν χειμερινόν<sup>653</sup>. ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς ἄλλον ποταμὸν ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφράτη, ἐς τὸν Τίγριν, παρ' ὃν Νῆος πόλις οἰκητο<sup>654</sup>. ἔστι δὲ χωρέων αὕτη ἀπασέων μακρῷ ἀρίστη τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν· τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα δένδρεα οὐδὲ πειράται ἀρχὴν φέρειν<sup>655</sup>, οὔτε συκὴν οὔτε ἄμπελον οὔτε ἐλαίην· τὸν δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καρπὸν ὧδε ἀγαθὴ ἐκφέρειν ἐστὶ, ὥστε ἐπὶ δικήκοσια μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀποδοῖ, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἄριστα αὕτη ἐωυτῆς ἐνείκη, ἐπὶ τριηκόσια ἐκφέρει· τὰ δὲ φύλλα αὐτόθι τῶν τε πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριθέων τὸ πλάτος γίνεται τεσσέρων εὐπετέως δακτύλων· ἐκ δὲ κέγχρου καὶ σησάμου ὅσον τι δένδρον μέγαθος γίνεται, ἐξεπιστάμενος, μνήμην οὐ ποιήσομαι· εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῖσι μὴ ἀπυγμένοις ἐς τὴν Βαβυλωνίην χώραν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἐχόμενα ἐς

<sup>651</sup> οὐ, κατὰπερ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος. In the present state of the country, the canals and sluices not being kept up, inundations are very common after the melting of the Armenian snows. But the arrangements mentioned by Herodotus in the text both saved the surplus water brought down for summer irrigation, and prevented the overflow in April and May. The reference to Egypt as a standard of comparison is to be remarked. (See note 474.)

<sup>652</sup> κηλωνητοῖσι. The sinking of the level of the water in the dry season would render machinery requisite for raising it from the ditches to the land.

<sup>653</sup> πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένη τὸν χειμερινόν, i. e. turned towards the point of the horizon where the sun rises at the winter solstice.

<sup>654</sup> οἰκητο. This reading is preserved in a single MS. Three others have of ἔκητο, one οἰώκητο, and three οἰκώκητο. These variations are curious, as all arising primarily out of marginal alternative readings, οἰ(φ)κητο. The last, which apparently proceeded from alternative readings connected by the letter κ (= καί), perhaps became modified by the copyist imagining

the word to be compounded from οἶκος and οἰκείν.

<sup>655</sup> οὐδὲ πειράται ἀρχὴν φέρειν, "there is not even a pretence at its producing them." By τὰ ἄλλα δ. the writer would doubtless mean only those familiar to the Greeks, the *date palm* abounding throughout the whole region to such an extent that STRABO (xvi. c. 1, p. 343) says, that, with the exception of barley, the Babylonians get *every thing* from the palm, καὶ γὰρ ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος καὶ ἄξος καὶ μέλι καὶ ἄλφιτα, τὰ τε πλεκτὰ παντοῖα ἐκ τούτου· τοῖς δὲ πυρήσιν ἀστ' ἀνθρώπων οἱ χαλκεῖς χρῶνται· βρεχόμενοι δὲ τοῖς σιτιζομένοις εἰς τροφήν εἰσι βουεῖ καὶ προβάτοισι. It was the only wood too which they used in building. (Id. *ib.* p. 336.) See too the song described in note 640. Also the observation relative to the olive and vine must be taken as confined to the plains watered by the rivers, that is, to the vicinity of the commercial track: for the vine and olive are cultivated largely in the hills, and not only appear on the Niniveh sculptures, but in the speech of Rabahakeh describing the attractions of the country (2 *Kings* xviii. 32).

ἀπιστήν πολλὴν ἀπῖκται. χρέονται δὲ οὐδὲν ἐλαίφ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν  
σησύμων ποιεῖντες. εἰςὶ δὲ σφί φοίνικες πεφυκότες ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ  
πεδίον, οἱ πλευνες αὐτῶν καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ σιτία καὶ οἶνον  
καὶ μέλι ποιεῖνται· τοὺς συκέων τρόπον θεραπεύουσι, τὰ τε ἄλλα,  
καὶ φοινίκων τοὺς ἔρσενας Ἑλληνες καλέουσι, τούτων τὸν καρπὸν  
περιδέουσι τῇσι βαλανηφόροις τῶν φοινίκων, ἵνα πεπαλινῇ τέ σφί  
ὁ ψῆν τὴν βάλατον ἐσδύνων καὶ μὴ ἀπορρέῃ ὁ καρπὸς ὁ τοῦ φοίνι-  
κος· ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ φορέουσι<sup>656</sup> ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες, κατὰπερ  
δὴ οἱ ὀλυνθοι.

Τὸ δὲ ἀπάντων θῶμα μέγιστόν μοι ἐστὶ τῶν ταύτῃ, μετὰ γε 194  
αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἔρχομαι φράσω. τὰ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσί ἐστι τὰ  
κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πορευόμενα ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἔοντα κυκλο-  
τερέα, πάντα σκύτινα· ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἀρμενίοισι τοῖσι κατ-  
ύπερθε Ἀσσυρίων οἰκημένοιςινομέας ἰτέης<sup>657</sup> ταμόμενοι ποιήσωνται,  
περιτείνουσι τούτοις διφθέρας στεγαστρίδας ἔξωθεν ἐδάφεος τρώ-  
πον<sup>658</sup>, οὔτε πρύμνην ἀποκρίνοντες οὔτε πῶρην συνάγοντες, ἀλλ'  
ἀσπίδος τρόπον κυκλοτερέα ποιήσαντες· καὶ καλάμης πλήσαντες  
πᾶν τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο, ἀπῖασι κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι φορτίων  
πλήσαντες· μάλιστα δὲ βίκους φοινικητοὺς<sup>659</sup> κατὰγουσι οἶνου  
πλέους· ἰθύνεται δὲ ὑπὸ τε δύο πλήκτρων, καὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν ὀρθῶν  
ἐστέωτων καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἔλκει τὸ πλήκτρον ὁ δὲ ἔξω ὠθέει<sup>660</sup>.

Round boats  
in which  
merchandise  
comes down  
the river  
from Ar-  
menia.

<sup>656</sup> ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ φορέουσι. These insects would be the means of conveying the pollen from the male flowers of the palm to the pistils in the female flower, and thus fertilizing the seed. SIEGHEAR says that artificial caprification is adopted in the Morea with the fig-trees at the present day. "Without it, the figs would fall off, and would not ripen well." (*Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 61.)

<sup>657</sup> νομέας ἰτέης, "ribs of willow wood." The expression νομέας is probably a technical one in the art of ship-building. It is used again, ii. 96, in the same sense, but in no other writer. A similar peculiarity of usage occurs in the word πλήκτρον just below, which is no where else employed to designate an oar.

<sup>658</sup> ἐδάφεος τρόπον, "in the manner of a bottom."

<sup>659</sup> βίκους φοινικητοὺς. There seems no necessity either to alter the latter of these words into φοινικηίου, or to suppose

that the expression βίκους φοινικητοὺς should be rendered "casks of palm-wood." β. φ. probably meant "palm-jars;" and the words οἶνον πλέους are added to indicate that it was not the empty vessels which constituted the freight (as in the case mentioned ii. 6), but that they came to bring the wine in them. That the palm-wine was well known in Egypt, as well as at Babylon, appears from the use made of it in embalming (ii. 86), and from the story of the presents sent by Cambyses to the Æthiopians (iii. 20—22), which is undoubtedly of Egyptian origin.

<sup>660</sup> καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἔλκει τὸ πλήκτρον ὁ δὲ ἔξω ὠθέει. The action described is that commonly seen in boats on the Swiss lakes, where the foremost boatman pulls his oar, with his face turned sternwards, while his companion stands up and pushes with his, looking bowwards in order to be able to steer the better. In the Euphrates' boats, both men stood, the sole

ποιέεται δὲ καὶ κάρτα μεγάλα ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐλάσσω, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων<sup>661</sup> γόμον ἔχει ἐν ἐκάστῳ δὲ πλοίῳ ὄνος ζωὸς ἔνεστι, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι μέγροσι πλευνεῖν ἐπεὰν ὦν ἀπίκωνται πλέοντες ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ διαθέωνται τὸν φόρτον, νομέας μὲν τοῦ πλοίου καὶ τὴν καλὰμην πᾶσαν ἀπ' ὧν ἐκήρυξαν<sup>662</sup>, τὰς δὲ διφθέρας ἐπισάξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους, ἀπελάνουσι ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους· ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ οἶά τέ ἐστι πλέειν<sup>663</sup> οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ, ὑπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐκ ξύλων ποιεῖνται τὰ πλοῖα, ἀλλ' ἐκ διφθερέων· ἐπεὰν δὲ τοὺς ὄνους ἐλαύνοντες ἀπίκωνται ὀπίσω ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, ἄλλα τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιεῖνται πλοῖα. τὰ μὲν δὴ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστι τοιαῦτα. Ἑσθῆτι δὲ τοιγδε χρέωνται, κιθῶνι ποδηνεκεί λινῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἄλλον εἰρίνεον κιθῶνα ἐπενδύει, καὶ χλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενος<sup>664</sup>, ὑποδήματα ἔχων ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῇσι Βοιωτῇσι ἐμβάσι<sup>665</sup>. κομῶντες δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς μίτρησι ἀναδέονται, μεμυρισμένοι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα· σφρηγίδα δὲ ἕκαστος ἔχει, καὶ σκῆπτρον χειροποιήτων ἐπ' ἐκάστῳ δὲ σκῆπτρῳ ἔπεστι πεποιημένον ἢ μῆλον ἢ ῥόδον ἢ κρίνον ἢ αἰετὸς ἢ ἄλλο τι· ἄνευ γὰρ ἐπισήμου<sup>666</sup> οὐ σφί νόμος ἐστὶ ἔχειν σκῆπτρον· αὕτη μὲν δὴ σφί ἄρτισι περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐστὶ.

## 195

Dress of the Babylonians, linen next the skin, and woollen over it.

moving power of the vessel being the force of the stream, and the hands being only required for guidance.

<sup>661</sup> ταλάντων. Doubtless Babylonian talents (see note on iii. 89), which would give about 250 tons.

<sup>662</sup> ἀπεκήρυξαν, "their habit is to sell by auction." This is the frequentative use of the aorist.

<sup>663</sup> ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ οἶά τέ ἐστι πλέειν. SHIEL (*Geogr. Journal*, viii. p. 89) says that at the present time boats do not go up and down the Tigris above Mosul, but that *kelecks*, or floats of inflated sheepskins, descend from Diarbekir to Mosul, where the skins are sold.

<sup>664</sup> χλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενος, "a white shawl, wrapping it about him," i. e. for a girdle, which serves the Orientals as a purse. The linen dress was doubtless worn next to the skin from motives of cleanliness. Compare the Egyptian garb (ii. 81).

<sup>665</sup> παραπλήσια τῇσι Βοιωτῇσι ἐμβάσι. LAYARD (*Nineveh*, ii. p. 324) gives a representation of these slippers, which are

very peculiar. They cover the heel, but leave the fore-part of the foot quite exposed, and the toes only protected by a sole laced over the instep, without any return over the points. This exactly answers to the description of the Theban women's shoe (DIDYMACHUS, quoted by Bauer *ad loc.*); and it may be remarked that the whole Assyrian dress has an effeminate character, which is explained by DIODORUS (ii. 6) as arising from the circumstance of its having been adopted first by the Medes and afterwards by the Persians from the costume of Semiramis.

<sup>666</sup> ἄνευ ἐπισήμου. Probably these devices were sacred emblems; and perhaps the deity under whose especial protection each individual was determined the particular symbol adopted. The eagle seems rather a Persian than a Babylonian symbol, which the dove perhaps was (see note 366). The lily was probably the lotus. The apple and the rose may have been parts of the lily called *Nelumbium speciosum* (see note on ii. 92), a plant

Νόμοι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὧδε κατεστήσεται· ὁ μὲν σοφώτατος ὄδε, κατὰ 196  
 γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέραν, τῷ καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν Ἑνετοὺς πυνθάνομαι Custom of  
 χρήσθαι κατὰ κώμας ἐκάστας ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἐποιέετο raising, by  
 τάδε· ὥς ἂν αἱ παρθένοι γινοῖατο γάμων ὡραῖαι, ταύτας ὅκως the sale of  
 συναγάγοιεν πάσας<sup>667</sup>, ἐς ἐν χωρίον ἐσάγεσκον ἀλέας· περίξ δὲ able women  
 αὐτὰς ἴστατο ὁμιλος ἀνδρῶν· ἀνιστάς δὲ κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην of beauty, a  
 κήρυξ πωλέεσκε, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν εὐειδεστάτην ἐκ πασέων, μετὰ dowry for  
 δὲ, ὅκως αὕτη εὐρούσα πολλὸν χρυσίον πρηθείη, ἄλλην ἀνεκήρυσσε all.  
 ἢ μετ' ἐκείνην ἔσκε εὐειδεστάτη· ἐπωλέοντο δὲ ἐπὶ συνοικίσει·  
 ὅσοι μὲν δὴ ἔσκον εὐδαίμονες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπίγαμοι, ὑπερ-  
 βάλλοντες ἀλλήλους ἐξωνέοντο τὰς καλλιστενοῦσας· ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ  
 δήμου ἔσκον ἐπίγαμοι, οὗτοι δὲ εἶδος μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο χρηστοῦ,  
 οἱ δ' ἂν χρήματά τε καὶ αἰσχίονας παρθένοισι ἐλάμβανον· ὥς γὰρ  
 διεξέλθοι ὁ κήρυξ πωλέων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν παρθένων, ἀνίστη  
 ἂν τὴν ἀμορφεστάτην ἢ εἴ τις αὐτέων ἔμπηρος ἦν, καὶ ταύτην  
 ἀνεκήρυσσε, ὅστις θέλοι ἐλάχιστον χρυσίον λαβὼν συνοικίειν  
 αὐτῇ· ἐς δὲ τῷ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὑπισταμένῳ προσεκέετο· τὸ δὲ ἂν  
 χρυσίον ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν εὐειδέων παρθένων καὶ οὕτω αἱ εὐμορφοὶ  
 τὰς ἀμόρφους καὶ ἐμπήρους ἐξεδίδουσιν. ἐκδούναι δὲ τὴν ἐωντοῦ  
 θυγατέρα ὅτεφ βούλοιο ἐκαστος οὐκ ἐξῆν, οὐδὲ ἄνευ ἐγγηγτέω  
 ἀπαγαγέσθαι τὴν παρθένον πριάμενον, ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὰς χρὴν κατα-  
 στήσαντα ἢ μὴν συνοικίσειν αὐτῇ οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι<sup>668</sup>. εἰ δὲ μὴ  
 συμφερόιατο, ἀποφέρειν τὸ χρυσίον ἐκέετο νόμος. ἐξῆν δὲ καὶ ἐξ  
 ἄλλης ἐλθόντα κώμης τὸν βουλόμενον ὦνέεσθαι. ὁ μὲν νυν  
 κάλλιστος νόμος<sup>669</sup> οὗτός σφι ἦν οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε διετέλεσε ἐών.  
 ἄλλο δὲ τι ἐξευρήκασιν νεωστὶ γενέσθαι, ἵνα μὴ ἀδικοῖεν αὐτὰς

which throughout the whole of the East, from Egypt to China, has been adopted as a symbol of the reproductive principle.

<sup>667</sup> ταύτας ὅκως συναγάγοιεν πάσας. These words are nearly identical in sense with the clause which follows them, συνάγειν πάσας being scarcely distinguishable from ἐς ἐν χωρίον ἐσάγειν ἀλέας, unless on the supposition of the first collection being from the surrounding country into a village, and the second the assemblage of the girls thus selected at the auction-mart. But, as the author states that the sale took place in every

village, the first step in this proceeding seems precluded. It seems not impossible that here the text has again been rendered turbid by the mixture of different MSS.

<sup>668</sup> ἀπάγεσθαι. The MSS vary between this form, ἀγάγεσθαι, ἀνάγεσθαι and ἀνέγεσθαι. Gaisford adopts the last. For the use of οὕτω, see note 22, above.

<sup>669</sup> ὁ μὲν νυν κάλλιστος νόμος. From hence to the end of the paragraph appears to be a kind of note, perhaps added by the author himself.



197  
Custom  
with re-  
gard to the  
sick.

μήδ' ἐς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἄγονται· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ἀλύντες ἐκακώθησαν καὶ οἰκοφθορήθησαν, πᾶς τις τοῦ δήμου βίου σπανίζων καταπορνεύει τὰ θήλεα τέκνα. Δεύτερος δὲ σοφίῃ ὁδε ἄλλος σφί νόμος κατεστήκεε· τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἐκφορέουσι<sup>670</sup>. οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρέωνται ἡτροῖσι· προσιώντες ὦν πρὸς τὸν κάμνοντα, συμβουλεύουσι περὶ τῆς νόσου, εἴ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτον ἔπαθε ὁκοῖον ἔχει ὁ κάμνων ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε παθόντα· ταῦτα προσιώντες συμβουλεύουσι, καὶ παραινέουσι ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἐξέφυγε ὁμοίῳ νόσον ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε ἐκφυγόντα· σιγῇ δὲ παρεξελθεῖν τὸν κάμνοντα οὐ σφί ἐξεστι, πρὶν ἂν ἐπείρηται ἥντινα νόσον ἔχει. Ταφαὶ δὲ σφί ἐν μέλιτι. θρήνοι δὲ παραπλήσιοι τοῖσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ<sup>671</sup>. ὁσάκις δ' ἂν μυχθῇ γυναικὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ ἀνὴρ Βαβυλωνίως, περὶ θυμίσμα καταγιζόμενον ἔξει· ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἡ γυνὴ τῶντ' οὗτο ποιεῖ· ὄρθρον δὲ γενομένου λούνται καὶ ἀμφότεροι· ἄργεος γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄψονται πρὶν ἂν λούσωνται. ταῦτ' αὖ καὶ Ἀράβιοι ποιεῦσι.

198  
Customs of  
burial and  
of purifi-  
cation,  
which latter  
are also  
Arabian.

οὐ σφί ἐξεστι, πρὶν ἂν ἐπείρηται ἥντινα νόσον ἔχει. Ταφαὶ δὲ σφί ἐν μέλιτι. θρήνοι δὲ παραπλήσιοι τοῖσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ<sup>671</sup>. ὁσάκις δ' ἂν μυχθῇ γυναικὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ ἀνὴρ Βαβυλωνίως, περὶ θυμίσμα καταγιζόμενον ἔξει· ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἡ γυνὴ τῶντ' οὗτο ποιεῖ· ὄρθρον δὲ γενομένου λούνται καὶ ἀμφότεροι· ἄργεος γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄψονται πρὶν ἂν λούσωνται. ταῦτ' αὖ καὶ Ἀράβιοι ποιεῦσι.

199  
Custom  
arising out  
of the My-  
litta-wor-  
ship.

Ὁ δὲ δὴ αἰσχιστος<sup>672</sup> τῶν νόμων ἔστι τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ὁδε δεῖ πᾶσαν γυναικὰ ἐπιχωρίην ἱζομένην ἐς ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης, ἅπαξ ἐν τῇ ζῳῇ μυχθῆναι ἀνδρὶ ξείνῳ. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀξιεύμεναι ἀναμίσγεσθαι τῇσι ἄλλῃσι οἷα πλούτῳ ὑπερφρονέουσai, ἐπὶ ζηνγέων ἐν καμάρῃσι<sup>673</sup> ἐλάσασαι πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν ἐστᾶσι· θεραπετῇ δὲ

<sup>670</sup> τοὺς κάμνοντας εἰς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἐκφορέουσι. STRABO (iii. c. 3, p. 249) says of the Spanish mountaineers: τοὺς ἀββάστους, ὥσπερ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ παλαιὸν, προτιθέασιν εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῖς πεπειραμένοις τοῦ πάθους ὑποθήκης χάριν. It is possible that he may by a slip of memory have this passage in his mind. But the words τὸ παλαιὸν are remarkable, and perhaps a tradition may have remained of the early practice of Egyptian physicians, the first rude approximation to the collection of medical observations. If so, here will be another point of accordance between Babylon and Egypt.

<sup>671</sup> παραπλήσιοι τοῖσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. See note 651.

<sup>672</sup> ὁ δὲ δὴ αἰσχιστος. This paragraph does not exist in the manuscripts S, V, b, d, and it seems very questionable whether it does not rest on a different authority from the rest of the Babylonian customs, the account of which appears naturally concluded. It is also difficult to reconcile the practice related in it with that of selling the young maidens, except we

suppose that it applies to the wealthy town population, and the other only to the common people who lived κατὰ κώμας (§ 196). It is impossible to believe that it is a practice which, under the compulsion of necessity, succeeded to the other.

<sup>673</sup> ἐν καμάρῃσι. The word καμάρη is etymologically equivalent to the Latin camera and the Teutonic kammer, and seems to mean a semi-cylindrical covering, like the tilted head of a wagon (see note on iv. 69, ἄμαξαν). In ISAIAH (xl. 22), the LXX have ὁ στήσας ὡς καμάραν τὴν οὐρανὸν, and it seems likely that the word is equivalent to σκηνή which XENOPHON (Cyr. vi. ult.) uses to express the closing head of a Persian ἀρμάμας. Under these circumstances it may be supposed that the καμάραι were not merely the accessory of the chariots in which these females drove, but that the presence of them gave an especial character to the proceeding, they representing as it were the shrines of Aphrodite. Hence it is easy to understand how the name of

σφι ὀπισθεν ἔπεται πολλή. αἱ δὲ πλεῖνες ποιεύσι ὧδε ἐν τεμένει Ἀφροδίτης κατέαται στέφανον περὶ τῆσι κεφαλῇσι ἔχουσαι θώμυγρος, πολλὰι γυναῖκες· αἱ μὲν γὰρ προσέρχονται, αἱ δὲ ἀπέρχονται· σχοινοτενέες δὲ διέξοδοι πάντη<sup>674</sup> τρόπον ὁδῶν ἔχουσι διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, δι' ὧν οἱ ξεῖνοι διεξιόντες ἐκλέγονται. ἔνθα ἐπεὰν ἴζηται γυνή, οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἢ τίς οἱ ξείνων ἀργύριον ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὰ γούνατα μυχθῇ ἔξω τοῦ ἱοῦ· ἐμβαλόντα δὲ δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοσόνδε· “ἐπικαλέω τοι τὴν θεὸν Μύλιττα.” Μύλιττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην<sup>675</sup> Ἀσσύριοι· τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον μέγαθός ἐστι ὅσον ὧν οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἀπώσῃται· οὐ γὰρ οἱ θέμις ἐστὶ γινεσθαι γὰρ ἱρὸν τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον· τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἐμβαλόντι ἔπεται, οὐδὲ ἀποδοκιμῇ οὐδένα· ἐπεὰν δὲ μυχθῇ, ἀποσιωσαμένη τῇ θεῷ ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, καὶ τῷπὸ τούτου οὐκ οὔτω μέγα τί οἱ δώσεις ὥς μιν λάμψαι<sup>676</sup>. ὅσαι μὲν νυν εἰδεός τε ἐπαμμέναι εἰσὶ καὶ μεγάθεος, ταχὺ ἀπαλλάσσονται· ὅσαι δὲ ἄμορφοι αὐτέων εἰσὶ, χρόνον πολλὸν προσμένουσι οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλήσαι·

“Succoth Benoth” (*tabernacula Veneris*) should have been given to similar orgies (2 Kings xvii. 30) established in Samaria by the Babylonians. The Carthaginians too had a colony Latinized by the name *Siccæ*, which VALERIUS MAXIMUS describes as “*fanum Veneris, in quod se matronæ conferebant, atque inde procidentes ad questum, dotes corporis injuriâ contrahebant, honesta nimirum iam inhonesto vinculo conjugia juncturæ*” (ii. c. 6). It may be conjectured that the root of the name *Sicyon* is the same as that of the Carthaginian *Siccæ*, and the Samarian *Succoth*, and that the origin of that city (of whose Aphrodite-worship there can be no doubt) is due to a very ancient commercial intercourse with the East.

<sup>674</sup> πάντα. Gaisford, with the MSS, has πάντα.

<sup>675</sup> Μύλιττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην. This he has said before, § 131, in a passage which, like the present, is deficient in S, V, b, and d. The third passage in which Herodotus mentions an oriental name of Aphrodite Urania (iii. 8) is found in these MSS.

<sup>676</sup> οὐκ οὕτω μέγα τί οἱ δώσεις ὥς μιν λάμψαι. This proves decisively that the custom in question was not the result of

individual licentiousness. It arose apparently from the principle that the deity, whatever the department of human existence under his controul, always required to be propitiated with the *best* thing the votary had to bestow. Hence the Phœnician Moloch demanded the *first-born* child, and the Assyrian Mylitta the virginity of the woman about to become a wife. The dedication of the *zone* to Here is nothing else than the symbolical representation, under the influences of civilization, of the sacrifice which was made in its coarsest form by the barbarous Orientals. In their view, the *θεῶν φθόνος* could be propitiated only by the *most precious* possession, and no commutation was permitted. Thus, when the Carthaginians suffered important reverses in their war with Agathocles, they imagined Moloch had taken part against them, because, instead of sacrificing their own children to him, they had been in the habit of purchasing substitutes. Accordingly, by way of expiation, they burnt two hundred infants of the most illustrious families (Diod. Sic. xx. 14). The same feeling influenced the King of Moab to offer the heir of his kingdom (2 Kings iii. 27). Compare MICAH vi. 7.

καὶ γὰρ τριέτεα καὶ τετραέτεα μετεξέτεραι χρόνον μένουσι. ἐνιαχὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος τοῦτῳ νόμος.

200

Three tribes  
are ichthy-  
ophagous.

Νόμοι μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι οὗτοι κατεστέασιν. εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πατριαὶ τρεῖς, αἱ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σιτέονται εἰ μὴ ἰχθὺς μόνον τοὺς ἐπεὶ τε ἂν θηρεύσαντες αἰήνωσι πρὸς ἥλιον, ποιεύσι τὰδε ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς ὄλμον, καὶ λεήναντες ὑπέροισι σώσι διὰ σινδόνος καὶ ὃς μὲν ἂν βούληται αὐτῶν ἅτε μάξαν μαζάμενος ἔχει, ὁ δὲ ἄρτου τρόπον ὀπτήσας.

201

After the  
Babyloni-  
ans, Cyrus  
attacks the  
Massagetae.

Ὡς δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος κατέργαστο, ἐπεθύμησε Μασσαγέτας ὑπ' ἐωντῷ ποιήσασθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο καὶ μέγα λέγεται εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, οἰκημένον δὲ πρὸς ᾧ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς πέρην τοῦ Ἀράξω ποταμοῦ<sup>677</sup>, ἀπτόν δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τινες καὶ Σκυθικὸν λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι.

202

The Araxes  
contains  
islands as

Ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἰστρου<sup>678</sup>. νήσους δ' ἐν αὐτῷ Λέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλησίας συχνὰς φασὶ εἶναι, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι ἀνθρώπους, οἱ σιτέονται μὲν ῥίζας τὸ θέρος

<sup>677</sup> πέρην τοῦ Ἀράξω ποταμοῦ. There has been great difficulty in assigning the geographical position of the Araxes, even according to the notions of Herodotus; and indeed it is impossible to doubt that he has combined accounts which belong to two different rivers, and that the solution of the puzzle is only to be found by endeavouring to refer the statements to their several sources. I believe the fact to be that the Araxes of Cyrus is the *Jihon*, and that the narrative followed by Herodotus made that prince invade the Massagetae by crossing that river, thereby placing them in Bokhara. This cycle of traditions would exist at Phasis, which was the termination of the route connecting Greece with the East, *vid* the Colchians, Saspis, and Caspian Sea. See note 363.

On the other hand, the Araxes over which the Massagetae drove the Scythians, who in their turn expelled the Cimmerians from the Scythia of Herodotus (iv. 11), seems undoubtedly to be the Wolga or Ural, or rather a hypothetical river made up by confounding the two. This would bring the Massagetae into the site of the Kirghis Tartars, and here they

would be Ἰσσηδόνων ἀπτόν. See note on iv. 25, ὅτι Ἰσσηδόνων οἰκεῖμενον. It is an important fact with reference to this question, that CALLISTHENES, the pupil of Aristotle (who by his recommendation attended Alexander in his expedition), adopted Herodotus's account of the Araxes which is contained in this passage, making the river to be the boundary between Bactria and Scythia, and to have forty mouths. (*Strabo*, xi. c. 14, p. 464.)

Both these two positions, however, assigned to the Massagetae, would make them different portions of one and the same barbarous race, which overspread the whole of the basin of the Caspian Sea, leading a nomad life, and considered by some to be Scythians. Having less intercourse with the Greeks, their manners would be more barbarous even than those of the other Scythians. See § 216, and note on iv. 26, ἀναμίζαντες πάντα τὰ κρέα.

<sup>678</sup> καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἰστρου. They who took the Wolga for it would describe it as larger than the Ister, while those who understood by it the Jihon would call it smaller.

ὀρύσσοντες παντοίας, καρπὸν δὲ ἀπὸ δεινδρέων ἐξευρημένους σφι <sup>large as</sup> ἐς φορβὴν κατατίθεσθαι <sup>Lesbos.</sup> <sup>Habits of</sup> <sup>the natives.</sup> ὥрайους, καὶ τούτους σιτέεσθαι τὴν χειμερινήν ἄλλα δὲ σφι ἐξευρήσθαι δένδρεα καρπὸν τοιούσδε τινὰς φέροντα, τοὺς, ἐπεὶ τε ἂν ἐς τῶντὸ συνέλθωσι κατὰ εἰλας καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσονται, κύκλῳ περιϋζομένους ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ <sup>679</sup>, ὁσφραϊνομένους δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὁσμῇ, κατὰπερ Ἑλληνας τῷ οἴνῳ πλεῖνος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐς δὲ ὄρχησιν τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἐς αἰοιδὴν ἀπικνέεσθαι· τούτων μὲν αὕτη λέγεται δίαίτα εἶναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Ματινηῶν <sup>681</sup>, ὅθεν <sup>The Araxes</sup> <sup>flows from</sup> <sup>the Ma-</sup> <sup>tieni.</sup> <sup>Only one</sup> <sup>mouth out</sup> <sup>of forty</sup> <sup>enters the</sup> <sup>Caspian.</sup> περ ὁ Γύνδης τὸν ἐς τὰς διώρυχας τὰς ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας διέλαβε ὁ Κύρος <sup>682</sup>, στόμασι δὲ ἐξερεύγεται τεσσαράκοντα, τῶν τὰ πάντα πλὴν ἑνὸς ἐς ἑλεῦ τε καὶ τευάγεα ἐκδιδοῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἀνθρώπους κατοικέισθαι λέγουσι ἰχθύς ὤμους σιτεομένους, ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομίζοντας χρᾶσθαι φωκῶν δέρμασι· τὸ δὲ ἐν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Ἀράξεω ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ <sup>683</sup> ἐς τὴν Κασπίην θάλασσαν.

<sup>679</sup> κατατίθεσθαι. The change of construction here from the *indicative*, expressing an observed fact, to the *infinitive*, denoting a matter of hearsay, is to be remarked. The word *φασί* is of course to be supplied from the last sentence.

<sup>680</sup> ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ. Herodotus relates a similar use of hemp-seed among the Scythians (iv. 75).

<sup>681</sup> ἐκ Ματινηῶν, ὅθεν περ ὁ Γύνδης. The site which Herodotus assigns to the Matieni is difficult, if not impossible, to fix. In i. 72, he places them on the right bank of the Halys, opposite to the Phrygians on the left, after the river has quitted the country of the Cilicians, and (if the passage be not corrupt) before it bends to the north. But, if the explanation given in note 243 be well founded, the difficulty is so far removed that we may see what he *thought*, and assign the Matieni to the region drained by the upper Tigris, the Zab, and the Diyaleh, from the opposite side of the watershed of which, in its north-west part, he seems to have thought a river flowed, which he took for the Halys. This explanation will likewise serve for another passage, v. 49, where the Matieni are placed between the Armenians and the Cissians. But, besides this, he appears to mass the

Caspian Sea and the Sea of Aral into one, and to conceive of the range which forms the southern boundary of Balk as a continuation of Caucasus, which again he regards as a chain running nearly north and south. Now if the Araxes of the text be the Amon or Jihon, i. e. the Oxus of the Seleucid times, the statements in the text may be reconciled with one another, and perhaps with the strange notice in iv. § 40, by remarking that the author not only brings the range in question very far to the east of its true site, but twists its direction to nearly north and south. Hence he would regard the streams flowing into Balk from it, which really run north and north-west, as running east and north-east. For a similar massing together of distinct mountain ranges, see note on ii. 8.

<sup>682</sup> διέλαβε ὁ Κύρος. See above, § 189.

<sup>683</sup> τὸ δὲ ἐν τῶν στομάτων . . . ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ. The Jihon now falls into the Sea of Aral, and it is a disputed point whether formerly the bed took a different course, and fell into the Caspian, or whether a navigable communication with that sea was effected by a canal. But there seems no doubt that one or the other was the case from the time of the Seleucids to comparatively modern times.

## 203

The Caspian an inland sea, its dimensions.

Caucasus the most extensive and highest of mountain ranges.

Manufactures and habits of its inhabitants.

Ἡ δὲ Κασπίη θάλασσά ἐστι ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς, οὐ συμμίσγουσα τῇ ἐτέρῃ θαλάσῃ<sup>64</sup>. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνες ναυτίλλονται πᾶσαν, καὶ ἡ ἔξω στηλέων θάλασσα ἡ Ἀτλαντὶς καλεομένη, καὶ ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ, μία τυγχάνει εὐόυσα· ἡ δὲ Κασπίη ἐστι ἐτέρῃ ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς, εὐόυσα μῆκος μὲν πλόου εἰρσεῖν χρεωμένῳ πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερέων, εὖρος δὲ τῇ εὐρυτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὐτῇ ἐωυτῆς ὁκτὼ ἡμερέων. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην φέροντα τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ὁ Καύκασος παρατείνει, ἐὼν οὐρέων καὶ πληθεῖ μέγιστον<sup>a</sup> καὶ μεγάλῃ ὑψηλότατον. ἔθνεα δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα<sup>b</sup> ἐν ἐωυτῷ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ' ὕλης ἀγρίης ζῶντα<sup>c</sup>· ἐν τοῖσι καὶ δένδρεα φύλλα τοιῷσδε ἰδέης παρεχόμενα εἶναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβοντάς τε καὶ παραμίσγοντας ὕδωρ, ζῶα<sup>65</sup> ἐωυτοῖσι ἐς τὴν ἐσθήτα ἐγγράφειν τὰ δὲ ζῶα οὐκ ἐκπλύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συγκαταγνῆσκειν τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰρίῳ κατάπερ ἐνυφανθέντα ἀρχήν. μίξιν δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ἐμφανέα, κατάπερ τοῖσι προβάτοισι.

## 204

The Massagetæ occupy the greatest part of the central plain of Asia.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης, τῆς Κασπίης καλεομένης, ὁ Καύκασος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἡῷ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πεδῖον ἐκδέκεται πλήθος ἄπειρον ἐς ἄποψιν τοῦ ὧν δὴ πεδίου τοῦ μεγάλου οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖρην μετέχουσι<sup>66</sup> οἱ

See HÜLLMANN, *Handelsgeschichte der Griechen*, p. 249.

<sup>64</sup> οὐ συμμίσγουσα τῇ ἐτέρῃ θαλάσῃ. Inexact as Herodotus's notions may be with regard to the Caspian, he does not fall into the error which was adopted by the scientific geographer ERATOSTHENES, and accepted without question by STRABO (vii. c. 3, p. 70, and xi. c. 1, p. 397) that it was in fact a gulf from the Northern Ocean.

<sup>a</sup> πληθεῖ μέγιστον. See note on iv. 123.

<sup>b</sup> πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα. Perhaps including the mountaineers about the sources of the Jaxartes and Oxus. See note 685.

<sup>c</sup> τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ' ὕλης ἀγρίης ζῶντα. The words τὰ πολλὰ and πάντα are not to be taken together. Translate, "the whole\* of them subsisting mainly from the produce of uncultivated plants." See the note on ii. 35.

<sup>65</sup> ζῶα, "figures." See note 238. The articles of dress which are here described are (I cannot doubt) *printed* goods, which are considered by Herodotus to

have been figured by the hand, though dyeing in uniform colours was a familiar process in his time. The marvel to him is how patterns thus laid on by the hand (as he supposes) can stand. And he attributes it not to the real cause, but to the peculiar quality of the dyes grown in the Caucasus. Considering the indefinite extent which Herodotus assigns to the Caucasus, one may conjecture that the articles in question came even from India by the way of the Caspian, and that they were, in fact, *printed* muslins. STRABO attributes the manufacture to those of the Massagetæ who are mountaineers; and, from the site which he assigns to these, we should look for them no nearer the west than the flanks of the mountains in which the Sihon (Jaxartes) and the Jihon (Oxus) take their rise (xi. c. 8, p. 433).

<sup>66</sup> οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖρην μετέχουσι. The word μετέχουσι implies a *joint* possession, and is equivalent to μετὰ ἄλλων ἔχουσι. It is therefore put in an appropriate regimen, governing an accusative, and not a genitive case. Translate, "Of

Μασσαγέται, ἐπ' οὗς ὁ Κῦρος ἔσχε προθυμίην στρατεύσασθαι· πολλά τε γάρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαείροντα καὶ ἐποτρύνοντα ἦν πρῶτον μὲν ἡ γένεσις, τὸ δοκέειν πλέον τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπου, δεύτερα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχία ἡ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γενομένη· ὅκη γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι<sup>607</sup>· Κῦρος, ἀμήχανον ἦν ἐκείνο τὸ ἔθνος διαφυγέειν.

Ἦν δὲ, τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος, γυνὴ τῶν Μασσαγετέων βασί- 205  
 λεια· Τόμυρις οἱ ἦν οὖνομα. ταύτην πέμπων ὁ Κῦρος ἐμνάτο τῷ  
 λόγῳ, θέλων γυναικα ἦν ἔχειν ἡ δὲ Τόμυρις συνιῆσα οὐκ αὐτῇ  
 μιν μνώμενον, ἀλλὰ τὴν Μασσαγετέων βασιλῆτην, ἀπείπατο τὴν  
 πρόσδοον. Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὥς οἱ δόλω οὐ προεχώρει, Being re-  
 ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξην ἐποίετο ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασ- rejected, he  
 σαγέτας στρατηγὴν, γεφύρας τε ζευγνύων ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διά- prepares to  
 βασιν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ πλοίων<sup>608</sup> τῶν διαπορθμευόντων cross the  
 τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκοδομεύμενος. Ἐχοντι δὲ οἱ τοῦτον τὸν πόνον, Araxes in  
 πέμψασα ἡ Τόμυρις κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, force.  
 παῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰδείης εἴ τοι ἐς καιρὸν  
 ἔσται ταῦτα τελεύμενα· παυσάμενος δὲ, βασιλεύει τῶν σεωντοῦ καὶ  
 ἡμέας ἀνέχου ὀρέων ἄρχοντας τῶν περ ἄρχομεν. οὐκὼν ἐθελήσεις  
 ὑποθήκησι τῇσιδε χρέεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἡσυχίης  
 εἶναι<sup>609</sup>· σὺ δὲ εἰ μεγάλως προθυμῇ<sup>610</sup> Μασσαγετέων πειρηθῆναι,  
 φέρε, μόχθον μὲν τὸν ἔχεις ζευγνύς τὸν ποταμὸν ἄφες, σὺ δὲ, ἡμέων  
 ἀναχωρησάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδὸν, διάβαινε ἐς  
 τὴν ἡμετέρην· εἰ δ' ἡμέας βούλει ἐσδέξασθαι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν  
 ὑμετέρην, σὺ τῶντ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιεε.” ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Κῦρος  
 συνεκάλεσε Περσέων τοὺς πρῶτους, συναγείρας δὲ τοὺς ἐς μέσον  
 σφί προετίθει τὸ πρῆγμα, συμβουλευόμενος ὁκότερα ποιέη· τῶν  
 206  
 Τomyris challenges him to a pitched battle.  
 He calls a council.

this great plain, now, the Massagetae occupy the greatest share in commonage.” The word μεταλαβεῖν is used in an exactly analogous manner vi. 23, where see the note.

<sup>607</sup> στρατεύεσθαι. The manuscript 8 has στρατεύειν, a form which all the MSS have in i. 77; whereas, in vi. 7, the codices are equally divided, and 8 has the middle form; so entirely uncertain is the use.

<sup>608</sup> πύργους ἐπὶ πλοίων. The real operation probably was the building a fortification to protect the head of a pontoon-bridge. But the Greeks, entirely unaccustomed to strategics on the oriental

scale, appear to have conceived the towers as built in the ships. The use of pontoon-bridges must have been familiar to the Mesopotamians.

<sup>609</sup> οὐκὼν ἐθελήσεις . . . εἶναι; “Will you not choose to act on this suggestion, but any thing rather than be still? then,” &c. This seems a better mode of constructing this passage, by a common Greek idiom, than to put a comma after εἶναι, and add it to the list of the cases illustrated in note on v. 50. The same may be said of iv. 118, οὐκὼν ποιήσετε ταῦτα.

<sup>610</sup> προθυμῇ. See note 604.

207

Croesus advises that he should invade the enemy,

δὲ κατὰ τῶντὸ αἰ γινώμην συνεξέπιπτον κελυνόντων ἐσδέκεσθαι Τόμυρὸν τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν χώραν. Παρεὼν δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενος τὴν γνώμην ταύτην Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς, ἀπεδείκνυτο ἐναντίῃ τῇ προκειμένη γνώμῃ λέγων τάδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἶπον μὲν καὶ πρότερόν τοι ὅτι <sup>691</sup> ἐπεὶ με Ζεὺς ἔδωκε τοι, τὸ ἂν ὀρῶ σφάλμα ἐὼν οἴκῳ τῷ σῷ κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψειν τὰ δέ μοι παθήματα ἔοντα ἀχάριτα μαθήματα γέγονε. εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατος δοκέεις εἶναι καὶ στρατιῆς τοιαύτης ἄρχειν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴῃ πρήγμα γνώμας ἐμέ σοι ἀποφαίνεσθαι· εἰ δὲ ἔγνωκας ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ σὺ εἰς καὶ ἐτέρων τοιῶνδε ἄρχεις, ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον μάθε, ὥς κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν ἐστὶ πρηγμάτων, περιφερόμενος δὲ οὐκ ἔα αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐτυχέειν. ἤδη ὦν ἐγὼ γνώμην ἔχω περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου πρήγματος τὰ ἔμπαιιν ἢ οὗτοι· εἰ γὰρ ἐβελήσομεν ἐσδέξασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τὴν χώραν, ὅδε τοι ἐν αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἐνι· ἐσσωθεῖς μὲν προσαπολλύεις πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχήν· δηλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι νικῶντες Μασσαγέται οὐ τὸ ὀπίσω φεύγονται ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ ἀρχὰς τὰς σὰς ἐλῶσι· νικῶν δὲ οὐ νικᾷς τοσοῦτον, ὅσον εἰ διαβὰς ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων νικῶν Μασσαγέτας ἔποιω φεύγουσι· τοῦτο <sup>692</sup> γὰρ ἀντιθίσω ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ἐλάς ἰθὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Τομύριος· χωρὶς τε τοῦ ἀπηγγημένου, αἰσχροὺν καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν Κύρῳ γε τὸν Καμβύσῳ <sup>693</sup> γυναικὶ εἵξαντα ὑποχωρήσαι τῆς χώρας. νῦν ὦν μοι

<sup>691</sup> *δτι*. This word sometimes is used to introduce the *very words* which have been employed on any occasion alluded to; in which case, as here, it is not taken into account in the construction. In this instance, Croesus may be conceived to refer to a saying which he was constantly in the habit of employing, and which Cyrus would recognize. It is therefore not correct to regard the word *δτι* as simply pleonastic. In the next few sentences the same character prevails. The remarks are some of those often-repeated “wise saws” of which Croesus is made by Herodotus the especial channel.

<sup>692</sup> *τοῦτο*. Gaisford, with the MSS, *ταύτῳ*.

<sup>693</sup> *Κύρῳ γε τὸν Καμβύσῳ*. The speaker is here taking a different tone from that which characterized the traditions which related the birth and infancy of Cyrus. Here the being the son of *Cambyzes* is made a matter of pride to

Cyrus; whereas in those all his nobility is derived from his mother. (See § 107, πολλῶ ἐνεργεῖ ἔγων αὐτὸν μέσου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου, and § 91, μητρὸς ἀμείνωνος πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδραστήρου.) A similar change may be seen in the enumeration by Xerxes of his ancestors, among whom he places Cambyzes (vii. 11). Now this change may well have been effected after the Achæmenids had reigned for some time over the whole Medo-Persian empire; but scarcely before. Herodotus therefore here appears to commit an anachronism, and so also in speaking of the ἀγαθὰ Περσικὰ in the next sentence: for the habits of the Persians could hardly have changed so much as to make their luxury proverbial, while Cyrus was going on with his conquests. (See the story of Artembares and Cyrus below, ix. 122.) These considerations will add weight to the remarks in note 703, and prevent us from attaching implicit credit to the account of Herodotus as to the

δοκέει, διαβάντας προελθεῖν ὅσον ἂν ἐκείνοι διεξίωσι, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τάδε ποιεῦντας πειράσθαι ἐκείνων περιγενέσθαι· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Μασσαγέται εἰσὶ ἀγαθῶν τε Περσικῶν ἄπειροι καὶ καλῶν μεγάλων ἀπαθείς· τοῖτοισι ὦν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι, τῶν προβάτων ἀφειδέως πολλὰ κατακόψαντας καὶ σκεύασαντας, προθείναι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δαῖτα· πρὸς δὲ, καὶ κρητήρας ἀφειδέως οἶνου ἀκρήτου καὶ σιτία παντοῖα· ποιήσαντας δὲ ταῦτα, ὑπολειπομένους τῆς στρατιῆς τὸ φλαυρότατον τοὺς λοιποὺς αὐτὶς ἐξαναχωρέειν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν· ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ γνώμης μὴ ἀμάρτω, κείνοι ἰδόμενοι ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ τρέφονται τε πρὸς αὐτὰ, καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν λείπεται ἀπόδεξις ἔργων μεγάλων.”

Γνώμαι μὲν αὗται συνέστασαν <sup>694</sup>. Κῦρος δὲ μετεῖς τὴν προτέρην 208  
γνώμην τὴν Κροῖσου δὲ ἐλόμενος, προηγόρευε Τομύρι ἐξαναχωρέειν, ὥς αὐτοῦ διαβησομένου ἐπ’ ἐκείνην. ἡ μὲν δὲ ἐξαναχώρεε, κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα· Κῦρος δὲ Κροῖσον ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἐσθείς τῷ ἐωυτοῦ παιδί Καμβύσῃ, τῷ περ τὴν βασιλητὴν ἐδίδου <sup>695</sup>, καὶ πολλὰ ἐντειλάμενός οἱ τιμᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν ἦν ἡ διάβασις ἡ ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας μὴ ὀρθωθῇ, ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος καὶ ἀποστείλας τοῦτους ἐς Πέρσας, αὐτὸς διέβαινε τὸν ποταμόν καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν Ἀράξεα, νυκτὸς 209  
ἐπελθούσης, εἶδε ὄψιν εὐδων ἐν τῶν Μασσαγετέων τῇ χώρῃ τοιγῦνδ’ ἐδόκεε ὁ Κῦρος ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ὁρᾶν τῶν Ὑστάσπεος παίδων <sup>696</sup> τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας, καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν<sup>a</sup>. Ὑστάσπεϊ δὲ τῷ Ἀρσάμεος ἐόντι ἀνδρὶ Ἀχαιμενίδῃ ἦν τῶν παίδων Δαρείος πρεσβύτατος, ἐὼν τότε ἡλικίην ἐς εἰκοσὶ κου μάλιστα ἔτεα· καὶ οὗτος καταλέλειπτο ἐν Πέρσῃσι· οὐ γὰρ εἶχέ κω ἡλικίην στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπεὶ ὦν δὲ ἐξεγέρθη ὁ Κῦρος, ἐδίδου λόγον ἐωυτῷ περὶ τῆς ὄψιος· ὥς δὲ οἱ ἐδόκεε μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ὄψις, καλέσας Ὑστάσπεα καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μῦθον εἶπε· “Ὑστάσπεες, παῖς σὸς ἐπιβουλευόν ἐμοί τε καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ ἐάλωκε· ὥς δὲ

but attempt to entrap them by a stratagem.

Cyrus acts on his advice, and passes the Araxes.

In consequence of an evil dream, he sends home Hystaspes, the father of Darius.

part taken by Cyrus against the Massagete: since the story cannot, in its details, come from contemporaneous authorities. Compare note 640, above.

<sup>694</sup> συνέστασαν. For the force of this word see the note on vii. 142, συνεστηκῆναι μάλιστα.

<sup>695</sup> τῷ περ τὴν βασιλητὴν ἐδίδου. See note on vii. 2, κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον.

<sup>696</sup> τῶν Ὑστάσπεος παίδων. It is not impossible that Hystaspes was his cousin-german. See note on vii. 11.

<sup>a</sup> τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην . . . ἐπισκιάζειν. See above, note 20.



ταῦτα ἀτρεκέως οἶδα, ἐγὼ σημαίνω· ἐμεῦ θεοὶ κηδέσθαι<sup>697</sup>, καὶ μοι πάντα προδεικνύουσι τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα· ἤδη ὦν ἐν τῇ παροισχομένῃ νυκτὶ εἶδων, εἶδον τῶν σῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην, τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν οὐκ ἔστι μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία, τὸ μὴ κεῖνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί<sup>698</sup>. σὺ τοῖον τὴν ταχίστην πορεύεο ὀπίσω ἐς Πέρσας, καὶ πολεεὶ ὅπως ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρεφάμενος ἔλθω ἐκεῖ, ὥς<sup>699</sup> μοι καταστήσης τὸν παῖδα ἐς ἔλεγχον.” Κῦρος μὲν δοκέων Δαρεῖόν οἱ ἐπιβουλεύειν, ἔλεγε τάδε τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτήσῃ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ μέλλοι ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ περιχωρεῖν ἐς Δαρεῖον. ἀμείβεται<sup>700</sup> δὴ ὦν ὁ Ὑστάσπης τοῖσδε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ εἴῃ ἀνὴρ Πέρσης γέγονας ὅστις τοι ἐπιβουλεύσει, εἰ δ’ ἔστι, ἀπόλοιτο ὡς τάχιστα· ὅς ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρους Πέρσας εἶναι, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι<sup>701</sup> ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἄρχειν ἀπάντων. εἰ δὲ τίς τοι ὄψις ἀπαγγέλλει παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν νεώτερα βουλεύειν περὶ σέο, ἐγὼ τοι παραδίδωμι χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦτο ὃ τι σὺ βούλει.” Ὑστάσπης μὲν τοῖτοισι ἀμεινόμενος, καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράξῃ, ἦγε ἐς Πέρσας, φυλάξων Κῦρον τὸν παῖδα Δαρεῖον.

## 211

He then carries out the plan of Croesus, and destroys a third part of the enemy's force, capturing Spartans, the son of the queen,

Κῦρος δὲ προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ἡμέρης ὁδὸν, ἐποίησε τὰς Κροίσου ὑποθήκας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Κῦρος τε καὶ Περσέων τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ<sup>702</sup> ἀπελάσαντος ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξῃ λειφθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀχρητοῦ, ἐπελθούσα τῶν Μασσαγετέων τριτημορις τοῦ στρατοῦ τοὺς τε λειφθέντας τῆς Κῦρου στρατιῆς ἐφόνευσεν ἀλεξομένους, καὶ τὴν προκειμένην ἰδόντες δαῖτα ὡς ἐχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους κλιθέντες δαίνυντο, πληρωθέντες δὲ φορβῆς καὶ οἶνου

<sup>697</sup> κηδέσθαι. Gaisford has κήδονται. See note on ii. 67, ἀπαγάται.

<sup>698</sup> οὐκ ἔστι μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία, τὸ μὴ κεῖνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί. This idiom is a very remarkable one. Literally, “there is no way out of this vision for him not to be plotting treason against me.” It expresses a logical necessity in terms of physical necessity. See note 129, above.

<sup>699</sup> ὥς. The interposition of so short a sentence after ὅπως seems scarcely a sufficient justification of the use of this word, which is manifestly superfluous. Perhaps Herodotus wrote ὡς τάχιστα.

<sup>700</sup> ἀμείβεται δὴ ὦν. Gaisford reads ἀμείβεται οἱ δὴ ὦν, on the authority of the manuscripts M, K, S, F, and a, but the word ἀμείβεσθαι is not found elsewhere with a dative of the person, and R and V have the reading in the text, which is adopted by Schweighäuser.

<sup>701</sup> ἄρχεσθαι. The article τοῦ might have been expected before this word. But its absence is defended by vi. 32, ἀντὶ εἶναι ἐνερχίας, and vii. 170, ἀντὶ δὲ εἶναι ηἰσιώτας.

<sup>702</sup> τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ. See iv. 135, σὺν τῷ καθαρῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ.

εἶδον οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μὲν σφρων ἐφόνευσαν<sup>700</sup>, πολλὰ δ' ἔτι πλευνας ἐξόγρησαν καὶ ἄλλους καὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖδα στρατηγέοντα Μασσαγετέων, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σπαργαπίσης. Ἡ δὲ, πυθομένη τά τε περὶ τὴν στρατιὴν γεγονότα καὶ 212 τὰ περὶ τὸν παῖδα, πέμπουσα κήρυκα παρὰ Κύρον ἔλεγε τάδε· “ ἄπληστε αἵματος Κύρε, μηδὲν ἐπαρθῆς τῷ γεγονότι τῷδε πρήγματι, εἰ ἀμπελίνῳ καρπῷ, τῷπερ αὐτοὶ ἐμπιπλάμενοι μαίνεσθε οὕτω<sup>701</sup> ὥστε κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπαναπλάειν ὑμῖν ἔπεια κακὰ, τοιούτῳ φαρμάκῳ δολώσας ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ μάχῃ κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν. νῦν ὦν μευ εὖ παραινέουσας ὑπόλαβε τὸν λόγον ἀποδούς μοι τὸν παῖδα ἄπιθι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἀξήμιος, Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίδι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας· εἰ δὲ μὴ ταῦτα σὺ ποιήσεις, ἥλιον ἐπόμενυμί τοι τὸν Μασσαγετέων δεσπότην ἢ μὴν σὲ ἐγὼ καὶ ἄπληστον εἶντα αἵματος κορέσω.”

<sup>700</sup> οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μὲν σφρων ἐφόνευσαν. In all the accounts given of the contest between the Persians and the Massagete, the feature of their intoxication and consequent destruction seems to have been preserved. This may be accounted for by the circumstance that it was handed down in a religious festival connected with the worship of Anaitis, and termed τὰ Σάκαια, which STRABO (xi. cap. 8, p. 432) describes as βακχεῖα τις τῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ νύκτωρ διασκευασμένων Σαυθιστί, πινόντων ἅμα καὶ πληκτιζομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἅμα τε καὶ τὰς συμπεποιόσας γυναῖκας. He gives two different accounts of the origin of this festival, which existed down to his time at Zela in Pontus,—a place which was constituted a town by Pompey after the Mithridatic war, having been previously an establishment of hierodules of the goddess. One of them is, that the Sacæ (which he makes identical, or nearly so, with the Massagete, and inhabiting the eastern part of Independent Tartary), having overrun the best part of Armenia, and got as far as Cappadocia and Pontus, were there suddenly attacked while feasting on their spoils by “the Persian generals at that time stationed in those parts,” and utterly annihilated. Another account is, he says, that Cyrus, having been defeated in an expedition against the Sacæ, resorted to the expedient in the text. If it be remembered that the Anaitis-worship

prevailed all over the East, and that the Persians, or those who in the idea of Herodotus represented the Persians, called all Scythians, and consequently the Massagete, Sacians (vii. 64), it seems far from improbable that the two stories of Strabo, the one in the text, and the one of which Cyaxares is the hero (i. 106), are all so many different local accounts of the origin of one and the same religious festival, substantially identical, but varying in all the circumstances of time, place, and *dramatis personæ*. See note 693, above.

<sup>701</sup> μαίνεσθε οὕτω. The reproach of intemperance comes strangely from the mouth of a Massagete; for the habitual drunkenness of these nomad tribes has always been notorious (see vi. 84). But the liquor which they use for the purpose of intoxication is *koumiss*—fermented mare's milk; so that perhaps, in the original form of the tale, Tomiris's scorn referred rather to the *beverage*, wine, than to its effects, just as ÆSCHYLUS (*Supplikes*, 953) makes the Argive king, by way of an insult, tell the Egyptian herald that he will find his countrymen to be men οὐ πίνοντας ἐκ κριθῶν μέθυ. In passing through a Hellenic channel, however, this peculiar feature might easily be lost sight of, and the reproach take the common form of a charge of intemperance.

213 *Κῦρος μὲν νυν τῶν ἐπέων οὐδένα τούτων ἀνευειχθέντων ἐποιέετο λόγον. ὁ δὲ τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖς Σπαργαπίστης, ὥς μιν ὃ τε οἶνος ἀνῆκε καὶ ἔμαθε ἵνα ᾖ κακοῦ, δεηθεὶς Κύρου ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι ἔτυχεν ὥς δὲ ἐλύθη τε τάχιστα καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκράτησε, διεργάζεται ἐωυτόν καὶ δὴ οὗτος μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ*

who kills himself.

214 *τελευτᾷ. Τόμυρις δὲ, ὥς οἱ ὁ Κῦρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε, συλλέξασα πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτῆς δύναμιν συνέβαλε Κῦρι. ταύτην τὴν μάχην, ὅσαι δὴ βαρβάρων ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἐγένοντο, κρίνω ἰσχυροτάτην γενέσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ πυνθάνομαι οὕτω τοῦτο γενόμενον πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ λέγεται αὐτοὺς διαστάντας ἐς ἀλλήλους τοξεύειν μετὰ δὲ, ὥς σφι τὰ βέλεα ἐξετετόξευτο, συμπεσόντας τῇσι αἰχμησί τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐγχειριδίοισι συνέχεσθαι χρόνον τε δὴ ἐπὶ πολλὸν συνεστάναι μαχομένους καὶ οὐδετέρους ἐθέλειν φεύγειν, τέλος δὲ, οἱ Μασσαγέται περιεγενέατο· ἥ τε δὴ πολλῇ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατιῆς αὐτοῦ ταύτη<sup>755</sup> διεφθάρη, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Κῦρος τελευτᾷ βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα ἔτεα· ἄσκον δὲ πλήσασα αἵματος ἀνθρωπητοῦ Τόμυρις ἐδίξητο ἐν τοῖσι τεθνεῶσι τῶν Περσέων τὸν Κύρου νέκυν ὥς δὲ εἶρε, ἐναπήντη αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸν ἄσκον, λυμαινομένη δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγε τάδε “Σὺ μὲν ἐμὲ ζώουσάν τε καὶ νικῶσάν σε μάχῃ ἀπώλεσας παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν ἐλὼν δόλω, σὲ δ’ ἐγὼ, κατὰπερ ἠπέιλησα, αἵματος κορέσω.” τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Κύρου τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων<sup>756</sup>, ὅδε μοι ὁ πιθανώτατος εἴρηται.*

In a second battle, Tomyras defeats the Persian army, and kills Cyrus.

<sup>755</sup> αὐτοῦ ταύτη. See note on iii. 25.

<sup>756</sup> πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων. CTESIAS made Cyrus die in consequence of a wound received in action with the Derbices, under a king Amorceus. They are assisted by Indians with elephants, who frighten the horses of Cyrus's cavalry. He is rescued from impending defeat by Amorges, who comes up with an army of Sacæ, but dies on the third day after receiving his wound (ap. Photium, p. 37). ARISTOBULUS (ap. Arrian. vi. 29) professed to have visited the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadæ, which had been plundered during the absence of Alexander in India, and to have replaced some fragments of the body in a golden sarcophagus, which the robbers had opened and vainly attempted to break up. A college of Magi were, as he says, appointed by Cambyzes to watch this tomb, and allowed a sheep per day for maintenance,

and a horse every month to offer to Cyrus: and their office was hereditary. DIODORUS, however (following some other author than his general authority, Ctesias), incidentally mentions that Cyrus was killed in action by a queen of the Massagetæ, and his body crucified: and ONESICRITUS, pilot of Alexander's fleet (ap. Strabon. x. c. 3. p. 321), describes the so-called tomb in a very different way from Aristobulus,—making it *few* stories high instead of *two*, and stating that the inscription on it was a Greek hexameter verse in Persian characters; in which case it could hardly have been more than a cenotaph, erected not earlier than the time of Darius. XENOPHON, in the Cyropædia, makes Cyrus die in his bed of old age: but this work can only be regarded as a kind of novel.—of authority for manners but not for facts,—although in this particular instance

Μασσαγέται δὲ ἐσθιήτα τε ὁμοίην τῇ Σκυθικῇ<sup>701</sup> φορέουσι καὶ 215  
 δίαταιν ἔχουσι. ἵπποται δὲ εἰσι καὶ ἀνιπποι, (ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ Garb and  
 μετέχουσι<sup>702</sup>;) καὶ τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροι, σαγάρεις νομίζοντες Massagetæ  
 ἔχειν<sup>703</sup>. χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται· ὅσα μὲν γὰρ  
 ἐς αἰχμὰς καὶ ἄρδεις καὶ σαγάρεις, χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται· ὅσα  
 δὲ περὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ ζωστήρας καὶ μασχαλιστήρας, χρυσῷ κοσμέ-  
 ονται· ὥς δ' αὖτως τῶν ἵππων τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα χαλκέους  
 θώρηκας περιβάλλουσιν· τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς χαλινούς καὶ στόμια καὶ  
 φάλαρα χρυσῷ. σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδ' ἀργύρῳ χρέωνται οὐδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 οὐδέ σφί ἐστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ· ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς καὶ ὁ χαλκὸς ἀπλετος<sup>710</sup>.  
 Νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται τοιοῖσδε· γυναῖκα μὲν γαμέει ἕκαστος ταύτησι 216  
 δὲ ἐπίκουνα χρέωνται· ὁ γὰρ Σκύθας φασὶ Ἕλληνας ποιεῖν, οὐ are often  
 Σκύθαι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιοῦντες ἀλλὰ Μασσαγέται<sup>711</sup>. τῆς γὰρ ἐπιθυ- attributed  
 μήσει γυναικὸς Μασσαγέτης ἀνὴρ, τὸν φαρετρεῶνα ἀποκρεμάσας to the Scy-  
 πρὸ τῆς ἀμάξης μίσγεται ἀδεῶς. οὖρος δὲ ἡλικίης σφι προκέεται thians.  
 ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς· ἐπεὰν δὲ γέρον γένηται κάρτα<sup>712</sup>, οἱ προσήκοντές  
 οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες θύουσὶ μιν καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἅμα αὐτῷ·  
 ἐψήσαντες δὲ τὰ κρέα κατευωχέονται. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ὀλβιώτατά σφι  
 νενόμισται· τὸν δὲ νοῦσφ τελευτήσαντα οὐ κατασιτεύονται, ἀλλὰ  
 γῇ κρύπτουσι συμφορὴν ποιούμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἔκετο ἐς τὸ τυθῆναι.  
 σπεύρουσι δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων ζώουσι καὶ ἰχθύων. οἱ δὲ  
 ἀφθονοὶ σφι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀράξω ποταμοῦ παραγίνονται· γαλακτοπόται They are  
 δὲ εἰσὶ. θεῶν δὲ μόνον ἥλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι ἵππους<sup>713</sup>. sun-wor-  
 shippers.

he is confirmed by DINON (*ap. Ciceron. De Divinat.* i. 23), who makes Cyrus come to the empire at the age of forty, and die at that of seventy.

<sup>701</sup> ὁμοίην τῇ Σκυθικῇ. See note 677 above, and that on iv. 26, ἀναμίζαντες πάντα τὰ κρέα.

<sup>702</sup> ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσι, "For of both are there tribes occupying parts [of the great waste]." Understand *tribes*. Some of the race which inhabited the flanks of the mountains (see STRABO, quoted in note 685) would be *ἀνιπποι*, while the nomads of the westernmost part of the plains would doubtless be *ἵπποται*. For the use of the word *μετέχουσι*, see note 686.

<sup>703</sup> σαγάρεις νομίζοντες ἔχειν. See note on vii. 64.

<sup>710</sup> ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς καὶ ὁ χαλκὸς ἀπλετος. The gold might be obtained from the

sand of the streams in the Altai Mountains, from whence it would be carried by traffic far and wide. The Ural range is much nearer to the plains which Herodotus had in his mind; but it is only recently that those mountains have been known to yield gold. With regard to the brass, it has been found that the arms discovered on opening any of the ancient barrows in Northern Asia have been invariably of that metal (RITTKE, *Erkundung*, ii. p. 796).

<sup>711</sup> οὐ Σκύθαι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιοῦντες ἀλλὰ Μασσαγέται. See note 677.

<sup>712</sup> ἐπεὰν δὲ γέρον γένηται κάρτα. A similar practice is attributed to the Issedones, the neighbours of the Massageteæ, iv. 26, where see the note, and to another people, iii. 99.

<sup>713</sup> τῷ θύουσι ἵππους. That the sacrifice of horses was commonly practised by

νόμος δὲ οὗτος τῆς θυσίης τῶν θεῶν τῇ ταχίστῃ πάντων τῶν  
θηπτῶν τὸ τάχιστον δατέονται.

the Persians seems to follow from the statement of ARISTOBULUS given in the note 706, above. Possibly the "sacred horses" mentioned in § 189 may have been intended for this purpose (see vii. 114), although it seems more likely that they were a relief for drawing the chariot of the sun. But all nomad tribes feed

upon the flesh of the animals which they employ for the purposes of locomotion; and the sacrifice was probably a never-failing preliminary of a flesh-meal. Hence apparently the origin of the Persians eating the *camel* and the *ass* (§ 133). The custom doubtless grew up in the times when they were nomads.

## EXCURSUS ON I. 32.

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IN the ancient kalendars there were two distinct points which required attention; the one, the adjustment of the civil month to the motions of the moon; the other, that of the civil year to the motions of the sun. Of these two there can be no doubt that the former was in early times regarded as by far the more important. It was the lunar month by which the religious festivals were regulated; and the inconvenience occasioned by the discrepancy between the conventional new moon and the natural one would make itself felt more strongly from the circumstance, that the neglect, however involuntary, of public religious rites in any particular was conceived to draw down the wrath of Heaven upon the land. Aristophanes puts this superstition in his jesting way in the "Clouds" (vv. 558—68) making the Moon send a message to the spectators by the Chorus, complaining of the irritation of the gods at finding nothing provided for them on days when, according to *her* reckoning (on which alone they could depend), they had a right to expect a feast; and, on the other hand, at having their times of fasting or mourning for Memnon or Sarpedon, or some other hero, indecently disturbed by the riotous festivities of mortals. Not only religious festivals, however, but commercial proceedings also, were regulated by the lunar month,—or rather by the civil month founded upon it. Money was lent at interest by the month, and accounts settled at the end of it. Agricultural operations meanwhile, and navigation (which depend upon the seasons of the year), were determined not by any reference to the civil kalendar, but by the rising or setting of certain constellations; or by the appearance

or the cries of birds, such as the swallow, the cuckoo, the crane, or the kite. Allusions to this habit abound in Aristophanes, showing decisively that the rude methods of determining the season of the year which Hesiod gives prevailed generally in the time of the Peloponnesian war, although just before its commencement the foundation of a better system had been already laid.

The determination of a civil lunar month which shall agree at first pretty closely with the natural lunations is not at all a difficult matter. If twelve months be taken alternately of 30 and 29 days, twelve of them will amount to 354 days; and this was the Athenian civil year for some time after Solon. Twelve lunations amount to 354 days, 8 hours, 48 minutes, and 34 seconds; so that it would be nearly three years before the difference of a day would arise between the natural and the conventional new moon. But this difference would continually increase, the system having no principle of correction within itself; and in the course of little more than forty years the *νομήνια κατὰ σελήνην* (as Thucydides calls the *natural* new moon, ii. 28) would fall upon the fifteenth day of the civil lunar month.

The discordance between a civil year consisting of 354 days and the solar year, consisting of  $365\frac{1}{4}$ , would very early force itself into attention; and a system called the *octaeteris*, or cycle of eight years, was invented for the purpose of correcting it. This object was effected by intercalating a month of 30 days, a second Posideon, three times in the course of the eight years,—generally in such a way as to make the third, the fifth, and the eighth consist of thirteen months. This would give  $8 \times 354 + 90 (= 2922)$  days for the cycle, which is the exact amount of eight years of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days each, and consequently the *civil* lunar year would every eight years be brought into agreement with the solar year.

But this advantage would be purchased at the expense of one which, according to ancient habits of thinking, was even more important,—the approximation of the civil to the natural lunar month. The *octaeteris* of 2922 days is not equivalent to 99 lunations, which amount to nearly  $2923\frac{1}{2}$  days: and consequently a kalendar regulated on such a principle would neither correct, nor to any important extent retard, the continually increasing difference between the civil and the natural lunar month. The obvious course would be to interpolate three days in the course of 16 years,—and this, it is said, was

attempted,—but, as such a proceeding would at once derange the adjustment between the civil lunar year and the solar year, it seems very questionable whether it was ever adopted.

A plan for uniting the advantage both of a solar and lunar adjustment was *proposed* by Meton in the archonship of Apseudes, a year before the commencement of the Peloponnesian war. So much as this follows from the notice of Diodorus (xii. 36), but there seems no authority to assume, as some have done, that this famous cycle of nineteen years, the *Enneadecaeteris*, which has continued in use for some purposes to the present day, was formally adopted by public authority at once. In the year 432 B.C., the summer solstice fell on the 13th day of the Attic month Scirophorion (the 27th of June), and, the new-moon synchronizing with it, there was an error of 18 days between the natural and the conventional commencement of the month Hecatombæon, the first of the Attic year. This point of time Meton proposed to make the epoch of his cycle. Instead of the previous methods of intercalation, he suggested as the basis of his scheme a series of 235 months of 30 days each, the result of intercalating a second Poseidon seven times, *viz.* in the third, fifth, eighth, eleventh, thirteenth, sixteenth, and nineteenth years of the *Enneadecaeteris*. This would give 7050 days, *i. e.* 110 days too much; as the number of days in nineteen years, according to his computation, amounted to 6940, reckoning the solar year at 365 days, 6 hours, 18 minutes, and 57 seconds. Now, according to the old method of striking out one day from every alternate month, 117 or 118 days would have had to be struck out, which would make the cycle 7 or 8 days too short. Meton therefore struck out every 63rd day throughout the period, which days were called *ἡμέραι ἐξαίρεσιμος*, and the months which by their extrusion were shortened were denominated *κοῖλαι*, to distinguish them from the others, which were designated *πλήρεις* as containing their full complement of 30 days. The following table, which is taken from the Appendix to Clinton's "*Fasti Hellenici*," vol. ii. p. 338, will exhibit to the eye the Metonic scheme, and it is not unlikely that what was really done by Meton in the archonship of Apseudes was to set up some such table engraved on stone or brass, in a frequented part of the city or the vicinity, for public criticism.



## YEARS OF THE CYCLE.

MONTHS.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Hecatombeon		18		24		30		3		9	27	15		21					18
Metagitnion			6		12		18		24				3		9	27	15		
Boëdromion	3	21		27				6		12	30	18		24				3	21
Pyanepsion			9		15	3	21		27				6		12	30	18		
Mæmacterion	6	24		30				9		15		21		27				6	24
Posideon (α)			12		18	6	24		30		3		9		15		21		
Posideon (β) intercalated seven times	*	*		*		*	*	12	*	*		*		*	*	3	*	*	27
Gamelion	9	27	15		21					18	6	24	12	30				9	
Anthesterion				3		9	27	15							18	6	24		30
Elaphebolion	12	30	18		24				3	21	9	27	15						12
Munychion				6		12	30	18						3	21	9	27		
Thargelion	15		21		27				6	24	12	30	18						15
Sciophorion		3		9		15		21						6	24	12	30		

The utility of this table is very great. It contains within itself a correction of the difference between the conventional and the natural new moon, which at no time in the whole nineteen years can exceed twenty-six hours, and at the expiration of the cycle is only about seven hours and a half. But, although it thus commends itself to understanding critics, the apparent irregularity of the length of the months (no one of which in the course of the nineteen years was always of the same magnitude) no doubt gave dissatisfaction to those citizens who were accustomed to the old "rule of thumb," which made the months alternately *πλήρεις* and *κοίλαι*. And although the inequality of the civil and lunar months was, as has been said, limited by it, yet within this limit it increased much more rapidly than under the old system. Thus, in the very first year of the cycle, at the beginning of the month Boëdromion, the civil new moon would be nearly a day (*i. e.* 22h. 32m.) behind the natural new moon, reckoning a lunation at 29d. 12h. and 44m.; it is really

nearly three seconds longer. At the beginning of Mæmacterion, the difference would be only diminished by 1h. 28m., but this correction would continue steadily till the beginning of Elaphebolion in the second year, when the inequality would have diminished to 9h. 20m. But, Munychion and Thargelion being full months in that year, the inequality would be increased again by the beginning of Scirophorion to 19h. 8m. Then the diminution would again recommence, and at the beginning of Mæmacterion in the fourth year, the inequality would be reduced to 7h. 54m. Again, it would receive a sudden addition from the circumstance of Posideon and Gamelion in that year being full months, and at the beginning of Anthesterion would amount to 17h. 42m., from which point the reduction would recommence afresh.

If the two first months, and also the two last of the Enneadecaeteris be abstracted, the remainder is made up of eleven cyclical periods of twenty-one months each, in every one of which the first twenty are alternately κοῖλαι and πλήρεις, while the twenty-first is always πλήρης. The operation, therefore, of Meton's corrective system may be easily conceived by observing that the inequality of 22h. 32m., existing at the beginning of Boëdromion in the first year, is corrected by a bimestral amount of 1h. 28m. during the first twenty months of these smaller cycles, while every twenty-first month the aggregate correction of the twenty months is suddenly diminished by 11h. 16m., or more than seven-tenths of its amount. Nevertheless the balance tends to diminish the inequality, and in the seventh of the smaller cycles the civil month, instead of being *behind* the natural month, slightly precedes it, so that, at the commencement of Metagitnion in the thirteenth year, the conventional new moon would be 1h. 16m. *before* the natural one, in spite of the retardation. The mechanism which had hitherto served to correct the inequality would now begin to increase it at a more rapid rate. The civil new moon of Elaphebolion in the fourteenth year would be 1h. 28m. + 14h. 40m. (= 16h. 8m.) before its proper time, that of Poseideon in the sixteenth would be 19h. 32m. too early, that of Metagitnion in the eighteenth would be 22h. 56m., and that of Munychion in the last year of the cycle would come 26h. 20m. too soon. Here, however, a change would again take place. Thargelion in the nineteenth year was made by Meton a full month, the whole number of 110

days having been already excluded, and therefore the third day in it was not taken as a *ἡμέρα ἐξαπέριμος*. By this means a rapid retardation took place, so that the civil new moon of Scirophorion, the last month in the *Enneadecasteris*, came only 3h. 48m. too soon, and that of Hecatombæon at the beginning of the second cycle of nineteen years only 7h. 28m. too late.

# ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

## ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΗ.

### ΕΥΤΕΡΠΗ.

ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣΑΝΤΟΣ δὲ Κύρου παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλητὴν Καμ- 1  
βύσης, Κύρου ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κασσανδάνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω θυγα- Cambyses  
τρός· τῆς προαποθανούσης, Κύρος αὐτός τε μέγα πένθος ἐποιήσατο succeeds  
καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι προεῖπε πᾶσι, τῶν ἥρχε, πένθος ποιέεσθαι· Cyrus his  
ταύτης δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κύρου Καμβύσης, Ἰωνας μὲν His mother  
καὶ Αἰολέας ὡς δούλους πατρῷους<sup>1</sup> ὄντας ἐνόμιζε, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυ- Cassandane  
πτου<sup>2</sup> ἐποιέετο στρατηλασίην, ἄλλους τε παραλαβὼν τῶν ἥρχε καὶ daughter of  
δὴ καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐπεκράτεε<sup>3</sup>. Pharnaspea.

Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, πρὶν μὲν ἢ Ψαμμίτιχον<sup>4</sup> σφέων βασιλεῦσαι, 2  
ἐνόμιζον ἐωυτοὺς πρώτους γενέσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ Anecdote of  
Ψαμμίτιχος βασιλεύσας ἠθέλησε εἰδέναι οὔτινες γενοίατο πρώτοι, Psammiti-  
ἀπὸ τούτου νομίζουσι Φρύγας προτέρους γενέσθαι ἐωυτῶν, τῶν chus's pro-  
δὲ ἄλλων ἐωυτούς· Ψαμμίτιχος γὰρ<sup>5</sup> ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο πυνθανόμενος ceeding to  
πόρον οὐδένα τούτου ἀνευρεῖν, οἱ γενοίατο πρώτοι ἀνθρώπων, ἐπι- discover  
τεχνᾷται τοιόνδε· παῖδια δύο νεογνὰ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων what was  
the oldest  
nation.

<sup>1</sup> Δούλους πατρῷους. See note 476 on i. 141.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον. The thread of the narrative is resumed in the beginning of Book III., the whole of this one being taken up with a description of Egypt, and a history of the dynasties down to the invasion of Cambyses.

These were Ionians and Æolians, as appears from iii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ψαμμίτιχον. The MSS vary between the forms Ψαμμήτιχος, Ψαμμίτιχος, and that in the text. S and V have Ψαμμίτιχος.

<sup>5</sup> γάρ. Gaisford, with the majority of the MSS, has δέ. But these words are continually interchanged by transcribers.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐπεκράτεε.

διδόι ποιμένοι τρέφειν ἐς τὰ ποιμνία<sup>6</sup> τροφήν τινα τοιήνδε, ἐντε-  
λάμενος μηδένα ἀντίον αὐτῶν μηδεμίαν φωνὴν ἵεναι ἐν στέγῃ δὲ  
ἐρήμῃ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν κέεσθαι αὐτὰ, καὶ τὴν ὄρην ἐπαγινέειν σφι  
αἶγας, πλήσαντα δὲ τοῦ γάλακτος τὰλλα διαπρήσσεσθαι ταῦτα  
δ' ἐποίεε τε καὶ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος, θέλων ἀκούσαι τῶν  
παιδίων, ἀπαλλαχθέντων τῶν ἀσήμεων κυνημάτων<sup>7</sup>, ἥτινα φωνὴν  
ῥήξουσι πρῶτην τάπερ ὦν καὶ ἐγένετο· ὥς γὰρ διέτης χρόνος<sup>8</sup>  
ἐγεγόνεε ταῦτα τῷ ποιμένι πρήσσοντι, ἀνοίγοντι τὴν θύρην καὶ  
ἐσιόντι τὰ παιδιά ἀμφότερα προσπίπτοντα βεκὸς<sup>9</sup> ἐφώνεον, ὁρέ-  
γοντα τὰς χεῖρας· τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ἀκούσας ἥσυχος ἦν ὁ ποιμήν,  
ὥς δὲ πολλάκι φοιτέοντι καὶ ἐπιμελομένῳ πολλὸν ἦν τοῦτο τὸ  
ἔπος, οὕτω δὲ σημήνας τῷ δεσπότη ἤγαγε τὰ παιδιά κελεύσαντος  
ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐκείνου ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος, ἐπνυ-  
θάνετο οἷτινες ἀνθρώπων βεκὸς τί καλέουσι· πυνθανόμενος δὲ  
εὗρισκε Φρύγας καλέοντας τὸν ἄρτον οὕτω συνεχώρησαν Αἰγύ-  
πτιοι, καὶ τοιοῦτω σταθμισάμενοι πρήγματι, τοὺς Φρύγας πρεσβυ-  
τέρους εἶναι ἐωυτῶν. Ὡδε μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱεῶν τοῦ Ἡφαίστου  
ἐν Μέμφι ἤκουον. Ἕλληνες δὲ λέγουσι ἄλλα τε μάταια πολλὰ,  
καὶ ὥς γυναικῶν τὰς γλώσσας ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος ἐκταμὼν τὴν διαίταν  
οὕτως ἐποίησατο τῶν παίδων παρὰ ταύτησι τῇσι γυναιξί. κατὰ  
μὲν δὴ τὴν τροφήν τῶν παίδων τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ  
ἄλλα ἐν Μέμφι ἑλθὼν ἐς λόγους τοῖσι ἱερεῦσι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου. καὶ

## 3

The author heard many stories from the priests of Memphis, Thebes, and Heliopolis, both of divine and human matters.

<sup>6</sup> διδοί ποιμένοι τρέφειν ἐς τὰ ποιμνία, "gives them to a shepherd to take to his flocks and bring up."

<sup>7</sup> ἀπαλλαχθέντων τῶν ἀσήμεων κυνημάτων, "after the unmeaning whimpering [of infancy] had past away." The exact meaning of κυνήματα appears best from the beautiful expression of THEOCRITUS:—

οὐδὲ τι φωνᾶσαι δυνάμην, οὐδ' ὅσον ἐν ὑπνῷ  
κυζῶνται φωνεῦντα φίλαν ποτὶ μητέρα  
τέκνα. (ii. 108.)

<sup>8</sup> διέτης χρόνος. SUIDAS (εὐδ. v. βεκ-κεσέληνος) appears to have read τριέτης χρόνος. And POLLUX (v. 88) seems to have had a MS varying in some respects from any existing one; for he says, with reference to this passage: ὥς Ἡρόδοτος ἐφαλταὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βρεφῶν τῶν Φρυγίων λόγῳ, βληχᾶσθαι τὰς αἶγας οἰόμενος.

<sup>9</sup> βεκός. It seems likely that this is a dialectal variety of φακός (see note on vii. 73, ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες), which is no doubt etymologically connected with φάγω, and, possibly, meant originally food, although in subsequent times it was confined to that species of aliment most accessible to the common people. HIPPOCRATES used the word in a trochaic tetrameter (preserved by STRABO, viii. c. 3, p. 150), Κυπρίων βεκὸς φαργόνει κάμα-θουσίην πυρόν, from which it would seem to have been a provincial term in some part of Cyprus. The Semitic root *bak* is said to have the meaning of food, and the form βεκός probably was brought to Cyprus from Phœnicia, and there remained. Some of the MSS have βεκκός, a form which appears in the word βεκκεσέληνος used by ARISTOPHANES (NUB. 398).

δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας<sup>10</sup> τε καὶ ἐς Ἡλιούπολιν αὐτῶν τούτων εἵνεκεν ἑτραπόμην, ἐθέλων εἶδέναι εἰ συμβήσονται τοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι ἐν Μίεμφι· οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιουπολῖται λέγονται Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι λογιώτατοι<sup>11</sup>. τὰ μὲν νυν θεία τῶν ἀπηρηγμάτων οἷα ἤκουον οὐκ εἰμὶ πρόθυμος ἐξηγέσθαι, ἔξω ἢ τὰ οὐνόματα αὐτῶν μῦθον, νομίζων πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἴσον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπίστασθαι· τὰ δ' ἂν ἐπιμνησθῶ αὐτῶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐξαναγκαζόμενος ἐπιμνησθήσομαι.

“Ὅσα δὲ ἀνθρωπήϊα πρήγματα ὧδε ἔλεγον ὁμολογέοντες σφίσι· 4  
πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἐξευρέειν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, The Egyptians the  
Δυώδεκα μέρεα δασαμένους τῶν ὥρέων<sup>12</sup> ἐς αὐτόν ταῦτα δὲ first discoverers of  
ἐξευρέειν ἐκ τῶν ἀστρων ἔλεγον<sup>13</sup>. ἄγουσι δὲ τοσφῶδε σοφώτερον the solar  
cycle.

<sup>10</sup> καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας. It would seem a fair inference from these words (which exist in all the MSS), that Herodotus made a special expedition to Thebes, and there remained. The way in which he quotes the Theban priests, too, in i. 182, is quite in accordance with such a notion. But see note on § 16, below. Is it possible that he only went as far as Coptus on the river (see note on § 17), or to the place which served the same purpose that Coptus did in the time of the Ptolemies, and made a mere excursion to one temple at Thebes?

<sup>11</sup> λογιώτατοι, “the richest in legendary lore.” See note 6 on i. 1. Several of the MSS, however, have λογίματοι, which may be defended, although the reading of the rest appears preferable.

<sup>12</sup> τῶν ὥρέων. The use of this word is not to be overlooked. The duodenary division, which the Egyptians made, was not a division of seasons, but of space proportional (or nearly so) to a division of time. It was a division of the zodiac into twelve parts, rudely defined to the eye by certain combinations of constellations, through which the path of the sun lay. But Herodotus was obviously not an astronomer. “The year” was to him the succession of certain seasons, and he uses the term which was familiar to himself. The confusion of thought which gives rise to the expression is also observable in § 26, below, εἰ δὲ ἡ στάσις ἡλλακτο τῶν ὥρέων, κ.τ.λ., where “the seasons” are localized as meteorological phenomena, without any reference to the motion of the sun, which, indeed, is regarded as influenced by them. See also iii. 11, ἀποκλινομένης μεσαμβρίας, and the note there.

<sup>13</sup> ταῦτα δὲ ἐξευρέειν ἐκ τῶν ἀστρων ἔλεγον. The mode in which the length of the year is fixed, is by observing the number of days which elapse between two consecutive first risings, or last settings of any conspicuous star; phenomena which, in a country where the sky is habitually clear and the horizon uninterrupted, and where the habits of the people keep them much in the open air, are quite as striking as the changes of the moon in our own latitude. In Egypt, the star which first attracted observation for this purpose was, probably, *Sirius*, which the Egyptians called *Thoth* (or *Soth* = Σῶθις), a name which they also gave to the first month of their year. If the sun happens to be in a part of the heavens a little to the west of this star, it cannot fail to strike the eye of a spectator who watches the setting of the former, as it will come out on the western horizon apparently alone (like a spark of fire struck out from the larger body), in the midst of the growing darkness, and this the more conspicuously as the twilight is briefer. The next day he will again look for it and see it, but it will follow the setting sun more closely, and the last time he observes it it will be scarcely perceptible, from its proximity to the greater luminary. This is the technical *δosis* of the early Hellenic astronomy, to which *Æschylus* gives the appropriate epithet of *δόσκριτος* (*Prom.* 458). After this disappearance of *Sirius* as an evening star, it would be invisible for the space of about thirty days, after which time the sun would have past from the west to the east of it, for a sufficient space to allow it to be just visible on the eastern horizon before all the stars disap-

Their kalendar superior to that of the Hellenes.

They first gave names to the twelve gods, and established altars, images, and temples.

Men the first king of Egypt, in whose time all the

Ἑλλήνων, ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅσῳ Ἕλληνας μὲν διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἐμβόλιμον ἐπεμβάλλουσι<sup>14</sup> τῶν ὥρέων εἵνεκεν, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τριηκοντημέρους ἄγοντες τοὺς δωδέκα μῆνας<sup>15</sup>, ἐπάγουσι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πέντε ἡμέρας πάρεξ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ σφι ὁ κύκλος τῶν ὥρέων ἐς τὸντὸ περιῶν παραγίνεται. δωδέκα τε θεῶν ἐπωνυμίας ἔλεγον πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους νομίσαι<sup>16</sup>, καὶ Ἕλληνας παρὰ σφέν ἀναλαβεῖν βωμοὺς τε καὶ ὀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς θεοῖσι ἀπονείμειν σφέας πρώτους, καὶ ζῶα ἐν λίθοισι ἐγγλῆναι<sup>17</sup>. καὶ τούτων μὲν νῦν τὰ πλέω ἔργῳ ἐδήλουν οὕτω γενόμενα· βασιλεύσαι δὲ πρῶτον Αἰγύπτου ἀνθρώπων ἔλεγον Μῆνα· ἐπὶ τούτου, πλὴν τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ νομοῦ πᾶσαν Αἰγυπτον εἶναι ἔλος· καὶ αὐτῆς εἶναι οὐδὲν ὑπερῶν τῶν νῦν ἐνεργε λήμνης τῆς Μοίριος εὐντων<sup>18</sup>. ἐς τὴν ἀνάπλους

peared under the influence of the dawning day. Such a rising, as a *morning star*, was the ἀνατολή of the primitive astronomy; and it is plain that either the ἀνατολή (sometimes called ἐπιτολή, because of its being a rising observed after an observed setting) or the δῶσις formed an equally good fixed point for an epoch. During the interval between two consecutive phenomena (of either class) the sun would have passed through the whole circle of the heavens;—in other words, a year would have been completed.

<sup>14</sup> διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἐμβόλιμον ἐπεμβάλλουσι. This is not a perfectly exact description of the method of intercalation practised at Athens before the introduction of the Metonic cycle; but it probably refers to the so-called *octaeteris*. (See *Excursus* on i. 32.) But note 12 shows that the astronomical knowledge of the writer was very vague.

<sup>15</sup> τοὺς δωδέκα μῆνας. The Egyptian months, according to PROLEMY (*ap. Ideler, Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. p. 97) occurred in the following order:—1. Thoth; 2. Phaophi; 3. Athyr; 4. Choiak; 5. Tybi; 6. Mechir; 7. Phamenoth; 8. Pharmuthi; 9. Pachon; 10. Payni; 11. Epiphi; 12. Messori. Then come the five intercalated days. The beginning of the year fell on the 26th of February in the year 747 B.C., or the year 3967 of the Julian period. That epoch is the commencement of the era of Nabonassar. (IDELER, l. c.)

<sup>16</sup> δωδέκα τε θεῶν ἐπωνυμίας ἔλεγον πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους νομίσαι. The allusion, probably, is to the twelve gods to

whom an altar was erected in the *agora* at Athens by a grandson of Pisistratus, while filling the office of archon, before the expulsion of his family (THUCYD. vi. 54). A reference is made to it again below (vi. 82). It is not easy to say what determined the number of deities here united, but the duodenary division was early familiar to the Ionic race. See what the author says in i. 146. It may be remarked that the altar of “the twelve gods” being in the *agora*, seems to indicate that the commercial relations of the state were specially under the guardianship of these corporate deities. Hence, perhaps, ARISTOPHANES makes Euelpides swear by “the twelve gods” when struck by the strange appearance of the *Exors*, whom he regards as a foreigner (*Aves*, 95). See also note on vi. 108. Hence, too, they would be familiar to travelling merchants, to whom the remark in the text would naturally be made.

<sup>17</sup> ζῶα ἐν λίθοισι ἐγγλῆναι. See note 238 on i. 70.

<sup>18</sup> τῶν νῦν ἐνεργε λήμνης τῆς Μοίριος εὐντων, “of the places which are now further down the river than the lake Moëris.” The statement of the Egyptians to Herodotus is deserving of attention, as an example of the way in which, in early times, physical theories are put forward as historical facts. The surface soil of lower Egypt is alluvial, but the period of time which must have elapsed for the deposit being made may be gathered from the amount of that which has taken place in the last 1700 years. This is, according to WILKINSON (*Journal of the Geog. Soc.* ix. p. 432), about nine feet

ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἑπτὰ ἡμέρων ἐστὶ ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμόν. Καὶ εὖ μοι 5  
 ἐδόκεον λέγειν περὶ τῆς χώρας· δηλα γὰρ δὴ καὶ μὴ προακούσαντι country ex-  
 ἰδόντι δέ, ὅστις γε σύνεσις ἔχει, ὅτι Αἴγυπτος, ἐς τὴν Ἑλληνες Thebaic  
 ναυτίλλονται, ἔστι Αἴγυπτίοισι ἐπικτήτος τε γῆ καὶ δῶρον τοῦ nome was  
 ποταμοῦ<sup>19</sup>. καὶ τὰ κατύπερθε ἔτι τῆς λίμνης ταύτης μέχρι τριῶν a swamp.  
 ἡμερέων πλόου, τῆς πέρι ἐκείνοι οὐδὲν ἔτι [τοιόνδε<sup>20</sup>] ἔλεγον ἔστι Its present  
 δ' ἕτερον τοιούτου. appearance  
confirms  
this.

Αἴγυπτου γὰρ φύσις τῆς χώρας ἐστὶ τοιήδε· πρῶτα μὲν προσ-  
 πλέων, ἔτι καὶ ἡμέρης δρόμον ἀπέχων ἀπὸ γῆς, κατεῖς καταπειρη-  
 τηρίην πηλὸν τε ἀνοίσεις καὶ ἐν ἑνδεκα<sup>21</sup> ὀργυίῃσι ἔσσει. τοῦτο μὲν  
 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δηλοῖ πρόχυσιν τῆς γῆς εὐόσαν. Αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς 6  
 Αἴγυπτου ἐστὶ μῆκος τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἐξήκοντα σχοῖνοι, κατὰ Dimensions  
 ἡμέες διαιρέομεν εἶναι Αἴγυπτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλανθινήτεω κόλπου<sup>22</sup> of Egypt :  
 μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἣν τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει<sup>23</sup>. ταύτης 3600 stades  
 ὦν ἅπο οἱ ἐξήκοντα σχοῖνοί εἰσι· ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ γεωπεῖναι εἰσι in the sea-  
 ἀνθρώπων, ὀργυίῃσι μεμετρήκασιν τὴν χώραν· ὅσοι δὲ ἦσσαν γεω- board.  
 πείναι, σταδίοισι· οἱ δὲ πολλὰν ἔχουσι, παρασάγγῃσι· οἱ δὲ ἄφθο-  
 νον λίην, σχοῖνοισι. δύναται δὲ ὁ μὲν παρασάγγης τριήκοντα  
 στάδια, ὁ δὲ σχοῖνος ἕκαστος, μέτρον ἐν Αἴγύπτῳ, ἐξήκοντα  
 στάδια<sup>24</sup>. οὕτω ἂν εἴησαν Αἴγυπτου στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισ-

just below the first cataract, lat. 24° 5'; about seven feet at Thebes, lat. 25° 43'; about five feet ten inches at Cairo, lat. 30°. At Rosetta, and the mouths of the Nile (lat. 31° 30'), the diminutions in the perpendicular thickness of the deposit is lessened in a much greater decreasing ratio than in the straitened valley of Central and Upper Egypt, owing to the much greater extent, east and west, over which the inundation spreads, and there the elevation of the land in the same period of 1700 years has been comparatively imperceptible. In point of fact, limestone rock lies throughout at no great distance below the surface, and it is an elevated portion of this formation which constitutes the Isle of Pharos.

<sup>19</sup> δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ. This is the actual phrase which *Hecataeus* used in speaking of Egypt. (*ARRIAN, Exped. Alex.* v. 6.)

<sup>20</sup> τοιόνδε. This word is omitted by the manuscripts S, V, b, and d, and certainly seems to be a gloss.

<sup>21</sup> ἐν ἑνδεκα. Some MSS have ἐν δέκα.

<sup>22</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλανθινήτεω κόλπου. This is the bay of which the eastern extremity ran up to the immediate neighbourhood of what was afterwards Alexandria. It was so called from a town *Plinthine*, where, probably, before Alexandria was built, the wine which was produced in abundance on the banks of the lake *Marea*, or *Mareotis*, used to be shipped. The coast was full of small ports as far as *Paraetonium*, which was to the west of Alexandria, a run of 1300 *stades*. Among them was a village called *Apis*, from which caravans reached the oasis of Ammon in five days (*STRABO*, xvii. p. 435). Compare *SCYLAX*, cited in note 65, below. It is obvious that the description in the text proceeds from a commercial navigator.

<sup>23</sup> παρ' ἣν τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει. The Casian promontory is especially mentioned from its importance as a landmark to the mariner. On it and the Serbonian Marsh, see notes on iii. 6.

<sup>24</sup> ἐξήκοντα στάδια. This cannot be



7  
From the  
coast to  
Heliopolis  
the road is  
nearly the  
same length

χίλιοι, τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. Ἐνθεύτεν μὲν καὶ μέχρι Ἡλιονπό-  
λιος<sup>22</sup> ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἔστι εὐρέα Αἴγυπτος, εἰούσα πᾶσα ὑπτιή  
τε καὶ ἀνδρός<sup>23</sup>, καὶ ἰλὺς. ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς<sup>24</sup> ἐς τὴν Ἡλιούπολιν ἀπὸ  
θαλάσσης ἄνω ἴοντι παραπλησίη τὸ μήκος τῇ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὁδῷ, τῇ

considered as an accurate measure. STRABO says, that in boating up the river to Memphis, he had very different dimensions of the *σχοῖνος* given him in different places. ARTEMIDORUS made it vary as much as from 30 to 120 stades (*ap. Strabon. xvii. cap. i. p. 443*). It is observable that the word is not applied by Herodotus or Strabo to pure land-measurement, but only to those cases in which the extent of land is determined by the run of a vessel, or the course of a tow-boat (see note on iii. 5). This may in some degree account for the different magnitude of the *schoenus*, which, like the *stunde* in modern Switzerland, or, in some cases, the *mile* of the Roman Itineraries, might have had respect to the time of performing the space as much as to the space performed. Hence, in Egypt, the rapidity of the river and the condition of the towing-path, would, probably, have modified its magnitude. JEROME (*Comm. in Joel, iii. 18*), whom Kenrick quotes, seems to show that these considerations might even have been the principal ones. "In Nilo flumine, sive in rivis ejus, solent nares funibus trahere, certa habentes spatia quæ appellant 'funiculos,' ut labori defessorum recentia trahentium colla succedant." STRABO says that the variety in the length of the *schoenus* was οὕτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς παραδεδομένον καὶ φυλαττόμενον μέχρι τοῦ νῦν (xi. c. 11, p. 442). For a similar inequality in the *parasang*, see note on vi. 42.

<sup>22</sup> μέχρι Ἡλιονπόλιος. Heliopolis, the On of the Scriptures, was situate on the eastern side of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. A fountain of fresh water which springs up there, goes by the name of *Ain Schams* (the fountain of the sun). The ruins, which bear the modern name of *Matarieh*, occupy a rectangular space of about three miles in circuit. Heliopolis is in the Antonine Itinerary placed at twelve Roman miles from Babylon, from which to Memphis was twelve more. The ruins are in direct distance about eight and a half geographical miles from *Fostat*, the presumed site of Babylon, the difference being probably owing to the windings of the road. (RENNELL, *Geog. of Herodotus*, p. 495.)

<sup>23</sup> ἀνδρός, "without spring-water." This is the reading of all the MSS. and there is not the least occasion to change it into *εὐδρός* or *ἐνδρός*. See note 626 on i. 185. The fountain of the sun at Heliopolis would, probably, be the first instance of spring-water which the traveller would come to.

<sup>24</sup> ἔστι δὲ ὁδός. These words apparently apply to a journey by the road, not by the river. It will be seen that the distance, by the tow-boat, from the sea to Heliopolis, is estimated at 1220 instead of 1550 stades (§ 9). The additional length of the land journey might arise from the necessity of following the causeways which connected the inland townships with one another. These were formed upon the banks of the network of canals, by which the country was intersected, and the latter would be drawn without any reference to the facility of land communication. If it be supposed that the author is writing here as an *εὐρωπαῖος*, not as a geographer, the road of which he speaks would be one by which the several towns might all be reached in the time of the inundation, a season at which it will appear that he probably visited Egypt (*Ἐκκέρων* on ii. 149). A road taking in a considerable number of towns would necessarily be very winding, and hence the difference of 280 stades might not unreasonably be supposed to arise. RENNELL says that the direct distance from Athens to Pisa by the map is 105 geographical miles; and that from Heliopolis to the opposite point of the Delta only 86. It is plain, therefore, that, under any circumstances, Herodotus greatly exaggerates the distances. But if we compare the distance of Athens from Pisa (1485 stades) with that of Heliopolis from the coast (1220 stades, as estimated in § 9), the exaggeration will be seen to be nearly proportional, being in the one case 14:19, in the other 14:14 stades to the geographical mile measured on the map. The numbers, therefore, given in this passage, must arise from some other cause than simple exaggeration, and no other reason seems so obvious as the one suggested above.

ἀπὸ τῶν δυνάδεκα θεῶν τοῦ βωμοῦ φερούσῃ ἕς τε Πίσαν καὶ ἐπὶ <sup>as from Athens to Pisa.</sup>  
τὸν ἵησιν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου<sup>27</sup>. σμικρόν τι τὸ διάφορον εὖροι  
τις ἂν λογιζόμενος τῶν ὁδῶν τουτέων τὸ μὴ ἴσας μήκος εἶναι, οὐ  
πλέον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἕς Πίσαν ἐξ Ἀθηναίων  
καταδεῖ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων, ὡς μὴ εἶναι πεντακοσίων καὶ  
χιλίων ἢ δὲ ἕς Ἡλιούπολιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πληροῖ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν  
τούτου. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλιούπολις ἄνω ἰόντι, στενὴ ἔστι Αἴγυπτος. 8  
τῇ μὲν γὰρ, τῆς Ἀραβίης ὁρος παρατέταται, φέρον ἀπ' ἄρκτου  
πρὸς μεσαμβρίας τε καὶ νότου, αἰεὶ ἄνω τείνον ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν  
καλεομένην θάλασσαν ἐν τῷ αἰ λιθοτομίαι ἔνεισι<sup>28</sup> αἰ ἐς τὰς  
πυραμίδας κατατμηθεῖσαι τὰς ἐν Μέμφι. ταύτῃ μὲν λίγγον ἀνα-  
κάμπτει ἐς τὰ εἶρηται τὸ ὅρος τῇ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐωντοῦ ἐστὶ μακρό-  
τατον<sup>29</sup>, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην, δύο μηνῶν αὐτὸ εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ  
ἡοῦς πρὸς ἑσπέρην τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ λιβανωτοφόρα αὐτοῦ τὰ  
τέρματα εἶναι<sup>30</sup>. τοῦτο μὲν νυν τὸ ὅρος τοιοῦτο ἐστὶ. τὸ δὲ πρὸς  
Λιβύης τῆς Αἰγύπτου<sup>31</sup>, ὁρος ἄλλο πέτρων τελεῖται ἐν τῷ αἰ πυρα-  
μίδες ἔνεισι, ψάμμῳ κατειλυμένον, τεταμένον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον  
τὸν καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου τὰ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην φέροντα. τὸ ὦν δὴ  
ἀπὸ Ἡλιούπολις οὐκέτι πολλὸν χωρίον, ὡς εἶναι Αἰγύπτου<sup>32</sup>.

The plain  
of Egypt  
contracts  
above He-  
liopolis.

<sup>27</sup> ἐπὶ τὸν ἵησιν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου. It need not be supposed that in fixing upon two sanctuaries as the termination of a route, the writer was actuated by any especially religious motive. The great cyclical religious festivals of the ancients were the occasion of merchants assembling from all parts. STRABO excellently remarks: ἡ πανήγυρις ἐμπορικὴν τι πρᾶγμα ἐστὶ. Hence it was that, after the destruction of Corinth by the Romans, Delos more than recovered the importance which it possessed in the early times, as it became the centre of the traffic between Europe and Asia (x. c. 5, p. 368). The caravans to Mecca, and the fairs of the middle ages, which were all connected with religious festivals, serve to illustrate the nature of the proceeding. It also appears an assumption to infer from this passage that the altar of the twelve gods was, like the *Mela Sudane* at Rome, "a centre from which the roads of Attica were measured." See above, note 16.

<sup>28</sup> ἐν τῷ αἰ λιθοτομίαι ἔνεισι. It will be observed that Herodotus masses to-

gether in one the mountains which form the eastern boundary of the valley of the Nile, and those which constitute the eastern coast of the Red Sea. For a similar compression of ranges, and, consequently upon it, a geographical obliteration of large tracts of country, see notes 243 and 681 on Book I.

<sup>29</sup> τῇ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐωντοῦ ἐστὶ μακρότατον. See below, § 149, τῇ βαθυτάτῃ αὐτῇ ἐων-  
τῆς. iv. 85, τῇ εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς ἐωντοῦ.  
iv. 198, ἐπεὶ αὐτῇ ἐωντῆς ἄριστα ἐνέεικερ.

<sup>30</sup> λιβανωτοφόρα αὐτοῦ τὰ τέρματα εἶναι. See the note on iii. 107.

<sup>31</sup> τὸ πρὸς Λιβύης τῆς Αἰγύπτου. "On the Libyan side of Egypt." See note on § 99.

<sup>32</sup> ὡς εἶναι Αἰγύπτου, "considering that it is a part of Egypt." The narrowness of the Nile valley struck a person who had come up the river and formed his notion of Egypt from the extensive flats of the Delta. For the construction compare § 135, ὡς εἶναι Ῥοδάκιον. iv. 81, ὡς Σκύ-  
θας εἶναι. SOPHOCLES, *Oed. Col.* 385:  
ἦδη γὰρ ἔσχευε ἐλπίδ' ὡς ἐμοὶ θεοὺς  
ἔβαν τιν' ἔξειν, ὥστε σωθῆναι ποτε;

ἀλλ' ὅσον τε ἡμερέων τεσσέρων ἀναπλόου στεινή ἐστι, Αἴγυπτος ἐούσα· τῶν δὲ οὐρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τὸ μεταξὺ πεδιάς μὲν γῆ στάδιοι δὲ μάλιστα ἐδόκεόν μοι εἶναι<sup>23</sup>, τῇ στενωτάτον ἐστι, διηκοσίων οὐ πλείους ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου οὐρεος ἐς τὸ Λιβυκὸν κατεύμνον· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεύτεν αὐτὶς εὐρέα Αἴγυπτός ἐστι. Πέφυκε μὲν νυν ἡ χώρα αὕτη οὕτω. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλιουπόλιος ἐς Θήβας, ἔστι ἀνάπλους ἐννέα ἡμερέων· στάδιοι δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἐξήκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ἐνὸς καὶ ὀγδώκοντα ἐόντων<sup>24</sup>. οὗτοι συντιθέμενοι οἱ στάδιοι Αἰγύπτου τὸ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἤδη μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται ὅτι ἑξακοσίων τέ ἐστι σταδίων καὶ τρισχιλίων· ὅσον δέ τι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν<sup>25</sup> μέχρι Θηβέων ἐστὶ, σημανέω· στάδιοι γάρ εἰσι εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Θηβέων ἐς Ἐλεφαντίνην<sup>26</sup> καλεομένην πόλιν, στάδιοι χίλιοι καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι εἰσι.

9  
From Heliopolis to Thebes nine days by the tow-boat.

10  
Appearance of the valley of the Nile reminds Herodotus of the plain of Ilium and that of Ephesus.

Ταύτης ὦν τῆς χώρας τῆς εἰρημένης ἡ πολλή, κατάπερ οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον, ἐδόκεε δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ μοι εἶναι ἐπικτήτος Αἰγυπτίοισι. τῶν γὰρ οὐρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τῶν ὑπὲρ Μήμενιν πόλιν κειμένων τὸ μεταξὺ ἐφαίνεται μοι εἶναι κοτε κόλπος θαλάσσης, ὥσπερ τὰ τε<sup>27</sup> περὶ Ἴλιον καὶ Τευθρανίην καὶ Ἐφεσὸν τε καὶ Μαϊάνδρου πεδίον, ὡς γε εἶναι<sup>28</sup> σμικρὰ ταῦτα μεγάλοισι συμβαλέειν τῶν γὰρ ταῦτα

where *ὡς ἐμοῦ* is "of such a wretch as me."

*Antig.* 62:

ἀλλ' ἐννοεῖν χρὴ τοῦτο μὲν, γυναῖχ' ὅτι φεμμεν ὡς πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐ μαχουμένα.

<sup>23</sup> ἐδόκεόν μοι εἶναι. The writer apparently speaks of the estimate he formed by the eye as his boat ascended the river. The expression ἀνάπλους ἐννέα ἡμερέων, which presently follows, would give 540 stades as the day's voyage. From the sea to Heliopolis being 6120—4860 (= 1260) stades would take only about two days and a third. This harmonizes very well with what is known of the ancient navigation of the Nile. (See note on § 17.) Herodotus here is bringing his auditors up the *Sebennytic* branch, the straight line of the river's course. Hence two-thirds of a day might well be saved in comparison of the voyage up the *Canobic* branch, under similar circumstances, viz. with a full river and Etesian winds.

For an attempt to explain the difference of the numbers in this section and § 7, above, see note 26.

<sup>24</sup> *σχοίνων ἐνὸς καὶ ὀγδώκοντα ἐόντων*. The *datum* is the number of *schœni*, which the author reduces to stades. See note 24, above.

<sup>25</sup> *ἐς μεσόγαιαν*. Several MSS have *μεσόγαια*. For an explanation of the numbers *εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι*, see above, note 26.

<sup>26</sup> ἀπὸ Θηβέων ἐς Ἐλεφαντίνην. The difference of latitude is something under 2°, whereas from Thebes to Heliopolis it is more than 4°. It is a remarkable circumstance that, wherever Elephantine is mentioned by Herodotus, there is nothing to indicate any suspicion that it is an island; but on the contrary it appears in one passage to be considered on the main. See note on § 28, below. And yet the writer professes to have visited Elephantine himself (§ 29).

<sup>27</sup> ὥσπερ τὰ τε. So *d*, *S*, and *Aldus*. Gaisford, with the majority of the MSS, has ὥσπερ γε τὰ.

<sup>28</sup> ὡς γε εἶναι. The MSS vary between *ὥστε εἶναι*, which Gaisford adopts, and *ὅτι εἶναι*.

τὰ χωρία προσχωσάντων ποταμῶν, ἐν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου  
 ἔοντος πενταστόμου<sup>35</sup>, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν πλήθεος πέρι ἄξιος συμ-  
 βληθῆναι ἔστι. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ<sup>36</sup> οὐ κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον  
 ἔοντες μεγάθεα, οἳ τινες ἔργα ἀποδεξάμενοι μεγάλα εἰσὶ τῶν ἐγὼ  
 φράσαι ἔχω οὐνόματα, καὶ ἄλλων καὶ οὐκ ἡκιστα Ἀχελῶον<sup>37</sup> ὃς  
 ῥέων δι' Ἀκαρνανίης καὶ ἐξίεις ἐς θάλασσαν τῶν Ἐχινάδων νήσων  
 τὰς ἡμίσεας ἤδη ἡπειρον πεποίηκε<sup>38</sup>. Ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίης  
 χῶφ. ς, Αἰγύπτου δὲ οὐ πρόσω, κόλπος θαλάσσης ἐσέχων ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης, μακρὸς οὕτω δὴ τι καὶ στευνὸς ὥς  
 ἔρχομαι φράσω<sup>39</sup> μῆκος μὲν πλόου, ἄρξαμένῳ ἐκ μυχοῦ διεκ-  
 πλῶσαι ἐς τὴν εὐρέην θάλασσαν, ἡμέραι ἀναισιμούνται τεσσερά-  
 κοντα εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένῳ<sup>40</sup> εὖρος δὲ, τῇ εὐρύτατός ἐστι ὁ κόλπος<sup>41</sup>,  
 ἡμισυ ἡμέρης πλόου ῥηχὴ δ' ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄμπωτις ἀνὰ πᾶσαν  
 ἡμέρην γίνεται. ἕτερον τοιοῦτον κόλπον καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον δοκέω  
 γενέσθαι κού τὸν μὲν ἐκ τῆς βορητῆς θαλάσσης κόλπον ἐσέχοντα  
 ἐπὶ Αἰθιοπίας τὸν δὲ [Ἀράβιον, τὸν ἔρχομαι λέξων<sup>41</sup>] ἐκ τῆς

Other rivers  
have formed  
deposits.

Among  
them the  
Achelous.

11  
The Arabian  
gulf de-  
scribed.

<sup>35</sup> πενταστόμου. This is Gaisford's reading. The MSS are pretty equally divided between it and ἑπταστόμου. The two terms would be appropriate according as the two artificial outlets were or were not considered as mouths. See below, § 17. That they were popularly regarded in that light seems to follow from the description of the river in ISAIAS (xi. 15).

<sup>36</sup> εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοί. I have considerable doubt whether from these words down to the end of § 12 are not an addition subsequent to the time of Herodotus. See notes 42 and 43, below.

<sup>38</sup> τὰς ἡμίσεας ἤδη ἡπειρον πεποίηκε. THUCYDIDES (ii. 102) speaks of these islands as if the whole of them were likely to become soon united to the main. But this expectation was not fulfilled even in the time of PANTANIOS (viii. 24. 11), who tries to account for the circumstance. The true reason probably is that the nucleus of the islands is limestone rock cropping up, and that they themselves were formed not by alluvial so much as diluvial deposits. The Achelous, when swelled by rains, (μέγα καὶ πολὺ καὶ θαλερὸν, THUCYD. i. c.) brought down boulders, which were stopped by the quincunx-placed islets, and hence formed islands such as STRABO (i. c. 2, p. 342) describes as πᾶσαι λυκταὶ καὶ τραχεῖαι, uninhabited (THUCYD. i. c.), but an excellent lurking-place for pirates. But

a river of this description would always clear channels for itself, however much these would alter from time to time.

<sup>39</sup> τῇ εὐρύτατός ἐστι ὁ κόλπος. The "gulf" here is apparently, as respects its dimensions, generalized from the appearance of one of the two upper branches of the Red Sea, and there is nothing from the text to show which the author had in his mind. I incline to the belief that it was the Easternmost one, *Bahr el Akabah*. The merchandize coming up the Red Sea passed up this and was transported by land to Petra. From thence there was a caravan route to *Rhinocolura* on the borders of Egypt. The transit by the other branch to Suez seems never to have succeeded. In the time of the Ptolemies, when the Eastern traffic passed *through Egypt*, the navigation of the Red Sea was not continued above Mouse Roads (see note 50), STRABO, xvi. p. 406. It will be remarked that the direction of the Bahr el Akabah, and that of the Nile for about two degrees of latitude above Memphis, are nearly opposite to each other, which is very far from the case with those of the Nile and the Gulf of Suez.

<sup>41</sup> [Ἀράβιον, τὸν ἔρχομαι λέξων]. Gaisford, following Schweighäuser, includes these words between brackets. They are found in all the MSS.

This would probably be filled up in 20,000 years by such a river as the Nile.

## 12

Evidence of the formation of Egypt drawn from the shells on the mountains and the efflorescence of salt from the limestone.

νοτίης φέροντα ἐπὶ Συρίης· σχεδὸν μὲν ἀλλήλοισι συντετραίνοντας τοὺς μυχοὺς<sup>42</sup>, ὁλίγον δέ τι παραλλάσσοντας τῆς χώρας· εἰ ὦν δὴ ἐβελήσῃ ἐκτρέφαι τὸ ρέεθρον ὃ Νεῖλος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, τί μιν κωλύει ῥέοντος τούτου ἐκχωσθῆναι ἐντός γε διαμυρίων ἐτέων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἔλπομαι γε καὶ μυρίων ἐντὸς χωσθῆναι ἂν κοῦ γε δὴ ἐν τῷ προανασιμωμένῳ χρόνῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι οὐκ ἂν χωσθεῖη κόλπος καὶ πολλῶ μέζων ἔτι τούτου, ἰπὸ τοσούτου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ οὕτως ἐργατικῷ; Τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ὦν καὶ τοῖσι λέγουσι αὐτὰ πείθομαι, καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω κάρτα δοκέω εἶναι, ἰδὼν τε τὴν Αἴγυπτον προκειμένην τῆς ἐχομένης γῆς, κογχυλίᾳ τε φαινόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖσι οὖρεσι<sup>43</sup>, καὶ ἄλμην ἐπανθέουσιν ὥστε καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας δηλέεσθαι, καὶ ψάμμον μοῖνον Αἴγυπτου ὅρος τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος ἔχον· πρὸς δὲ, τῇ χώρῃ οὔτε τῇ Ἀραβίῃ προσούρῳ ἐούσῃ τὴν Αἴγυπτον προσεικέλην, οὔτε τῇ Λιβυῇ, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῇ Συρίῃ, (τῆς γὰρ Ἀραβίης τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν Σύριοι νέμονται<sup>44</sup>), ἀλλὰ μελάργγαιόν τε καὶ κατερρηνυμένην<sup>45</sup>, ὥστε ἐούσαν ἰλύν τε καὶ πρόχυσιν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας

<sup>42</sup> σχεδὸν ἀλλήλοισι συντετραίνοντας τοὺς μυχοὺς. The κόλπος is regarded as standing in the same relation to the μυχοὶ that a gimlet does to the hole which it produces. Translate "very nearly running the head of their beds into each other, passing however by a small interval of land." The metaphor appears to be taken from the operation of mining and countermining. (See the passages quoted by LIDDELL and SCOTT in their Lexicon, v. *συντετραίνω*.) But this operation was certainly not familiar to Herodotus. (See note on iv. 200.) And the notice of the Arabian gulf in iv. 39 could hardly have been so vague if this passage had been standing when it was written.

<sup>43</sup> κογχυλίᾳ τε φαινόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖσι οὖρεσι. This observation is not of a piece with his former argument. These mountains are there supposed to be the shore of a former sea, not to have lain at the bottom of it (§ 10). The argument here is of the kind followed by STRABO (i. c. 3), where his object is to prove the numerous instances of the change of sea and land. These speculations appear to have been first entered upon to any great extent by STRATON, the successor of Theophrastus in his school, and no doubt the phenomena brought to light in the expedition of Alexander gave an impulse to them. (ERATOSTHENES *ap. Strabon.* i. p. 78.)

<sup>44</sup> τῆς γὰρ Ἀραβίης τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν Σύριοι νέμονται. This phrase has generally been taken to refer to inhabitants of the sea-coast between Ienysus and the Serbonian lake, owing to what I believe to be a corruption in the text of a passage in the third book. (See note on iii. 5, *ἐς θάλασσαν*.) But the whole of that region was desert and contained no towns at all. The Syrians spoken of here are unquestionably the Syro-phoenicians and Syro-philistines, i. e. the inhabitants of the coast west of the water-sheds formed by Libanus, and the range running south from Carmel. East of this would be a nomad or seminomad population, especially east of the latter range, — a district through which the caravan road from Petra to Joppa ran.

<sup>45</sup> κατερρηνυμένην, "comminuted," i. e. the silt brought down by the river. The black appearance of the alluvium in Egypt must have been the more striking when compared with the soil of the surrounding desert, and the luxuriance of its vegetation must in a similar manner have contrasted with the arid ground. The two points are united by VIRGIL (*Georg.* iv. 291):

"Viridem Ægyptum nigrâ fecundat arida  
Usque coloratis annis deversus ab Indis."

The black appearance of the ground no doubt procured Egypt its native name *Chémi* (black).

κατενηνευγμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· τὴν δὲ Διβύην ἴδμεν ἐρυθρο-  
τέρην τε γῆν καὶ ὑποψαμμοτέρην, τὴν δὲ Ἀραβίην τε καὶ Συρίην  
ἀργιλωδεστέρην τε καὶ ὑπόπετρον ἐοῦσαν.

Ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τότε μοι μέγα τεκμήριον περὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης 13

οἱ ἱρέες, ὡς ἐπὶ Μοίριος βασιλέος, ὅπως ἔλθοι ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπὶ ὀκτῶ  
πήχεας τὸ ἐλάχιστον, ἄρδεσκε Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἔνερθε Μέμφιος· καὶ  
Μοίρι<sup>46</sup> οὐκ ἦν ἔτεα εἰνακόσια τετελευτηκότι ὅτε τῶν ἱρέων

ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἤκουον νῦν δὲ, ἣν μὴ ἐπ' ἑκακάδεκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα  
πήχεας ἀναβῇ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὁ ποταμὸς<sup>47</sup>, οὐκ ὑπερβαίνει ἐς τὴν  
χώρην. δοκέουσί τε μοι Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἔνερθε τῆς λίμνης τῆς

Μοίριος οἰκέοντες τὰ τε ἄλλα χωρία καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Δέλτα, ἣν  
οὕτω ἡ χώρα αὕτη κατὰ λόγον<sup>48</sup> ἐπιδιδῶ ἐς ὕψος καὶ τὸ ὁμοῖον

ἀποδιδῶ ἐς αὔξησιν, μὴ κατακλύζοντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Νεῖλου, πείσεσθαι  
τὸν πάντα χρόνον τὸν ἐπίλοιπον Αἰγύπτῳ τό κοτε αὐτοὶ Ἕλληνας

ἔφασαν πείσεσθαι· πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς ἔεται πᾶσα ἡ χώρα τῶν  
Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' οὐ ποταμοῖσι ἄρδεται κατάπερ ἡ σφετέρη, ἔφασαν  
“Ἕλληνας ψευσθέντας κοτὲ ἐλπίδος μεγάλης κακῶς πευνήσειν”  
τὸ δὲ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐθέλει λέγειν, ὡς “εἰ μὴ ἐβελήσει σφι ἕιν ὁ θεὸς  
ἀλλ' αὐχμῷ διαχρᾶσθαι, λιμῷ οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰρεθήσονται· οὐ γὰρ

The small elevation of the water necessary for inundation under Moëris is mentioned by the priests as a proof of the rise of the land.

<sup>46</sup> Μοίρι. See note 132 on i. 41.

<sup>47</sup> ἣν μὴ ἐπ' ἑκακάδεκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα  
πήχεας ἀναβῇ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὁ ποταμὸς.  
This assertion can only be taken as pro-  
ceeding from that disposition common to  
all ages, to magnify “the good old times”  
at the expense of the present. The priests  
forgot that the river would raise its bed  
by the deposits it left quite as much, and in  
fact a little more than it would the soil at  
the side, so that the inundation (with an  
equal body of water) must take place a little  
earlier every year, and consequently *caete-  
ris paribus* a greater surface of land be  
overflowed. This has been actually proved  
to be the case. In the plain of Thebes are  
two colossi,—one of them the celebrated  
*vocal* Memnon,—standing at the end of  
what was once an avenue of statues leading  
up to a temple. The alluvial soil now  
extends to about 600 feet beyond this last.  
But when built, not only the temple, but  
the whole avenue, and the colossi at the  
end of it, were beyond the reach of the  
inundation. WILKINSON found, on ex-  
cavating, a paved road resting on the soil

of the desert, leading up to the temple.  
Above this, at the colossi, were 6 feet  
10 inches of alluvium, and 300 feet fur-  
ther inland 5 feet 3 inches, the depth  
gradually diminishing at the rate of about  
one inch in fifteen feet horizontal distance.  
The temple is supposed to have been built  
about 1420 B.C., and it is plain that the  
alluvium could not *then* have reached to  
the colossi. It now extends 1900 feet  
beyond them. (*Geogr. Journal*, ix. p.  
436.)

<sup>48</sup> ἣν οὕτω ἡ χώρα αὕτη κατὰ λόγον  
κ.τ.λ. I have adopted the reading of  
Bekker *ἐπιδιδῶ* and *ἀποδιδῶ*, though all the  
MSS have *ἐπιδιδῶ* and *ἀποδιδῶ*. Trans-  
late: “If this country thus goes on propor-  
tionally increasing in elevation, and in  
the same degree diminishing in crops.”  
This use of *ἐπιδ.* and *ἀποδ.* exactly an-  
swers to the German “*zugen*” and  
“*abgeben*.” *αὔξῃς* is the increase from  
the grain sown, which, in the notion of  
the author, would diminish from the dimi-  
nished depth of water in the inundations.

δή σφι ἐστὶ ὕδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστροφή", ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μόνον."

14  
Easy cultivation of the lower part of Egypt.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς "Ἕλληνας Αἰγυπτίοισι ὀρθῶς ἔχοντα εἶρηται· φέρε δὲ νῦν καὶ αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι" ὥς ἔχει φράσω. εἰ σφι θέλοι", ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ἡ χώρα ἡ ἐνερθε Μέμφιος (αὕτη γάρ ἐστι ἡ αὐξανόμενη) κατὰ λόγον τοῦ παροιχομένου χρόνου ἐς ὕψος αὐξάνεσθαι, ἄλλο τι ἢ οἱ ταύτη οἰκέοντες Αἰγυπτίων πενήσουσι; εἰ μήτε γε ὕσεται σφι ἡ χώρα, μήτε ὁ ποταμὸς οἷός τ' ἔσται ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας ὑπερβαίνειν. ἡ γὰρ δὴ νῦν γε οὗτοι ἀπονητότατα καρπὸν κομίζονται ἐκ γῆς, τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ οὔτε ἀρότῳ ἀναρρηγνύντες αὐλακὰς ἔχουσι πόνους, οὔτε σκάλλοντες, οὔτε ἄλλο ἐργαζόμενοι οὐδὲν τῶν ὅλλοι ἀνθρώποι περὶ λήϊον πονέουσιν· ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν σφι ὁ ποταμὸς αὐτόματος ἐπελθὼν ἄρσῃ τὰς ἀρούρας, ἄρσας δὲ ἀπολείπη ὀπίσω, τότε σπείρας ἕκαστος τὴν ἐωντοῦ ἄρουραν ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτὴν ὕς· ἐπεὰν δὲ καταπατήσῃ τῇσι ὕσι τὸ σπέρμα, ἄμψον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου μένει ἀποδινήσας δὲ τῇσι ὕσι τὸν σῖτον", οὕτω κομίζεται.

<sup>49</sup> ὕδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστροφή. This phrase is a very singular one. What we should rather have expected would be κακοῦ ἀποστροφή. But the original meaning of ἀποστροφή, "averting of an evil," seems to have entirely given way to the secondary one of "a resource by which evil is averted." Hence ὕδατος ἀποστροφή is "a water supply by which the evil of drought is averted."

<sup>50</sup> ὀρθῶς . . . Αἰγυπτίοισι. These words are omitted in S and V, doubtless from the eye of the transcriber of their common archetype being deceived by the homoeoteleuton.

<sup>51</sup> εἰ σφι θέλοι. See note 385 on i. 109.

<sup>52</sup> ἀποδινήσας δὲ τῇσι ὕσι τὸν σῖτον. The word ἀποδινεῖν, "to thresh out," which is nowhere else used, is connected with the word δῖνος in the sense of "a threshing-floor" (ἄλως). This term was used by TELESILLA, the Argive poetess (*ap. Athen.* xi. p. 467), and it was therefore probably a local phrase at Argos in the sixth century B.C. But, as relating to the culture of the soil, it would be a phrase belonging to the Achæan perioeciæ, rather

than the Cadmeo-dorian citizens of the town Argos. Now the Herææ at Samos and Mycenæ are a clear indication that a considerable portion of the Samian population was ethnically identical with these perioeciæ. (See note on vi. 81.) They therefore might very well have brought the word ἀποδινεῖν with them and preserved it; and in Samos Herodotus would learn to use it. The term δῖνος would be appropriate when it applied to the operation of treading out corn by a string of oxen, who are made to go round and round,—the driver generally sitting in the middle and holding the reins which confine them. This according to WILKINSON was not *always* the case with the ancient Egyptians, although there are instances of it; but this is no objection to the application of the Hellenic term to the operation. Wilkinson (*Second Series*, i. p. 92) reads βουοὶ for δῖοι in this passage. But all the MSS have δῖοι, and, although it is impossible to conceive swine employed for the purpose, it is not unlikely that the reading is genuine, and that Herodotus merely misunderstood his informant. The swine were probably turned upon the land

Εἰ ὦν βουλόμεθα γνώμησι τῇσι Ἰώνων χρᾶσθαι τὰ περὶ 15  
 Αἴγυπτον, οἳ φασὶ τὸ Δέλτα μῦνον εἶναι Αἴγυπτον, ἀπὸ Περσέος  
 καλεομένης σκοπιῆς<sup>53</sup> λέγοντες τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν εἶναι αὐτῆς  
 μέχρι Ταριχειῶν<sup>54</sup> τῶν Πηλουσιακῶν, τῇ δὴ τεσσεράκοντά εἰσι  
 σχοῖνοι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεγόντων ἐς μεσόγειαν τείνειν αὐτὴν  
 μέχρι Κερκασώρου πόλιος, κατ' ἣν σχίζεται ὁ Νεῖλος, ἐς τε Πη-  
 λούσιον ῥέων καὶ ἐς Κάνωβον τὰ δὲ ἄλλα λεγόντων<sup>55</sup> τῆς Αἰγύ-  
 πτου τὰ μὲν Διβύης τὰ δὲ Ἀραβίης εἶναι ἀποδεικνύομεν ἂν,  
 τοῦτ' ὃν λόγῳ χρεώμενοι, Αἰγυπτίοισι οὐκ ἐοῦσαν πρότερον  
 χώραν ἤδη γάρ σφι τό γε Δέλτα, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ  
 ἐμοὶ δοκέει, ἔστι κατάρρυτόν τε καὶ νεωστὶ, ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν,  
 ἀναπεφθνός· εἰ τοίνυν σφι χώρα γε μηδεμὶς ὑπῆρχε, τί περιειργά-  
 ζοντο δοκέοντες πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων γεγενέσθαι; οὐδὲ ἔδει σφέας ἐς  
 διάπειραν τῶν παιδίων<sup>56</sup> ἵεναι, τίνα γλώσσαν πρώτην ἀπήσουσι;  
 ἀλλ' οὔτε Αἰγυπτίους δοκέω ἅμα τῷ Δέλτα τῷ ὑπ' Ἰώνων καλεο-  
 μένῳ γενέσθαι, αἰεὶ τε εἶναι ἐξ οὗ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐγένετο·  
 προΐούσης δὲ τῆς χώρας, πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν  
 γενέσθαι, πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑποκαταβαίνοντας<sup>57</sup>. τὸ δ' ὦν πάλα

Definition  
of the limits  
of Egypt  
by the  
Ionians

as the inundation subsided to consume the water-plants which would be left by the river.

It may be remarked that this section can hardly have stood at the same time with some other parts of the book. (See below, § 47.) Here there is no distinction between the *συβῶται* and the other agriculturists (which Wilkinson fruitlessly endeavours to establish with a reference to § 47). Each individual ryot is represented as cultivating *his own* plot of land in the way described.

<sup>53</sup> ἀπὸ Περσέος καλεομένης σκοπιῆς. STRABO puts the Περσέος σκοπιή together with the Μιλησίαν τεῖχος, and places the two apparently just east of the Βολβτινον στόμα, which he makes next to the Canobic (xvii. p. 439).

<sup>54</sup> Ταριχειῶν. The MSS here vary between Ταριχειῶν (which S has, and Gaisford adopts), Ταριχίων, and Ταριχειών. In § 113 all without any exception have the common form, as the majority have here. This was apparently a factory for salting fish. Wesseling makes the extraordinary mistake of supposing that the place received its name from its being a ne-

ropolis of embalmed animals. The term ταριχεύειν no doubt is the proper one for embalming; but its more common, and perhaps its original, use, is in the preparation of salt provisions, chiefly fish. STRABO (xvi. p. 379) speaks of αἱ καλούμεναι Ταριχεῖαι, where it is quite certain he must mean an establishment for salting fish. There was a similar factory at the Canobic mouth of the Nile (below, § 113). So there was on some small islands off the coast, about 100 miles south of Carthage. (STRABO, xvii. c. 3, p. 492.) JULIUS POLLUX (vi. 48) enumerates ταρίχη Πόντικα, ταρίχη Φρύγια, ταρίχη Αἰγυπτία, ταρίχη Σαρδῶνα, and ταρίχη Γαδείρικα. The Pontic is called *Byzantine* by ANTIPHANES and NICOSTRATUS (or Philasterus) the comic poets (*ap. Athenæum*, iii. p. 118).

<sup>55</sup> λεγόντων, referring to the genitive Ἰώνων, above.

<sup>56</sup> τῶν παιδίων. See above, § 2.

<sup>57</sup> τοὺς ὑποκαταβαίνοντας, "those gradually settling lower and lower," i.e. as the deposit was carried further on into the supposed sea.



16

does not  
square with  
their geo-  
graphical  
divisions.

αἱ Θῆβαι Αἴγυπτος ἐκαλέετο· τῆς τὸ περίμετρον στάδιοι εἰσι εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι<sup>16</sup>. Εἰ δὲν ἡμεῖς ὀρθῶς περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκωμεν, Ἴωνες οὐκ εὖ φρονέουσι περὶ Αἰγύπτου. εἰ δὲ ὀρθή ἐστι ἡ τῶν Ἰόνων γνώμη, Ἑλληνας τε καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἴωνας ἀποδείκνυμι οὐκ ἐπισταμένους λογίζεσθαι· οἳ φασὶν τρία μόρια εἶναι γῆν πᾶσαν, Εὐρώπην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Λιβύην· τέταρτον γὰρ δὴ σφεας δεῖ προσλογίζεσθαι, Αἰγύπτου τὸ Δέλτα· εἰ μὴ τι γέ ἐστι τῆς Ἀσίας μήτε τῆς Λιβύης. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Νεῖλος γέ ἐστι, κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὁ τὴν Ἀσίην οὐρίζων τῆς Λιβύης· τοῦ Δέλτα δὲ τοῦτου κατὰ τὸ ὅξυ περιρρήγνυται ὁ Νεῖλος, ὥστε ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ Ἀσίας τε καὶ Λιβύης γίνουσι<sup>17</sup> ἄν.

17

Egypt lies  
partly in  
Asia and  
partly in  
Libya.

Καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰόνων γνώμην ἀπίεμεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὧδε καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγομεν Αἴγυπτον μὲν πᾶσαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων οἰκωμένην, κατὰπερ Κιλικίην τὴν ὑπὸ Κιλικίων, καὶ Ἀσσυρίην τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων. οὐρισμα δὲ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Λιβύῃ οἶδαμεν οὐδὲν ἔδον ὀρθῶ λόγῳ, εἰ μὴ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίων οὐρούς. εἰ δὲ τῷ ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων νενομισμένῳ χρησόμεθα, νομοῦμεν Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν, ἀρξάμενην ἀπὸ Καταδοῦπων τε καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος<sup>18</sup>, δίχα διαρρέεσθαι καὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐπωνυμίων ἔχουσιν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι τῆς Λιβύης, τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας· ὁ γὰρ δὴ Νεῖλος ἀρξάμενος ἐκ

<sup>16</sup> στάδιοι εἰσι εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι. Herodotus's informant perhaps meant by *Thebes* the Theban nome: for, vast as the city doubtless was, he could never have so much exaggerated its dimensions. But it is very strange that the author should not say more upon the subject, the ruins of the temples of *Luxor* and *Karnac* (which would both be included within the circuit of the city of Thebes), being even at the present day more striking than the pyramids themselves; and the more strange, as "the hundred-gated Thebes" was proverbial for magnificence in the days of the *Iliad* (ix. 383). If this passage stood alone, we might suppose that he did not land at *Thebes*, but passed up the river in a boat, and, struck by the enormous extent of building on each bank, interpreted the assertion of his dragoman to apply merely to it. But see note 10, above.

<sup>17</sup> ἀρξάμενην ἀπὸ Καταδοῦπων τε καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος. Up to this point the course of the river is uninterrupted by rapids, and a commercial communica-

tion could be carried on by the tow-boat. This would be not so great above Thebes; for there seems little doubt that all the thorough trade from the Arabian gulf met the Nile (or rather a canal run from the Nile) a little below Thebes, at *Coptus*, from which in the time of the Ptolemies there was a regular caravan route to *Mosse Roads* (*Myos Hormos*). Nevertheless, a large camp existing at *Elephantine* both in the time of the Egyptian and Persian dynasties (§ 30) would undoubtedly occasion considerable intercourse with Lower Egypt. The force of the Etesian winds was felt for about forty days, from the latter end of July, as high up the river as that island, and, the waters being out, no doubt advantage was taken of them. They blew so strong that it took only twelve days to get from Alexandria to Coptus. (VINCENT, *Commerce of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean*, vol. ii. pp. 83—5.) By the Sebennytic branch the time was probably rather less. See note on § 8, above.

τῶν Καταδούπων, ῥέει μέσσην Αἴγυπτον σχίζων ἐς θάλασσαν. μέχρι μὲν νυν Κερκασώρου πόλιος ῥέει εἰς ἑὸν ὁ Νεῖλος· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος, σχίζεται τριφασίας ὁδοῦς· καὶ ἡ μὲν πρὸς ἡῶν τρέπεται, τὸ καλεῖται Πηλούσιον στόμα· ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα τῶν ὁδῶν πρὸς ἑσπέρην ἔχει· τοῦτο δὲ Κανωβικὸν στόμα κέκληται· ἡ δὲ δὴ ἰθέα τῶν ὁδῶν τῷ Νεῖλῳ ἐστὶ ἥδε· ἄνωθεν φερόμενος ἐς τὸ ὄξυ τοῦ Δέλτα ἀπικνέεται, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου, σχίζων μέσον τὸ Δέλτα ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξίει<sup>60</sup>, οὔτε ἐλαχίστην μόρην τοῦ ὕδατος παρεχόμενος ταύτῃ οὔτε ἥκιστα οὐνομαστήν· τὸ καλεῖται Σεβεννυτικὸν στόμα· ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερα διφασία στόματα ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβεννυτικοῦ ἀποσχισθέντα, φέροντα ἐς θάλασσαν τοῖσι οὐνόματα κέεται τάδε, τῷ μὲν Σαΐτικόν αὐτῶν, τῷ δὲ Μενδῆσιον. τὸ δὲ Βολβίτινον στόμα καὶ τὸ Βουκολικόν<sup>61</sup> οὐκ ἰθαγενέα στόματά ἐστι, ἀλλ' ὀρυκτά<sup>62</sup>.

Μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι τοσαύτη ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος ὅσην 18  
τινὰ ἐγὼ ἀποδεικνυμι τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ τὸ Ἀμμωνος χρηστήριον γενόμενον, τὸ ἐγὼ τῆς ἐμεωντοῦ γνώμης ὕστερον<sup>63</sup> περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐπυθόμην· οἱ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ Μαρῆς τε πόλιος<sup>64</sup> καὶ Ἀπιοῦ<sup>65</sup> οἰκεῖοντες

Response  
of Ammon  
to the in-  
habitants  
of Marea  
and Apis

<sup>60</sup> ἐξίει. See note 604 on i. 180.

<sup>61</sup> τὸ Βουκολικόν. This mouth of the Nile is probably the same as that called by the name *Φατικόν* in STRABO (xvii. p. 438) and *Φανητικόν*, after Stephens's emendation, in DIODORUS (i. 33. xx. 75). Both the names appear to be Hellenic renderings of an Egyptian word; for it seems clear that the phrase was derived from the inhabitants of the region, a horde of piratical herdsmen, apparently of different race from the agricultural Egyptians (ACHILLES TATIUS, iii. 9). They haunted the most marshy part of the Delta, where the papyrus reeds effectually masked their retreats. A very graphic account of the locality and of the habits of the race is given by HELIODORUS, i. 5, and ACHILLES TATIUS, iv. 12.

<sup>62</sup> ἀλλ' ὀρυκτά. See note 38, above. ARISTOTLE (*Meteorologicus*, i. p. 351, B. lin. 33) says that all the mouths of the Nile, with the exception of the Canobic, are plainly artificial. The genuineness of this book, however, was doubted by the ancients.

<sup>63</sup> τῆς ἐμεωντοῦ γνώμης ὕστερον. It would seem from this expression, that in visiting Egypt the author did not enter the Nile by the Canobic mouth, otherwise

he could hardly have failed to learn the answer which the Mareotes had received on a point which obviously interested him. The distances given above (§ 9) confirm this view.

<sup>64</sup> ἐκ Μαρῆς τε πόλιος. For the site of Marea see note on iii. 12. Its importance as a key to the western entrance of Egypt caused a large body of troops to be habitually maintained there (§ 30), and intercourse with the tribes of the desert (see SCYLAX, in note on iv. 168), and the commercial traders who resorted to the Canobic mouth of the Nile, added to the natural tendency of a soldiery to indulgence, would doubtless much modify the habits of the inhabitants. The banks of the adjoining lake were almost the only part of Egypt where wine was produced; and by STRABO's description it would seem that the whole neighbourhood was full of places of public entertainment, such as might be expected in the vicinity of a camp (xvii. p. 438). What existed in his time, doubtless, under similar circumstances, existed a thousand years before. Hence it is not surprising that revolts should break out in this locality, as seems more than once to have been the case (see notes on ii. 161 and iii. 12. 99), and that

as to what  
was the  
boundary  
of Egypt.

19 The Nile,  
when it  
rises, over-  
spreads large  
portions  
both of  
Libya and  
Arabia.

Αἰγύπτου τὰ πρόσουρα Διβίῃ, αὐτοὶ τε δοκέοντες εἶναι Λίβνες καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ θρησκίῃ, βουλόμενοι θηλέων βοῶν μὴ ἔργεσθαι, ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ἀμμωνα φάμενοι “οὐδὲν σφίσι τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι κοινὸν εἶναι οἰκέειν τε γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ οὐκ ὁμολογέειν αὐτοῖσι, βούλεσθαι τε πάντων σφίσι ἐξεῖναι γεύεσθαι” ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας οὐκ ἔα ποικέειν ταῦτα, φὰς “Αἴγυπτον εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπιὼν ἄρδει· καὶ Αἰγυπτίους εἶναι τούτους οἳ ἔνερθε Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος οἰκούντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου πίνουσι.” οὕτω σφι ταῦτα ἐχρήσθη. ἐπέρχεται δὲ ὁ Νεῖλος, ἐπεὰν πληθύνῃ, οὐ μόνον τὸ Δέλτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Διβυκοῦ τε λεγομένου χώρου εἶναι καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου, ἐνιαχῇ καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἡμερέων ἐκατέρωθι ὁδὸν, καὶ πλεῦν ἔτι τούτου, καὶ ἔλασσον.

Τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ φύσις πέρι, οὔτε τι τῶν ἱρέων οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδενὸς παραλαβεῖν ἐδυνάσθη. πρόθυμος δὲ ἔα “τάδε παρ’ αὐτῶν πυθέσθαι, ὃ τι κατέρχεται μὲν ὁ Νεῖλος πληθύνων ἀπὸ τροπέων τῶν θερινέων ἀρξάμενος ἐπὶ ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας, πελάσας δ’ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοιτέων τῶν ἡμερέων ὀπίσω ἀπέρχεται ἀπολείπων τὸ ῥέεθρον ὥστε βραχὺς τὸν χειμῶνα ἅπαντα διατελεεῖ ἐὼν, μέχρι οὐ αὖτις τροπέων τῶν θερινέων”. τούτων ὦν πέρι οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν οἶός τ’ ἐγενόμην παραλαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἱστορέων αὐτοὺς ἦντινα δύναμιν ἔχει ὁ Νεῖλος τὰ ἔμπαλιν πεφυκέναι τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν. ταῦτά τε δὴ τὰ λελεγμένα βουλόμενος εἰδέναι, ἱστόρεον, καὶ ὃ τι αὔρας<sup>65</sup> ἀποσπνεούσας μούνος ποταμῶν πάντων

an impatience of the strict sacerdotal régime should endeavour to find a religious sanction for itself.

<sup>65</sup> καὶ Ἀπίος. Herodotus does not mention this place elsewhere. SCYLAX puts it in the immediate vicinity of Parætonium, to which he gives the following distances. From Thonis to Pharos 150 stades; from Pharos to the port of the Chersonese 200 stades; thence across the gulph of Plinthis to Leuce Acte a day and night’s run; from thence to Laodomeantium half a day, and finally to Parætonium another half. Apis is, he says, the frontier of Egypt (p. 44, ed. Hudson). I do not imagine Herodotus to have any other place in his eye than the Apis of Scylax and Strabo, but I do not suppose him to have seen it, or to have any distinct notion of its size. See note 22, above.

<sup>66</sup> ἔα. The second person singular *ἔας* is used in i. 187.

<sup>67</sup> μέχρι οὐ αὖτις τροπέων τῶν θερινέων. A similar phrase is used below, § 173, *μέχρι θρονὺς πληθῶντος ἀγορῆς*. The idiom apparently arises from the use of *μέχρι* ὅς or *μέχρι* ὅπου so habitually with a verb as to cause the two words to be regarded as a single one. Kenrick well illustrates the expression by the common use of *οὐνεκα* (which is in fact *οὐ ἐνεκα*) for *ἐνεκα*.

<sup>68</sup> αὔρας. The remark seems suggested by a notion that the pestilential miasma (*βορβορώδης ἰκμάς*) conveyed from the marshy banks of rivers, was identical with the breeze which is its vehicle. The healthiness of Egypt has always been notorious. STRABO expressly accounts for the freedom of Alexandria (although in

οὐ παρέχεται. Ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων μὲν τινες, ἐπίσημοι βουλόμενοι 20  
γενέσθαι σοφίην, ἔλεξαν περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου τριφασίας ὁδοῦς·  
τῶν τὰς μὲν δύο τῶν ὁδῶν οὐδ' ἀξιώ μνησθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ὅσον σημῆ-  
ναι βουλόμενος μούνον τῶν ἢ ἑτέρη μὲν λέγει τοὺς ἐτησίας  
ἀνέμους<sup>a</sup> εἶναι αἰτίους πληθύνειν τὸν ποταμὸν, κωλύοντας ἐς  
θύλασσαν ἐκρέειν τὸν Νεῖλον. πολλάκις δὲ ἐτησῖαι μὲν οὐκ ὦν  
ἐπνευσαν<sup>b</sup>, ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος τῶντ' ἐργάζεται· πρὸς δὲ, εἰ ἐτησῖαι  
αἵτιοι ἦσαν, χρὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς ὅσοι τοῖσι ἐτησίῃσι  
ἀντίοι ῥέουσι ὁμοίως πᾶσχειν καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Νεῖλῳ, καὶ  
μᾶλλον ἔτι τοσοῦτ', ὅσῳ ἐλάσσονες ἔοντες ἀσθενέστερα τὰ ῥεύ-  
ματα παρέχονται· εἰσὶ δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ ποταμοὶ<sup>c</sup>,  
πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, οἳ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο πᾶσχουσι οἷόν τι καὶ ὁ  
Νεῖλος. Ἡ δ' ἑτέρη ἀνεπισημονεστέρα μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς λελεγμένης, 21  
λόγῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν θωυμαστωτέρα· ἡ λέγει ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ ῥέοντα<sup>d</sup>  
αὐτὸν ταῦτα μηχανᾶσθαι, τὸν δ' Ὀκεανὸν γῆν πέρι πᾶσαν ῥέειν.  
Ἡ δὲ τρίτῃ τῶν ὁδῶν, πολλὸν ἐπιεικεστάτῃ ἐοῦσα, μάλιστα 22  
ἔψευστα· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὐδ' αὐτὴ οὐδὲν φάμεν τὸν Νεῖλον ῥέειν  
ἀπὸ τηκομένης χιόνος· ὅς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης<sup>e</sup> διὰ μέσων Αἰθιο-  
πων ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. κῶς ὦν δῆτα ῥέει ἂν ἀπὸ χιόνος, ἀπὸ  
τῶν θερμωτάτων [τόπων] ῥέων ἐς τὰ ψυχρότερα; τῶν τὰ πολλὰ  
ἐστὶ<sup>f</sup> ἀνδρὶ γε λογίζεσθαι τοιούτων πέρι οἷω τε ἔοντι, ὥς οὐδὲ

Three Hel-  
lenic theo-  
ries of the  
cause of the  
inundations  
are refuted.

the immediate vicinity of the lake Ma-  
reotis) from fevers, by the fact, that at the  
season of the year when the power of the  
sun would lay the banks bare under or-  
dinary circumstances, the inundation of  
the Nile counterbalances the evaporation,  
and keeps the 'lake full (xvii. c. i. p.  
426).

<sup>a</sup> τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀνέμους. See note 59,  
above.

<sup>b</sup> ἐτησῖαι μὲν οὐκ ὦν ἐπνευσαν. He  
does not mean that they do not blow at  
all, but that they do not begin to blow  
before the beginning of the rise of the  
river; and that this was observed often to  
occur.

<sup>c</sup> πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ ποταμοί.  
Some exception has been taken to this ar-  
gument, from the fact that the course of  
the Syrian rivers is not in the opposite  
direction to the Etesian winds, which  
were nearly north-western in that part of  
the Mediterranean. But, in fact, the  
name Etesian wind came to be applied to

every strong wind continuing long in the  
same quarter, especially if of a periodical  
character. DIONORUS expressly says that  
the winds called ἀργύσται (the "albus  
Iapyx" of Horace) had the term Etesian  
applied to them (i. 39). And these blew  
from a part somewhat south of the  
west.

<sup>d</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ ῥέοντα. The  
writer doubtless alludes to the composers  
of the γῆς περίοδοι, of whom he speaks  
contemptuously below (iv. 36). Among  
them, possibly, Hecataeus is to be  
reckoned. See below, § 23, ὁ περὶ τοῦ  
Ὀκ. λέξας.

<sup>e</sup> ἐκ Λιβύης. From this phrase it  
may be gathered that, in the mind of the  
writer, the westernmost branch of the  
Nile, or White River, was regarded as the  
main channel. See also below, § 31,  
ῥέει δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης τε καὶ ἡλίου δυσμέων.  
There now remains no doubt that this  
view is quite erroneous.

<sup>f</sup> τῶν τὰ πολλὰ ἐστὶ. I have little

- εἰκὸς ἀπὸ χιόνος μιν ῥέειν· πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον μαρτύριον οἱ ἄνεμοι παρέχονται πνέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν χωρέων τούτων θερμοί· δεύτερον δὲ, ὅτι ἄνομβρος ἡ χώρα καὶ ἀκρύσταλλος διατελεῖ εὐόσα· ἐπὶ δὲ χιόνι πεσοῦση πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ὕσαι ἐν πέντε ἡμέρησι<sup>22</sup>· ὥστε εἰ ἐχίονιζε, ἔτο αὖ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία· τρίτα δὲ, οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος μέλανες εἶντες<sup>23</sup>. ἱκτινοὶ δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες δι' ἔτεος εἶντες οὐκ ἀπολείπουσι, γέραναι δὲ φεύγουσαι τὸν χειμῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ χώρῃ γινόμενον φοιτέωσι ἐς χεϊμασίην ἐς τοὺς τόπους τούτους· εἰ τοίνυν ἐχίονιζε καὶ ὁσούνων ταύτην τὴν χώραν, δι' ἧς τε ῥέει καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχεται ῥέων ὁ Νεῖλος, ἦν αὖ τούτῳ
- 23 οὐδὲν, ὥς ἡ ἀνάγκη ἐλέγχει. Ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ λέξας<sup>24</sup>, ἐς ἀφανὲς τὸν μῦθον ἀνενείκας οὐκ ἔχει ἔλεγχον· οὐ γάρ τινα ἔγωγε οἶδα ποταμὸν Ὀκεανὸν εἶντα· Ὀμηρον δὲ, ἢ τῶν τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ποιητέων, δοκέω τοῦνομα εὐρόντα ἐς τὴν ποίησιν ἐσενείκασθαι.
- 24 Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μεμψόμενον γνώμας τὰς προκειμένας αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν ἀφανέων γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι, φράσω διότι μοι δοκεῖ πληθύνεσθαι ὁ Νεῖλος τοῦ θέρεος. τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥρην ἀπελαυνόμενος ὁ ἥλιος ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαῆς διεξόδου ὑπὸ τῶν χειμῶνων, ἔρχεται τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω. ὥς μὲν νῦν ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ δηλῶσαι, πᾶν εἴρηται· τῆς γὰρ αὖ ἀγγχοτάτῳ ἢ χώρῃς οὗτος ὁ θεὸς, καὶ κατὰ ἡντινα, ταύτην οἰκὸς διψῇν τε ὑδάτων μάλιστα καὶ τὰ ἐγγχώρια ῥέυματα μαραίνεσθαι
- 25 τῶν ποταμῶν. Ὡς δὲ ἐν πλείονι λόγῳ δηλῶσαι, ὧδε ἔχει· διεξῶν τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω ὁ ἥλιος, τάδε ποιεῖ· ἅτε διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου αἰθρίου τε εἶντος τοῦ ἡέρος τοῦ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ ἀλε-

The author's own theory.

doubt that in the article here is a relic of the word *τεκμήρια*, by the adoption of which all difficulty will be removed from the passage. The plural *τῶν* is used because the point which Herodotus wants to prove is, "that the course of the Nile is from a very warm region to a colder one." But this position is only to lead to the more particular one, "that the inundation is not due to melting snow;" and accordingly, after his usual manner, he limits the question at issue by the clause, *ὥς οὐδὲ εἰκὸς ἀπὸ χιόνος μιν ῥέειν*. Without some emendation, no sense can be given to the passage.

<sup>22</sup> *πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ὕσαι ἐν πέντε*

*ἡμέρησι*. It is strange that this notion should be entertained by a traveller in Scythia, Armenia, or Media. Even Mount Argæus has snow on it during the whole year,—a fact which must have been known to the natives of all the country from which it could be seen, including the high road to Susa.

<sup>23</sup> *μέλανες εἶντες*. This must be "coal-black;" something much stronger than would be expressed by the phrase *μελανοχρῶς*, which he applies to the Colchians and Egyptians (§ 104).

<sup>24</sup> *ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ λέξας*. See above, note 71.

ειυῆς<sup>76</sup> τῆς χώρας εἰούσης, οὐκ ἔοντων ἀνέμων ψυχρῶν, διεξιὼν ποιεῖε οἶον περ καὶ τὸ θέρος ἔωθε ποιεῖν ἰὼν τὸ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· ἔλκει γὰρ ἐπ' ἑωυτὸν τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐλκύσας δὲ ἀπωθεῖ εἰς τὰ ἄνω χωρία, ὑπολαμβάνοντες δὲ οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ διασκιδάντες τήκουσι· καὶ εἰσι οἰκότως οἱ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώρας πνέοντες, ὃ τε νότος καὶ ὁ λιβ, ἀνέμων πολλὸν τῶν πάντων ὑετώτατοι (δοκεῖ δέ μοι οὐδὲ πᾶν τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐπέτειον ἐκάστοτε ἀποπέμπεσθαι τοῦ Νεῖλου ὁ ἥλιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπολείπεσθαι περὶ ἑωυτόν) πρηῦνομένου δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἀπέρχεται ὁ ἥλιος εἰς μέσον τὸν οὐρανὸν ὀπίσω, καὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ὁμοίως ἀπὸ πάντων ἔλκει τῶν ποταμῶν· τέως δὲ οἱ μὲν ὀμβρίου ὕδατος συμμισγομένου πολλοῦ αὐτοῖσι, ἅτε ὑομένης τε τῆς χώρας καὶ κεχαραδρωμένης, ῥέουσι μεγάλοι· τοῦ δὲ θέρεος, τῶν τε ὀμβρων ἐπιλειπόντων αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐλκόμενοι, ἀσθενέες εἰσὶ· ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος ἔων ἄνομβρος, ἐλκόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, μῦνος ποταμῶν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἰκότως αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ ῥεῖ πολλῷ ὑποδέεστερος ἢ τοῦ θέρεος· τότε μὲν γὰρ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὑδάτων ἴσον ἔλκεται, τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα μῦνος πιέζεται<sup>77</sup>. οὕτω τὸν ἥλιον νενομικα τούτων αἷτιον εἶναι. Αἷτιος δὲ 26 ὡντὸς [οὔτος,] κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν, καὶ τὸν ἡέρα ξηρὸν τὸν αὐτὴ εἶναι, διακαίων τὴν διέξοδον αὐτοῦ<sup>78</sup>. οὕτω τῆς Λιβύης τὰ

Under a change of circumstances the

<sup>76</sup> ἀλεεωῆς, "lying open to the sun." This word (the *apricus* of the Latins) is connected with ἄλη, and apparently belongs (in the sense in which it is here used) to Ionia. Ἄλη is found once in the same sense in the Homeric poems, in a passage remarkable also for another circumstance (θερέω, in the sense of "to get warm"). αὐτὴ ἐπεὶ κε πυρὸς θερῶ, ἄλη τε γένηται (*Odyssey*. xvii. 23). In that passage, a various reading, ἐλέη, is found, and the word is interpreted by the Scholiast as θερμασία, κυρίως ἢ τοῦ ἡλίου. HIPPOCRATES uses the expression τοὺς περιττάτους ποιεῖσθαι ἐν ἄλῃ. Perhaps the two forms, ἄλη and ἐλέη, are local varieties of an original form, ἀελέη, of which traces remain in the epithet ἐπαλῆς, coupled by Hesiod with λείσχη (see note 513 on i. 153). XENOPHON, in several passages, uses the word ἀλεινός as applied to a region, and opposed to ψυχινός, which may be explained from his Asiatic experiences. But through the traffic with Ionia it would come to Athens, and be

used in popular language without any reference to its original meaning, as it is by ARISTOPHANES, simply in the sense of "warm:"

ψυχὸς γὰρ ἦν, ἐγὼ δὲ λεπτὴ κάσθεις·  
ἐπειθ' ἴν' ἀλεαίνοιμι, τοῦτ' ἡμπισχόμεν  
σὲ δ' ἐν ἀλέῃ κατακείμενον καὶ στρώμασιν  
κατέλιπον, ὄνερ.

(*Ecclesiastes*. 539.)

<sup>77</sup> τότε μὲν γὰρ . . . πιέζεται. In other words, Herodotus considers the Nile during the inundation to be in its normal condition, the height of the water then being the result of the balance between the supply of its sources and the evaporating power of the sun in the lower part of its course. During the winter, he conceives this last agency to be exerted at the sources, thus cutting off the supplies from the lower parts, which, no rain falling in Egypt, have no means of recruiting themselves.

<sup>78</sup> αἷτιος δὲ ὡντὸς . . . τὴν διέξοδον αὐτοῦ, "and this same [sun], in my judg-

Ister would  
rise as the  
Nile now  
does.

ἄνω θέρος αἰεὶ κατέχει. εἰ δὲ ἡ στάσις ἡλλακτο τῶν ὥρέων, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῇ μὲν νῦν ὁ βορέης τε καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐστᾶσι ταύτῃ μὲν τοῦ νότου ἦν ἡ στάσις καὶ τῆς μεσαμβρίας, τῇ δὲ ὁ νότος νῦν ἔστηκε ταύτῃ δὴ<sup>2</sup> ὁ βορέης, εἰ ταῦτα οὕτω εἶχε, ὁ ἥλιος ἂν ἀπελανόμενος ἐκ μέσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ βορέω ἦε ἂν τὰ ἄνω τῆς Εὐρώπης, κατὰπερ νῦν τῆς Λιβύης ἔρχεται· διεξιόντα δ' ἂν μιν διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης, ἔλπομαι ποιεῖν ἂν τὸν Ἴστρον  
27 τὰ περ νῦν ἐργάζεται τὸν Νεῖλον. Τῆς αὖρης δὲ πέρι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀποπνέει, τήνδε ἔχω γνώμην, ὥς κάρτα ἀπὸ θερμῶν χωρέων οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι οὐδὲν ἀποπνέειν· αὖρη δὲ ἀπὸ ψυχροῦ τινος φιλεῖ πνέειν.

28  
Story of the  
fountains of  
the Nile re-  
lated by the  
monument-  
keeper of  
the Athe-  
næum at  
Sais.

Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἔστω ὡς ἔστι τε καὶ ὡς ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο. τοῦ δὲ Νεῖλου τὰς πηγὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε Λιβύων οὔτε Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἀπικομένων ἐς λόγους οὐδεὶς ὑπέσχετο εἰδέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Σαῖ πόλιν<sup>3</sup> ὁ γραμματιστὴς τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίων· οὗτος δ' ἐμοὶ γε παίζειν ἐδόκεε φάμενος εἰδέναι ἀτρεκέως. ἔλεγε δὲ ὧδε· "εἶναι δύο οὖρεα ἐς ὅξιν τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπνέμενα, μετὰξὺ Σνήης τε πόλιος κείμενα τῆς Θηβαίδος καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης<sup>4</sup>. οὐνόματα δὲ εἶναι τοῖσι οὖρεσι, τῷ μὲν Κρῶφι τῷ δὲ Μῶφι<sup>5</sup>. τὰς ὧν δὴ πηγὰς τοῦ Νεῖλου, εἰούσας ἀβύσσους, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τῶν οὐρέων τούτων ῥέειν· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ῥέειν καὶ πρὸς βορέην ἀνεμῶν, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἡμισυ, ἐπὶ Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ νότου· ὥς δὲ ἄβυσσοι εἰσι αἱ πηγαί, ἐς διάπειραν ἔφη τούτου Ψαμμίτιχον Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῖα ἀπικέσθαι· πολλένων

ment, is the cause of the air too in this region being dry, in scorching up the path he takes through it." Gaisford reads, with some MSS, αὐτῷ. S omits the word. In the next sentence, the expression, ἡ στάσις τῶν ὥρέων, "the position of the seasons," instead of τοῦ ἡλίου κατὰ τὰς ἡμέρας, is illustrated by what has been said in note 12.

<sup>2</sup> ταύτῃ δὴ. So S. Gaisford, with most MSS, has ταύτῃ δέ.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν Σαῖ πόλιν. For the site of Sais, see note on § 163. WILKINSON (*Modern Egyptians*, i. p. 187) places it on the eastern bank of the Nile, about a mile inland. It is to the north of a village, now called *Sa-el-Hagar* (*Sa of the Stone*), probably from the remains. See a description of the ruin in note on § 169.

<sup>4</sup> μετὰξὺ Σνήης τε πόλιος . . . καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης. The extreme incorrectness of this statement is remarkable, as Syene (*Assuan*, placed by Wilkinson in lat. 24° 5' 30") is on the east bank of the river, immediately opposite to the island Elephantine, at a distance of half a stade (STRABO, xvii. p. 464). See above, note on § 9.

<sup>5</sup> τῷ μὲν Κρῶφι τῷ δὲ Μῶφι. These two names have been interpreted by CHAMPOLLION as significant of "good" and "evil." If this be so, perhaps some allegory may lie at the bottom of the statement; possibly, a symbolical account of the origin of mixed good and evil in the world. But, whatever the Saitan may have meant, it is plain that his auditor took him literally.

γὰρ αὐτὸν χιλιάδων ὀργυιῶν πλεξάμενον κάλον κατεῖναι ταύτη, καὶ οὐκ ἐξικέσθαι ἐς βυσσόν." οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ γραμματιστής, (εἰ ἄρα ταῦτα γενόμενα ἔλεγε,) ἀπέφαινε, ὡς ἐμὲ κατανοέειν δύναις τινὰς ταύτῃ ἐούσας ἰσχυρὰς καὶ παλιρροίην<sup>22</sup>. οἷα δὲ ἐμβάλλοντος τοῦ ὕδατος τοῖσι οὖρεσι<sup>23</sup> μὴ δύνασθαι κατιεμένην καταπειρητηρίην ἐς βυσσὸν ἵεναι. "Ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν ἐδυνάμην πυνθέσθαι. 29 ἀλλὰ τοσούδε μὲν ἄλλο ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐπυθόμην, μέχρι μὲν Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος αὐτόπτης ἐλθὼν<sup>24</sup>, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου ἀκοῇ ἤδη ἱστορέων. ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι, ἄναυτές ἐστι χωρίον ταύτῃ ὧν δεῖ τὸ πλοῖον διαδήσαντας ἀμφοτέρωθεν, κατὰ περ βοῦν<sup>25</sup>, πορεύεσθαι. ἦν δὲ ἀπορραγῇ, τὸ πλοῖον οἴχεται φερόμενον ὑπὸ ἰσχύος τοῦ ῥόου. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο ἔστι ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τέσσαρας πλόος<sup>26</sup>. σκολιὸς δὲ ταύτῃ, κατὰ περ ὁ Μαϊάνδρος, ἔστι ὁ Νεῖλος.

Beyond Elephantine the writer did not go: but he describes from hearsay the rapids, the mode of towing, and the island Tachompeo.

<sup>22</sup> οὕτω μὲν δὴ . . . παλιρροίην, "the punishment-keeper now so put the matter to me—if indeed these things which he mentioned really happened—as to produce the notion on my part of certain strong eddies with a cross current existing in this locality."

<sup>23</sup> οἷα δὲ ἐμβάλλοντος τοῦ ὕδατος τοῖσι οὖρεσι. It seems impossible to reconcile this phrase with any mode of the operation of water rising out of springs, even in a way which might suit the vague notions of the time of Herodotus. Perhaps the real origin of the statement is to be looked for in some misunderstanding of the Saitan, who, possibly, was thinking of the rapids and eddies of the river itself at that part, i. e. just below the first cataract. At Syene there was in later times a "well," the bottom of which the sun was believed to illuminate at one time of the year, it being supposed that Syene was under the tropic. STRABO (xvii. p. 464) mentions this, but neither that the well was used "as an observatory," nor that he "saw the sun in the well," nor, indeed, that he saw the well at all.

<sup>24</sup> μέχρι μὲν Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος αὐτόπτης ἐλθὼν. This phrase occasions very great difficulty. Is the author himself the αὐτόπτης spoken of here? If so, how comes the fact of the insular position of Elephantine, and its bearing from Assuan, to be so strangely ignored? See notes 36 and 80, above.

<sup>25</sup> κατὰ περ βοῦν, "just like an ox," i. e. with a rope tied to each horn, to prevent

the animal from suddenly bolting when led to sacrifice. EUMIPIDES perhaps had the Egyptian mode of towing in his mind when he wrote of the drawing the wooden horse into Troy (*Troia*. 537):

κλωστοῦ δ' ἀμφιβόλοισι λίνοισι, ναὺς ὥσει σκάφος κελαϊνὸν, εἰς ἔδραναι λῆϊνα δάπεδά τε φόνια πατρίδι Παλλάδος θέσαν θεῶς.

<sup>26</sup> τὸ δὲ χωρίον . . . πλόος. The author does not say from what points the reckoning is to be made, but one may presume he intends *Elephantine*, and that the ἄναυτες χωρίον denotes the rapids at the second cataract. This is described by WILKINSON (*Modern Egyptians*, ii. p. 332) as less interesting than the cataract of Syene, but more extensive, being a succession of rapids which occupy a space of several miles, called *Bahn el Hagar*, "the belly of stone," a locality suggesting such a mode of tracking (i. e. simultaneously from both banks) as the author describes. But the actual distances disagree very much with the other estimates of Herodotus. In § 9, he lays the distance between Elephantine and Thebes at 1800 stades. Now the real distance (as estimated by Wilkinson) is 124 miles, which gives about 14·5 stades to a mile. An excess, though much smaller in extent, likewise appears between Thebes and the sea, which Herodotus puts at 6120 stades; and, its real distance being 566 miles and a half, about 10·8 stades must be reckoned to the mile. But the



σχοῖνοι δὲ δυνάδεκά εἰσι οὗτοι, τοὺς δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διεκπλώσαι· καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπίζεαι ἐς πεδίον λεῖον, ἐν τῷ νήσον περιρρέει ὁ Νεῖλος· Ταχομψῶ<sup>97</sup> οὖνομα αὐτῇ ἐστὶ· οἰκέουσι δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἄνω Αἰθίοπες ἤδη, καὶ τῆς νήσου τὸ ἡμισυ τὸ δὲ ἡμισυ, Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔχεται δὲ τῆς νήσου λίμνη μεγάλη, τὴν περίξ νομάδες Αἰθίοπες νέμονται· τὴν διεκπλώσας ἐς τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ῥέεθρον ἤξεις, τὸ ἐς τὴν λίμνην ταύτην ἐκδιδοί<sup>98</sup>· καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβάς, παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν<sup>99</sup> ὁδοιπορίην ποιήσας ἡμερέων τεσσαράκοντα· σκόπελοί τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ ὀξέες ἀνέχουσι καὶ χοιράδες πολλαὶ εἰσι, δι' ὧν οὐκ οἶά τέ ἐστι πλέειν διεξελθὼν δὲ ἐν τῇσι τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρῃσι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, αὐτὺς ἐς ἕτερον πλοῖον ἐμβάς, δυνάδεκα ἡμέρας πλεύσας· καὶ ἔπειτα ἤξεις ἐς πόλιν μεγάλην, τῇ οὖνομά ἐστι Μερὸν· λέγεται δὲ αὕτη ἡ πόλις εἶναι μητρόπολις τῶν ἄλλων Αἰθιόπων. οἱ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ Δία θεῶν καὶ Διόνυσον μόνους σέβονται, τούτους τε μεγάλως τιμῶσι· καὶ σφι μαντήιον Διὸς κατέστηκε· στρατεύονται δ' ἐπεὶ σφας ὁ θεὸς οὗτος κελεύῃ διὰ θεσπισμάτων καὶ, τῇ αὖν κελεύῃ, ἐκείσε. Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλέων, ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ ἄλλῃ ἤξεις ἐς τοὺς Αὐτομόλους, ἐν ὅσῳ περ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἦλθες<sup>100</sup> ἐς τὴν μητρόπολιν τὴν Αἰθιόπων. τοῖσι δὲ Αὐτομόλοισι τούτοις οὖνομά ἐστι Ἀσμάχ<sup>101</sup>. δύναται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ

30

The Deserters an Egyptian colony four months above Syene.

distance from Elephantine to the second cataract is 232 miles, and, if the day's sail be reckoned at 9 *schœni* of 60 *stadæ* each (as in § 9), the result will be less than 9½ *stadæ* to a mile. As the difficulties of progress would be much increased above Syene, one would expect the variation to be exactly in the opposite direction. *Wadi Halfa*, which is in the immediate proximity of the second cataract, is said to be in lat. 21° 50'.

<sup>97</sup> Ταχομψῶ. Modern travellers have found nothing at all resembling the description given in the text of this island or the lake in its vicinity.

<sup>98</sup> τὴν διεκπλώσας . . . ταύτην ἐκδιδοί. The manuscript S has τὴν δὲ ἐκπλώσας ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ῥέεθρον ἤξεις τὸ ἐκδιδοί ἐς τὴν λίμνην ταύτην.

<sup>99</sup> παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν. This can scarcely be the description of a person who himself made the journey. The road through the desert saves the great bend which the river makes to the westward, and in that part is many days' journey from the bank. The rapids last for about 120 miles above

*Meharraka* (in the neighbourhood of which *Tachompso* ought to be) to *Wadi-Halfa*; but above that point the river is again available for navigation.

<sup>100</sup> ἐν ὅσῳ περ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἦλθες. The time to *Meroë* would be 4 + 40 + 12 days, besides the time (whatever it might be) occupied in passing from *Tachompso* to the point where the land-journey commenced, and also that consumed in passing the rapids, a distance of twelve *schœni* (§ 29). It seems clear, therefore, that the time to be occupied in reaching the *Automoli* was conceived as not less than four months from *Elephantine*; i. e. they were simply placed at the extremity of the country of which there was any knowledge. See § 31.

<sup>101</sup> Ἀσμάχ. This word in the Ethiopic language signifies "soldats choisis ou distinguez" (LACROZE, *ap. Jablonsky, Opuscula*, i. p. 42). If in the Egyptian language it meant what Herodotus says, the secondary meaning would probably be, "the despised," or "the neglected:" (compare the interpretation of "Ben-

ἔπος κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν οἱ ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς παριστάμενοι βασιλεῖ. ἀπέστησαν δὲ αὐταὶ τέσσερες καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες Αἰγυπτίων τῶν μαχίμων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας τούτους, δι' αἰτίην τοιήνδε· ἐπὶ Ψαμμίτιχου βασιλέος φυλακαὶ κατέστασαν ἐν τε Ἐλεφαντίνῃ πόλει πρὸς Αἰθίοπων, καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι τῇσι Πηλουσίῃσι [ἄλλη δὲ<sup>a</sup>] πρὸς Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Σύρων, καὶ ἐν Μαρέρῃ πρὸς Λιβύης ἄλλῃ. ἔτι δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ καὶ Περσέων κατὰ ταῦτα αἱ φυλακαὶ ἔχουσι, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ Ψαμμίτιχου ἦσαν καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνῃ Πέρσαι φρουρέουσι, καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι<sup>1</sup>. τοὺς ὧν δὴ Αἰγυπτίους τρία ἔτεα φρουρήσαντας ἀπέλκε οὐδεὶς τῆς φρουρῆς· οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι καὶ κοινῇ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι, πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ψαμμίτιχου ἀποστάντες ἦσαν ἐς Αἰθιοπίην· Ψαμμίτιχος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐδίωκε<sup>2</sup>. ὡς δὲ κατέλαβε, ἐδέετο πολλὰ λέγων, καὶ σφεας θεοὺς πατρώους ἀπολιπεῖν οὐκ ἔα, καὶ τέκνα, καὶ γυναῖκας· τῶν δὲ τινα λέγεται δείξαντα τὸ αἰδοῖον εἰπεῖν “ἐνθα ἂν τοῦτο ᾗ, ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι ἐνθαῦτα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας.” οὗτοι ἐπεὶ τε ἐς Αἰθιοπίην ἀπῆκοντο, διδοῦσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Αἰθίοπῳ βασι-

jamin,” *Genesis* xxxv. 18). The tale of the deserters agrees with these two etymologies; in Egypt, they are *Asmak* in the Egyptian sense of the word; in Ethiopia, the same in the Ethiopic. DIODORUS SICULUS, writing at a time when Egypt had become thoroughly Hellenized, gives a Hellenic version of the etymology. According to him, Psammitichus, in an expedition against Syria, had given the *right* wing in his army to his Hellenic mercenaries, and put the *native troops on the left*: an indignity which caused the secession (i. 67).

<sup>a</sup> ἄλλη δέ. Bekker omits the last of these two words as an interpolation. But, alone, its entrance into the text cannot be accounted for. The two words together seem to have crept in from the margin, where they were written by some one who thought it necessary to point out that the corps in Daphnæ was a different one from that in Elephantine.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι. It seems strange that he should not also have mentioned the *corps d'armée* at Marea. Is it conceivable that this was annihilated in the successes of Inarus, when he destroyed Achæmenes (see note on iii. 12), and that the visit of the writer to Egypt took place

between that time (B.C. 460) and the complete re-establishment of the Persian power in the western angle of the Delta?

<sup>2</sup> Ψαμμίτιχος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐδίωκε. At *Abou-simbel* in Nubia, an inscription was found in the Greek language on a temple, beginning with the line βασιλεὺς ἐλθόντος ἐς Ἐλεφαντίναν Ψαματίχο. This is described by WILKINSON (*Modern Egyptians*, ii. p. 329), who gives a copy, as “the curious Greek inscription of the *Ionian and Carian soldiers* of Psamaticus sent by the Egyptian king after the deserters.” The inscription mentions neither deserters nor soldiers, either Ionian, Carian, or of any other nation; but merely that certain individuals (two of whom were Damearchus the son of Amœbichus, and Pelephus [q.v. Telephus] the son of Udamus (?)), in the company of one Psamaticus the son of Theoclus, sailed up the river beyond a place called Cercis. To say nothing of the Doric forms, Elephantina, Psamaticus, and Damearchus, which indicate no Ionic writer, or of the use of the letters ψ, χ, φ, ω, and η, which were probably not written in the time of the monarch Psammitichus, it is plain that no real “illustration of Herodotus” is to be looked for here.

λεί· ὁ δὲ σφεας τῷδε ἀντιδωρέεται· ἥσαν οἱ διάφοροί τινες γεγονότες τῶν Αἰθίοπων· τούτους ἐκέλευε ἐξελόντας τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν οἰκέειν· τούτων δὲ ἐσοικισθέντων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας, ἡμερώτεροι γεγόνασαι Αἰθίοπες, ἤθεα μαθόντες Αἰγύπτια.

31

The Nile is known for four months' journey above Thebes.

Μέχρι μὲν νυν τεσσέρων μηνῶν πλόου καὶ ὁδοῦ γινώσκειται ὁ Νεῖλος, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βρέματος· (τοσοῦτοι γὰρ συμβαλλομένη μῆνες εὐρίσκονται ἀναισιμούμενοι ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πορομένης ἐς τοὺς Αὐτομόλους τούτους)· ῥέει δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης<sup>92</sup> τε καὶ ἡλίου δυσμέων. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε, οὐδεὶς ἔχει σαφέως φράσαι· ἐρήμος γάρ ἐστι ἡ χώρα αὕτη ὑπὸ καύματος. Ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ἤκουσα ἀνδρῶν Κυρηναίων, φαμένων ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμμωνος χρηστήριον καὶ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λόγους Ἑτεάρχῳ τῷ Ἀμμωνίων βασιλεῖ<sup>93</sup>· καὶ κως ἐκ λόγων ἄλλων ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λέσχην<sup>94</sup> περὶ τοῦ Νεῖλου, ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ οἶδε τὰς πηγὰς· καὶ τὸν Ἑτεάρχον φάναι ἐλθεῖν κοτε παρ' αὐτὸν Νασαμώνας ἀνδρας· (τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτό ἐστι μὲν Λιβυκὸν, νέμεται δὲ τὴν Σύρτιν τε καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡῷ χώρην τῆς Σύρτιος οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλόν)· ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Νασαμώνας, καὶ εἰρωτεωμένους εἰ τι ἔχουσι πλέον λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἐρήμων τῆς Λιβύης, φάναι παρὰ σφίσι γενέσθαι ἀνδρῶν δυναστέων παῖδας ὑβριστάς· τοὺς ἄλλα τε μηχανᾶσθαι ἀνδρωθέντας περισσὰ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀποκληρῶσαι πέντε ἑωυτῶν ὄνφομένους τὰ ἐρῆμα τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ εἰ τι πλέον ἴδοιεν τῶν τὰ μακρότατα ἰδομένων. (τῆς γὰρ Λιβύης τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βορρῆν θάλασσαν, ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι Σολόεντος ἄκρης, ἥ τελευταὶ τῆς Λιβύης<sup>95</sup>, παρήκουσι παρὰ πᾶσαν Λίβυν—καὶ Λιβύων ἔθνεα πολλὰ, —πλὴν ὅσον Ἕλληνες καὶ Φοίνικες ἔχουσι· τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης τε καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατηκόντων ἀνθρώπων, τὰ κατύπερθε

<sup>92</sup> ῥέει δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης. See note 72, above.

<sup>93</sup> Ἑτεάρχῳ τῷ Ἀμμωνίων βασιλεῖ. The Hellenic name of this chief is perhaps the translation of a significant native word. Besides the intercourse of the Cyrenæans with Ammon, the fact of the Oasis (*El Wah*) being tenanted by Samians (iii. 26) shows the vigour with which, in very early times, the Hellenic towns extended their commercial enterprizes.

<sup>94</sup> ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λέσχην, "got into a conversation." See note on ix. 71.

<sup>95</sup> ἥ τελευταὶ τῆς Λιβύης. The promontory *Soloeis* is mentioned again iv. 43, where it seems to be regarded as the last landmark known to the Phœnicians. In the *Periplus* of HANNO it is described as covered with trees, and as lying east of Thymiatærium, which latter again is two days' sail outside the straits. SCYLAX makes it two days from the straits to the promontory of Hermes; from thence to *Soloeis* three more; and to *Cerne* the island seven further still.

θηριώδης ἐστὶ ἡ Λιβύη· τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε τῆς θηριώδεος, ψάμμος τέ ἐστι καὶ ἄνδρος δεινῶς, καὶ ἐρήμος πάντων.) ἐπεὶ ὦν τοὺς νεηνίας ἀποπεμπομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡλίκων, ὕδασι τε καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐξηρτυμένους, ἵεναι τὰ πρῶτα<sup>97</sup> μὲν διὰ τῆς οἰκεομένης, ταύτην δὲ διεξελθόντας ἐς τὴν θηριώδεα ἀπικέσθαι, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τὴν ἐρήμον διεξιέναι τὴν ὁδὸν ποιευμένους πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον<sup>98</sup> διεξελθόντας δὲ χώρον πολλὸν ψαμμώδεα καὶ ἐν πολλῇσι ἡμέρησι ἰδεῖν δὴ κοτε δένδρεα ἐν πεδίῳ πεφυκότα· καὶ σφεας προσελθόντας ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ ἐπεόντος ἐπὶ τῶν δεινδρέων καρποῦ ἀπτομένοισι δὲ σφι ἐπελθεῖν ἄνδρας μικροὺς<sup>99</sup>, μετρίων ἐλάσσονας ἀνδρῶν, λαβόντας δὲ ἄγειν σφέας· φωνῆς δὲ οὔτε τι τῆς ἐκείνων τοὺς Νασαμώνας γινώσκειν οὔτε τοὺς ἄγοντας τῶν Νασαμώνων ἄγειν τε δὴ αὐτοὺς δι' ἐλέων μεγίστων, καὶ διεξελθόντας ταῦτα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς πόλιν ἐν τῇ ἅπαντας εἶναι τοῖσι ἄγουσι τὸ μέγαθος ἴσους, χρῶμα δὲ μέλανας· παρὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ῥέειν ποταμὸν μέγαν· ῥέειν δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης αὐτὸν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα· φαίνεσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κροκοδείλους. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου Ἐτεάρχου λόγος ἐς 33 τοῦτό μοι δεδηλώσθω, πλὴν ὅτι ἀπονοστήσαι τε ἔφασκε τοὺς Νασαμώνας, [ὡς οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἔλεγον<sup>99</sup>] καὶ ἐς τοὺς οὗτος ἀπ-

They probably reached the upper Nile.

<sup>97</sup> ἵεναι τὰ πρῶτα. These words and those which follow are to be taken after *ἔπει* as the *propositio* of the construction, of which the *apodosis* begins with *διεξελθόντας δὲ*, "then, after having passed through an enormous extent of country, and having taken a long time about it, they at length saw (*ἰδεῖν δὴ κοτε*) trees growing in a plain."

<sup>98</sup> τὴν ὁδὸν ποιευμένους πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον. As these words are placed, it would seem to be the meaning of the writer that the westerly course of the *Nasamones* commenced after their arrival in the region of the desert. This rather militates against the notion that the route they followed was nearly the same as that taken by Denham and Clapperton in 1823 (which runs nearly south from the neighbourhood of the tropics in a longitude of about 15° to the great central lake *Tchad*), and would go to favour the theory which brings them to *Timbuctoo*. The recent origin of the existing city is no objection whatever to this view, any more than the different stature of the existing natives. Moreover, there is no doubt that the river at Tim-

buctoo flows to the east, which is far from certain of the *Yeou*, the river in the immediate neighbourhood of the lake *Tchad*. See ALLEN (*Journal of the Geographical Society*, vol. viii.). Neither is the lake *Tchad* itself accurately described as a series of extensive swamps,—at least the western end of it, which alone is known. That description is more applicable to the neighbourhood of *Socato* (lat. 13°, long. 6°) where Clapperton died, and the caravan track said to exist from *Mourzouk* in Fezzan to that place would be in its general bearings about s.w.

<sup>98</sup> ἄνδρας μικροὺς. It would seem not unlikely that, in the times of which Herodotus is speaking, that diminutive race, the *Bosjemans*, which still exist here and there in Southern Africa, was more widely extended.

<sup>99</sup> [ὡς οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἔλεγον]. These words are omitted in S. If they are genuine, they appear to be out of place, and to have been originally written after the words *Ἐτεάρχου λόγος*. But they seem to me to be a marginal note.

Comparison  
of the Nile  
and the  
Ister.

ἰκοντο ἀνθρώπους γόητας εἶναι πάντας." τὸν δὲ δὴ ποταμὸν τοῦτον τὸν παραρρέοντα καὶ Ἑτάρχος συνεβάλλετο εἶναι τὸν Νεῖλον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ λόγος οὕτω αἰρέει· ῥέει γὰρ ἐκ Λιβύης ὁ Νεῖλος, καὶ μέσσην τάμνων Λιβύην καὶ (ὡς ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι, τοῖσι ἐμφανέσι τὰ μὴ γνωσκόμενα τεκμαιρόμενος) τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκ τῶν ἴσων μέτρων ὁρμᾶται<sup>100</sup>. Ἰστρος τε γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Πυρήνης πόλιος<sup>101</sup>, ῥέει μέσσην σχίζων τὴν Εὐρώπην (οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ εἰσι ἕξω Ἑρακληῶν στηλέων, ὁμουρέουσι δὲ Κυνησίοισι<sup>102</sup>, οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς δυσμέων οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένων) τελευτᾷ δὲ ὁ Ἰστρος ἐς θάλασσαν ῥέων τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης, τῇ Ἰστρίῃ οἱ Μιλησίων οἰκέουσι ἄποικοι.

34 Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἰστρος, ῥέει γὰρ δι' οἰκευμένης, πρὸς πολλῶν γινώσκειται· περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Νεῖλου πηγῶν οὐδεὶς ἔχει λέγειν ἀοικήτους τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐρήμος ἡ Λιβύη, δι' ἧς ῥέει· περὶ δὲ τοῦ ῥεύματος αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ὅσον μακρότατον ἰστορεῦντα ἦν ἐξικέσθαι εἴρηται· ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἡ δὲ Αἴγυπτος τῆς ὀρεινῆς Κιλικίης μάλιστα κη ἀντίη κέεται· [ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ, ἐς Σινώπην τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ πέντε ἡμερῶν ἰθεία ὁδὸς εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ<sup>103</sup>.] ἡ δὲ Σινώπη τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκδιδόντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἀντίον κέεται<sup>104</sup>. οὕτω τὸν Νεῖλον δοκέω διὰ πάσης τῆς Λιβύης διεξιόντα ἐξισοῦσθαι τῷ Ἰστρῷ. Νεῖλου μὲν νυν περὶ τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

35  
Continuation  
of the  
description  
of Egypt.

Ἔρχομαι δὲ περὶ Αἰγύπτου μηχανέων τὸν λόγον, ὅτι πλεῖστα θωυμάσια ἔχει ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα χώρα, καὶ ἔργα λόγου μέζω παρέχεται πρὸς πᾶσαν χώραν τούτων εἵνεκα πλέω περὶ αὐτῆς εἰρήσεται.

<sup>100</sup> τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκ τῶν ἴσων μέτρων ὁρμᾶται. This estimate is unduly favourable to the Ister, the length of whose course is about 1500 miles, taking the bendings of the river into account, or 1100 miles direct. The whole length of the eastern branch of the Nile, the only one which has been traced, is 1600 miles direct. But it has been of late considered that the western branch (*Bahr el Abiad*) which the ancients always considered the true Nile, is really much shorter than the other; and, if so, it may possibly turn out that Herodotus's statement is nearer the truth than now seems likely.

<sup>101</sup> Πυρήνης πόλιος. This is the only place in which Herodotus speaks of this city. It is plain that he has the vaguest notions of the localities he mentions. The

Celts of which he speaks must be looked for in Lusitania, if any where at all.

<sup>102</sup> Κυνησίοισι. See note on iv. 49, μετὰ Κύνητας.

<sup>103</sup> ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ . . . εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ. This passage appears to me to be an interpolation. It has nothing to do with the particular point the author has in hand, viz. to show a kind of analogy between the Ister and the Nile. It is also quite contrary to facts; and perhaps is derived from a misunderstanding of i. 72, where see note 246.

<sup>104</sup> ἡ δὲ Σινώπη τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκδιδόντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἀντίον κέεται. Probably a merchant-vessel going from the Ister to Phasis (see note 363 on i. 104) would lay her course for Sinope, or on the opposite course run for the Ister from Sinope.

Αἰγύπτιοι ἅμα τῷ οὐρανῷ τῷ κατὰ σφέας ἐόντι ἑτεροίῳ, καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ φύσιν ἄλλοιην παρεχομένῳ ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἔμπαλιν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι ἐστήσαντο ἥθεά τε καὶ νόμους<sup>165</sup>. ἐν τοῖσι αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἀγοράζουσι<sup>166</sup> καὶ καπηλεύουσι. οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατ' οἴκους ἐόντες ὑφαίνουσι<sup>167</sup>. ὑφαίνουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνω τὴν κρόκην ὠθέοντες, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ κάτω. τὰ ἄχθεια οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν φοροῦνσι, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων. οὐρέουσι, αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ὀρθαί, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατήμενοι. εὐμαρὲν χρεώνται ἐν τοῖσι οἴκοις, ἐσθίουσι δὲ ἕξω ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι, ἐπιλέγοντες, ὥς τὰ μὲν αἰσχροῦ ἀναγκαῖα δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ἐστὶ ποιεῖν χρεὼν, τὰ δὲ μὴ αἰσχροῦ ἀναφανδόν. ἱράται<sup>168</sup> γυνὴ μὲν οὐδεμία οὔτε ἔρσεως θεοῦ οὔτε θηλέης ἄνδρες δὲ πάντων τε καὶ πασέων. τρέφειν τοὺς τοκέας τοῖσι μὲν παισὶ οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη μὴ βουλομένοις τῇσι δὲ θυγατράσι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ μὴ βουλομένησι. Οἱ ἱρέες τῶν θεῶν τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ κομέουσι, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ 36 ξυρεῖνται. τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις νόμος ἅμα κηδεῖ κεκάρθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς τοὺς μάλιστα ἰκνέεται, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὑπὸ τοὺς θανάτους ἀνείσι τὰς τρίχας αὔξεσθαι, τὰς τε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῷ γενεῖῳ, τέως ἐξυρήμενοι. τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις χωρὶς θηρίων δίαίτα ἀποκέκριται, Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ὁμοῦ θηρίοις ἡ δίαίτα ἐστὶ. ἀπὸ πυρέων καὶ κριθέων ὅλλοι ζῶουσι, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῷ ποιευμένῳ ἀπὸ τούτων τὴν ζῆν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ

Strange contrast between the Egyptians and other nations.

<sup>165</sup> τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἔμπαλιν τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἐστήσαντο ἥθεά τε καὶ νόμους. The words τὰ πολλὰ and πάντα are not to be taken together, but the latter to be coupled with ἔμπαλιν. Translate "in most things they have established customs and laws for themselves, in every point the reverse of other men." (See note on i. 203.) Nymphodorus (*ap. Schol. in Soph. Œd. Col. 337*) exaggeratingly says that the only thing in which the Egyptian and Hellenic manners coincided was, that with both nations the younger men made way for the elder in public.

<sup>166</sup> ἀγοράζουσι, "frequent the agora."

<sup>167</sup> ὑφαίνουσι. These were doubtless the manufacturers of the linen for which Egypt was famous. (See the first note on § 164.) A state of civilization implying a division of labour would induce the practice which so forcibly struck a Greek visitor, in whose country the clothes of the

household would be manufactured by the industry of the female members of the family. SOPHOCLES alludes to it (*Œdip. Col. 337*):

ὁ πάντ' ἐκείνῳ τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ νόμοις φύσιν κατεκασθέντε καὶ βλου τροφάς· ἐκεῖ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἄρσεως κατὰ στέγας θακοῦσιν ἰστοουργοῦντες, αἱ δὲ σύννομοι τέξω βλου τροφεία πορσύνουσ' ἀέι.

Nymphodorus (l. c.) gives several other particulars, and adds that these habits were introduced by *Sesostris* with the intention of rendering his subjects effeminate, — the same policy which Croesus recommends Cyrus to pursue towards the Lydians (i. 155).

<sup>168</sup> ἱράται. Unless this word be taken in a very restricted sense, as referring only to the office of a *sacrisficial* priest, some difficulty arises. See note on § 54.

ὀλυρέων ποιεῦνται σιτία, τὰς ζειὰς μετεξέτεροι καλέουσι. φρυῶσι τὸ μὲν σταῖς τοῖσι ποσὶ, τὸν δὲ πηλὸν τῆσι χερσὶ καὶ τὴν κόπρον ἀναιρέονται. τὰ αἰδοῖα ὥλλοι μὲν ἑῷσι ὡς ἐγένοντο, πλὴν ὅσοι ἀπὸ τούτων ἔμαθον Διγύπτιοι δὲ περιτάμνονται. εἴματα, τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστος ἔχει δύο, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἐν ἐκάστη. τῶν ἱστίων τοὺς κρίκους καὶ κάλους<sup>109</sup> οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἔξωθεν προσδέουσι, Διγύπτιοι δὲ ἔσωθεν. γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψήφοισι Ἕλληνας μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα, Διγύπτιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά· καὶ ποιεῦντες ταῦτα, αὐτοὶ μὲν φασὶ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ποιεῖν Ἕλληνας δὲ ἐπ' ἀριστερά. διφασίσιοι δὲ γράμμασι χρέωνται· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἱρά τὰ δὲ δημοτικὰ καλέεται.

37

Customs  
founded on  
religious  
views.

Θεοσεβείες δὲ περισσῶς ἔόντες μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, νόμοισι τοιοῖσινδε χρέωνται. ἐκ χαλκῶν ποτηρίων πίνουνσι, διασμένοντες ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, οὐκ ὁ μὲν ὁ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντες. εἴματα δὲ λίνεα φορέουσι αἰεὶ νεόπλυτα, ἐπιτηδεύοντες τοῦτο μάλιστα. τὰ τε αἰδοῖα περιτάμνονται καθαριότητος εἵνεκεν προτιμώντες καθαροὶ εἶναι ἢ εὐπρεπέστεροι. οἱ δὲ ἱρέες ξυρεῦνται πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρης, ἵνα μήτε φθεῖρ μήτε ἄλλο

<sup>109</sup> τοὺς κρίκους καὶ κάλους. It is very difficult to say exactly what is here meant. The writer alludes to some arrangement which was familiar to his hearers, and from this very circumstance abstains from the explanation which would be welcome to a modern reader. I am disposed to think that the κρίκοι καὶ κάλοι are the apparatus for reefing the sails; viz. a row of eyel holes parallel to the seam of the sail, through each of which a short line is run, and prevented from coming out by a knot at each extremity. In the act of reefing, the portion of the sail which lies below this row is rolled up and secured by the short lines in question. It would seem from the text that the operation was in Egypt effected by drawing home the knot on the inside of the sail, but in Greece by doing the same with that on the outside. Accordingly they would make fast the reef-points in the one case on the inside (or weatherly side) of the sail, and in the other on the outside (or lee side). In both instances the knot drawn home would be the larger of the two, and would lie, like a button, over the twist which would

be taken by the other end round it. In Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon* (v. κάλος) the true explanation of ΕΥΒΡΙΔΕΣ, *Trach.* 93, παραδόκει Ὅταν στράτευμ' Ἀργεῖον ἔξῃ κάλως is missed, from a mistaken apprehension that ἐξίεναι κάλως means the same thing as χαλάσαι τὸ δα. But the former means to "shake out the reefs,"—a proceeding appropriate to fine settled weather and a steady light breeze. Poseidon accordingly, who is meditating the destruction of the Greeks, watches the opportunity when the fleet shall be carrying as much canvas as possible. The latter expression, on the contrary, means to "ease off the sheet," the word πῶς signifying the line which secures the leemost extremity of the bottom of a sail. To let this go is, as the Athenians knew well from their experience of the ferry between the Piræus and Salamis, the only way to save a boat from capsizing when a squall suddenly strikes her.

καὶ πῶς γὰρ ἐνταθεῖσα πρὸς βίαν πῶς ἔβαψεν, ἵσθη δ' αὖτις ἦν χαλὰ τὸ δα.  
ΕΥΒΡΙΔΕΣ, *Orest.* 706.

μυσαρὸν μηδὲν ἐγγίνηταί σφι θεραπεύουσι τοὺς θεοὺς. ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἱ ἱρέες λινέην μούνην, καὶ ὑποδήματα βύβλινα· ἄλλην δὲ σφι ἐσθῆτα οὐκ ἔξεστι λαβεῖν, οὐδὲ ὑποδήματα ἄλλα. λύνονται δὲ δις<sup>a</sup> τῆς ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ψυχρῶ, καὶ δις ἐκάστης νυκτός. ἄλλας τε θρησκίας ἐπιτελέουσι μυρίας, ὥς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. πάσχοισι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὀλίγα· οὔτε τι γὰρ τῶν οἰκῆτων τρίβουσι<sup>110</sup> οὔτε δαπανέωνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ σιτία σφί ἐστι ἱρὰ πεσσύμενα, καὶ κρεῶν βοέων καὶ χηνέων πλήθος τι ἐκάστῳ γίνεται πολλόν, ἡμέρης ἐκάστης· δίδονται δὲ σφι καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος<sup>111</sup>. ἰχθύων δὲ οὗ σφι ἔξεστι πάσασθαι. κυάμους δὲ οὔτε τι μάλα σπείρουσι Διγυπτιοὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, τοὺς τε γενομένους οὔτε τρώγουσι οὔτε ἔψοντες πατέονται· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἱρέες οὐδὲ ὀρέοντες ἀνέχονται, νομίζοντες οὐ καθαρὸν μιν εἶναι ὄσπριον. ἱρᾶται δὲ οὐκ εἰς ἐκάστου τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ τῶν εἰς ἐστὶ ἀρχιέρεως<sup>112</sup>. ἐπεὰν δέ τις ἀποθάνῃ, τούτου ὁ παῖς ἀντικατίσταιται.

Τοὺς δὲ βούς τοὺς ἔρσενας τοῦ Ἐπάφου εἶναι νομίζουσι<sup>113</sup>, καὶ 38

<sup>a</sup> δις. CHÆREMON (ap. Porphyry. *De Abstem.* iv. 7) makes their daily ablutions to be *three* in number, one on rising, one before dinner, and one before going to sleep.

<sup>110</sup> οὔτε τι τῶν οἰκῆτων τρίβουσι. The priests apparently had a common domain, free from taxes, and held by them as a corporation. On the other hand, the individual cultivators, the ryots, were regarded as the tenants at will of the sovereign. Compare *Genesis* xlvii. 18—26 with § 109, below.

<sup>111</sup> οἶνος ἀμπέλινος. It is a question from whence this wine must have come. Since the time of Psammitichus doubtless the commodity formed a large part of the imports from Hellas; and it was from thence probably that the bulk of the wine consumed at the festival of Bubastis (described below, § 60) was derived. In later times it was said that antecedently to the days of Psammitichus the Egyptians abstained from wine on religious grounds, believing the juice of the grape to be the blood of the giants which warred against the gods, from whose buried bodies the vine had sprung (Eudoxus, ap. *Plutarch. De Irid. et Osiride*, p. 353). But the mention of "the chief butler," as a high officer of state in the court of a Pharaoh (*Genesis* xl.), seems quite opposed to this view; and as there is no early authority for it, but on the contrary HERCULEUS related that the

kings used to drink a *metretes* of wine by the special order of the sacred writings, I should rather be disposed to consider it as referring to a dogma of later growth than the time of Herodotus. That the bulk of the population did not drink wine *habitually* seems clear from the scoff of the Achaean king Pelasgus in ÆSCHYLUS:

ἀλλ' ἔρσενάς τοι τῆσθε γῆς οἰκῆτορας  
ἐβήσεν' οὐ πίνοντας ἐκ κριθῶν  
μέθυσ (Suppl. 953).

But this circumstance probably arose from the cultivation of the vine being possible in very few parts of Egypt (see note on § 77), while the country was especially favourable to the growth of cereals. So little general belief attached to the superstition mentioned by Eudoxus, that TRIBULLUS identifies *Osiris* even with the wine-god Dionysus, and attributes to him the invention of vine-culture. (*Lib. i. Eleg. vii. 33*):

"Hic docuit teneram palis adjungere vitem,  
Hic viridem durā cedere falce comam."

<sup>112</sup> ἀρχιέρεως. This is the reading of Gaisford on the authority of several MSS, and it is defended by the use of the same form by DIO CASSIUS. But it is contrary to analogy, and other MSS (among which is S) have the common form ἀρχιερέως.

<sup>113</sup> τοῦ Ἐπάφου εἶναι νομίζουσι, "they consider as belonging to Epaphus." It is



*Bulls sacred to Eraphus if marked with any black.*

*Others may be sacrificed.*

39

*Mode of sacrifice.*

*Curses are heaped on the head of the victim.*

τοῦτον εἵνεκα δοκιμάζουσι αὐτοὺς ὧδε· τρίχα ἦν καὶ μίαν ἴδηται ἐπεοῦσαν μέλαιναν, οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναι νομίζει. δίδηται δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένος τῶν τις ἱρέων, καὶ ὀρθοῦ ἐστεῶτος τοῦ κτήνεος καὶ ἡπτίου, καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐξειρύσας, εἰ καθαρὴ τῶν προκειμένων σημητῶν, τὰ ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῃ λόγῳ<sup>a</sup> ἔρέω· κατορῶ δὲ καὶ τὰς τρίχας τῆς οὐρῆς, εἰ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει πεφυκυίας· ἦν δὲ τούτων πάντων ἡ καθαρὸς, σημαίνεται βύβλην περὶ τὰ κέρα εἰλίσσων καὶ ἔπειτα γῆν σημαντρίδα ἐπιπλάσας, ἐπιβάλλει τὸν δακτύλιον καὶ οὕτω ἀπάγουσι. ἀσήμαντον δὲ θύσαντι θάνατος ἡ ζημὴ ἐπικέεται. δοκιμάζεται μὲν νυν τὸ κτήνος τρώπῳ τοιῷδε. Θυσίῃ δέ σφι ἤδε κατέστηκεν· ἀγαγόντες τὸ σεσημασμένον κτήνος πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν, ὅκου ἂν θύωσι, πυρὴν καίουσιν· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ<sup>114</sup> οἶνον κατὰ τοῦ ἱρητοῦ ἐπισπείσαντες, καὶ ἐπικαλέσαντες τὸν θεόν, σφάζουσι· σφάζαντες δὲ, ἀποτάμνουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν· σῶμα μὲν δὴ τοῦ κτήνεος δείρουσι· κεφαλῇ δὲ κέων πολλὰ καταρησάμενοι<sup>115</sup>, φέρουσι· τοῖσι μὲν ἂν ἡ ἀγορὴ καὶ Ἑλληγνὲς σφίσι ἔωσι ἐπιδήμιοι ἔμποροι, οἱ δὲ φέροντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀπ' ὧν ἔδοντο<sup>116</sup>. τοῖσι δὲ ἂν μὴ παρέωσι Ἑλληγνες, οἱ δ' ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμόν· καταρῶνται δὲ τάδε λέγοντες τῇσι κεφαλῇσι· “εἴ τι μέλλοι ἡ σφίσι

to be observed that the writer here simply substitutes the Hellenic equivalent for the Egyptian deity *Apis*. In § 153 he explains that they are identical. There can be no doubt that the Egyptian deity is the original one; but the Greeks, after their usual wont to account for all the legends they found by a reference to their own mythology and language, derived *Eraphus* from *εἰραφεῖν*. *ÆSCHYLUS, Prom.* 848:

ἐνταῦθα δὴ σε Ζεὺς τίθησιν ἔμφρονα  
ἐπαφῶν ἀταρβεῖ χειρὶ καὶ θῆγων μόνον  
ἐπώνυμον δὲ τῶν Διὸς γεννημάτων  
τέξεις κελαινὸν Ἐπαφόν.

<sup>a</sup> ἐν ἄλλῃ λόγῳ. See iii. 28.

<sup>114</sup> ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, i.e. τοῦ βωμοῦ. The wine was so poured as to fall in a jet on the crest of the victim, and from thence on to the altar.

<sup>115</sup> πολλὰ καταρησάμενοι. The analogous practice of the scapegoat sent into the wilderness prevailed among the pastoral Israelites (*Leviticus* xvi. 21). WILKINSON (*Ancient Egypt*, ii. p. 351) denies on the negative evidence of the sculptures that this practice was more than occasional and exceptional.

<sup>116</sup> ἀπ' ὧν ἔδοντο. This *imæsis* of the preposition from the verb with which it is compounded and the interposition of the particle *ἀν* is exceedingly common in Herodotus, although it seems to be confined to the aorist. Attempts have been made to explain the usage,—some on the principle that it implies an habitual practice, some on the ground that it is appropriate to a sudden action. But, to go no further than the present Book, the passage, § 172, κατ' ἂν κόψας, refutes the former of these views, and the passage in the text the latter. Perhaps if the anteherodotean prose writings still existed, the origin of the idiom might have been plain; but all that can now be said of it is that it is a peculiarity of the author's style which has survived the reasons of its use. The use of the word *half* in the spoken dialect and popular literature of the Austrian Germans is a somewhat parallel case. That provincialism is doubtless the relic of *ich halte dafür*, 'I guess';—but it is habitually used in cases where it would be impossible to substitute the full phrase for it with any shadow of propriety.

τοῖσι θύουσι ἡ Αἰγύπτῳ τῇ συναπάσῃ κακὸν γενέσθαι, ἐς κεφαλὴν ταύτην τραπέσθαι." κατὰ μὲν νυν τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν θυομένων κτηνέων καὶ τὴν ἐπίσκεισιν τοῦ οἴνου, πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται ὁμοίως ἐς πάντα τὰ ἱρά· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ νόμου, οὐδὲ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἐμφύχου κεφαλῆς γεύσεται Αἰγυπτίων οὐδεὶς. Ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐξαίρεσις τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ ἡ καῦσις ἄλλη 40 περὶ ἄλλο ἱρόν σφι κατέστηκε. τὴν δ' ὦν μεγίστην τε δαίμονα Peculiar forms when the victim is offered to Isis, whose feasts are preceded by fasts. ἡγνῆται εἶναι, καὶ μεγίστην οἱ ὀρτὴν ἀνάγουσι, ταύτην ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ἐπεὰν ἀποδείρωσι τὸν βοῦν, κατευξάμενοι, κοιλίην μὲν κεινὴν πᾶσαν ἐξ ὧν εἶλον<sup>117</sup>, σπλώγῃνα δὲ αὐτοῦ λείπουνσι ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν πιμελὴν σκέλεα δὲ ἀποτάμνουσι, καὶ τὴν ὀσφύν ἄκρην, καὶ τοὺς ὠμούς τε καὶ τὸν τράχηλον· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα τοῦ βοὸς πιμπλᾷσι ἄρτων καθαρῶν καὶ μέλιτος καὶ ἁσταφίδος καὶ σύκων καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ σμύρνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυωμάτων πλήσαντες δὲ τούτων, καταγίξουσι ἔλαιον ἄφθονον καταχέοντες. προνηστεύσαντες<sup>118</sup> δὲ θύουσι. καιομένων δὲ τῶν ἱρῶν τύπτονται πάντες· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποτύφωνται<sup>a</sup>, δαῖτα προτίθενται τὰ ἐλπίοντο τῶν ἱρῶν.

Τοὺς μὲν νυν καθαροὺς βοῦς τοὺς ἔρσενας καὶ τοὺς μόσχους οἱ 41 πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι θύουσι· τὰς δὲ θηλέας οὐ σφι ἔξεστι θύειν, Cows are sacred to Isis, and never killed. ἀλλὰ ἱραί εἰσι τῆς Ἰσως. τὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἰσως ἄγαλμα ἐὼν γυναικῆιον· βούκερὼν ἐστὶ, κατὰπερ Ἕλληνας τὴν Ἰοῦν γράφουσι<sup>119</sup>. καὶ τὰς βοῦς τὰς θηλέας Αἰγύπτιοι πάντες ὁμοίως σέβονται προ-

<sup>117</sup> ἐπεὰν . . . εἶλον. Here is a considerable variation of the MSS. Gaisford follows M, K, P, F, a. But V, R, b, c, d have ἐπὴν προνηστεύσωσι τῇ Ἰσι, καὶ ἐπὴν κατεύξονται, θύουσι τὸν βοῦν καὶ ἀποδείραντες κοιλίην μὲν ἐκείνην (Ald. κείνην) πᾶσαν ἐξ ὧν εἶλον. The manuscript S appears to agree with these, except in having the future, προνηστεύσουσι and κατεύξονται, instead of the subjunctive of the aorist. It is quite certain that these variations cannot have arisen the one from the other.

<sup>118</sup> προνηστεύσαντες. See note 168, below.  
<sup>a</sup> ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποτύφωνται. See first note on ix. 31.

<sup>119</sup> κατὰπερ Ἕλληνας τὴν Ἰοῦν γράφουσι. There seems little question that this delineation of Isis represented her in her character of the moon, whose phases are indicated by the symbol of horns.

JABLONSKY (*De vocibus Aegyptiacis*, v. *Isis*) says that the Coptic *Ioh* was the proper word to denote the moon, considered merely as a physical object. He regards *Isis* as the mere symbolical personification of the simple *Io*, and the Hellenic legend to have arisen from the union of the name *Io* with the delineation of *Isis*. The word *Io* is said to have been, in the Argive dialect, equivalent to *σελήνη* (EUSTATH. *ad Dionys. Perieg.*, cited by Jablonsky). If this be true, the word itself no doubt came from Egypt in the way of commerce, in those times to which Herodotus alludes above (i. 1), and the legend must of necessity be later. The milch-cow itself, if a symbol of Isis (which seems likely from § 132), was so in her capacity of *Aphrodite Urania*, i. e. as the impersonation of the productive power of nature. See note 121, below.

βάτων πάντων μάλιστα μακρῷ. τῶν εἵνεκα οὗτ' ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτῳ οὔτε γυνή ἄνδρα Ἑλλήνα φιλήσειε ἂν τῷ στόματι, οὔδ'ε μαχαίρῃ ἀνδρὸς Ἑλληνος χρήσεται, οὔδ' ὀβελοῖσι, οὔδ'ε λέβητι, οὔδ'ε κρέας καθαροῦ βοῦς διατετμημένου Ἑλληνικῇ μαχαίρῃ γεύσεται. θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας βούς τρόπον τόνδε· τὰς μὲν θηλέας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπιᾶσι, τοὺς δὲ ἔρσενας κατορύσσουσι ἕκαστοι ἐν τοῖσι προαστείοις, τὸ κέρας τὸ ἕτερον ἢ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ὑπερέχοντα, σημητὸν εἵνεκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ σαπῇ, καὶ προσή ὁ τεταγμένος χρόνος, ἀπικνέεται ἐς ἐκάστην πόλιν βάρης<sup>110</sup> ἐκ τῆς Προσωπίτιδος καλεωμένης νήσου· ἢ δ' ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῷ Δέλτα, περίμετρον δὲ αὐτῆς εἰσὶ σχοῖνοι ἑννέα· ἐν ταύτῃ ὦν τῇ Προσωπίτιδι νήσῳ ἔνευσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις συχναί, ἐκ τῆς δὲ αἰ βάρης παραγίνονται ἀναρρησόμεναι τὰ ὅστέα τῶν βοῶν οὖνομα τῇ πόλει Ἀτάρβηχιν<sup>121</sup>. ἐν δ'

When dead, they are thrown into the river, but the male animals are buried.

<sup>110</sup> *βάρης*. This is a local Egyptian term, as appears from § 96, where the mode of constructing these vessels is described. Hence the Egyptian herald in ÆSCHYLUS most appropriately adopts it: *βαλνείν κελύω βάρην εἰς ἀμφίστροφον* (Suppl. 882). JABLONSKY connects the word etymologically with the Coptic *Ber*, or *Bar*, which is equivalent to *πλέκειν*. *Bir* is, he says, the translation of *σφυρίδας* in MARK viii. 8.

<sup>121</sup> *ἐκ τῆς Προσωπίτιδος καλεωμένης νήσου*. The site of this island, *Proso-pitis*, is by no means, to me, satisfactorily made out. It has been considered to be bounded by the Canopic and the Seben-nytic branches of the Nile, and on the north by a canal joining the two. But if it is identical with the *Προσωπίτης νομὸς* of STRABO (xvii. p. 410), it ought, apparently, rather to be put to the south than the north of the Ἀθριβίτης νομὸς, and the site of this last seems decided by the ruins (still bearing the name *Atreeb*) which are the remains of the ancient Athribis. These are on the eastern side of the Sebennytic channel. It seems not impossible that *Atarbeckis* and *Athribis* are two different names of the same city, and that the Ἀθριβίτης νομὸς and Προσωπίτης νομὸς are likewise nearly, if not altogether, identical. If Jablonsky's interpretation of the name (for which see the next note) is correct, nothing is more natural than that there should be many duplicates of it. See note 181, below.

<sup>121</sup> Ἀτάρβηχιν. This name in the

Egyptian language is equivalent to Ἀφροδιτόπολις, the word *Baki* signifying "a city" in Coptic (JABLONSKY, *sub v.*, who considers that the true reading here should be Ἀτάρβηκιν). The root Ἀτάρ is doubtless etymologically identical with Ἀθῆρ and Ἀθᾶρ, which, according to HESYCHIUS, both signified in Egyptian "a cow," and was the name given to the third month of the year. JABLONSKY, however, considered that the name did not signify "a cow," except when that animal was regarded as the symbol of the goddess. But although *Athor* is the Egyptian *Aphrodite*, so as to be identified with her in the text, there were some characteristics about her which made MANETHO identify her with Here. If *Athribis* and *Atarbeckis* are, as seems probable, the same places, perhaps the original notion of *Athor* may be explained by considering her as uniting the characteristics of the Derceto (or Atergatis) of Syria, the Here of ante-Dorian Mycenæ, the Artemis of Ephesus, and the Νύξ of the mythology developed in the parabasis of Aristophanes's Birds, vv. 685—698. Compare the description of the Sardin goddess in the note on v. 102, and see notes on § 67 and § 141, below. PLUTARCH (*De Is. et Os.* p. 374) says that *Athyri* is one of the Egyptian names of *Isis*, and signifies *οἶκος ὅρου κόσμος*. This notion is quite in harmony with *Athyri*, "the sacred cow." See note on iii. 28, and note 119, above.

αὐτῇ Ἀφροδίτης ἱρὸν ἅγιον ἱδρυται. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλα-  
νέονται πολλοὶ, ἄλλοι ἐς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἀνορύξαντες δὲ τὰ ὄστέα  
ἀπάγουσι καὶ θάπτουσι ἐς ἓνα χώρον πάντες. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ  
τοῖσι βουσί καὶ τᾶλλα κτήνεα θάπτουσι ἀποθνήσκοντα· καὶ γὰρ  
περὶ ταῦτα οὕτω σφι νενομισθέντα· κτείνουσι γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ ταῦτα.

“Οσοι μὲν δὴ Διὸς Θηβαίεος<sup>122</sup> ἱδρυται ἱρὸν, ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ 42  
Θηβαίου εἰσὶ, οὗτοι μὲν νυν πάντες ὧν ἀπεχόμενοι αἰγας θύουσι. *Isis and Osiris (Dionysus) are the only deities common to all Egypt. Peculiar scruples entertained by the several priest-hoods.*  
(θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτῳ σέβονται, πλὴν Ἰσιός τε καὶ Ὀσίριος, τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι<sup>123</sup>.  
τούτους δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπαντες σέβονται.) ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ Μένδητος  
ἔκτληται ἱρὸν, ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ Μενδησίου εἰσὶ, οὗτοι δὲ αἰγῶν ἀ-  
εχόμενοι δις θύουσι. Θηβαῖοι μὲν νυν, καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τούτους<sup>124</sup> ὧν  
ἀπέχονται, διὰ τὰδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τόνδε σφι τεθῆναι· “Ἡρα-  
κλέα θελῆσαι πάντως ιδέσθαι τὸν Δία, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὀφθῆναι  
ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ· τέλος δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε λιπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τὸν Δία  
μηχανήσασθαι κριὸν ἐκδείραντα, προέχεσθαι<sup>125</sup> τε τὴν κεφαλὴν  
ἀποταμόντα τοῦ κριοῦ καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος οὕτω οἱ ἑωυτὸν ἐπι-  
δέξαι” ἀπὸ τούτου κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Διὸς τῶγαλμα ποιεῦσι  
Αἰγύπτῳ· ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων Ἀμμώνιοι, ἔοντες Αἰγυπτίων τε  
καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν ἄποικοι, καὶ φωνὴν μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων νομίζοντες·  
δοκέειν δ’ ἐμοί, καὶ τὸ οὐνομα Ἀμμώνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦδε σφι τὴν  
ἐπωνυμίην<sup>126</sup> ἐποιήσαντο· Ἀμοῦν<sup>127</sup> γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τὸν

<sup>122</sup> Θηβαίεος. The manuscripts S, V, a, b, c, d have this form; others, Θηβαίου. See above, note 611 on i. 182.

<sup>123</sup> τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι. This Dionysus, who, as Osiris, was the common object of worship to all the Egyptians, was not the god of the vine-dressers, but the deity corresponding to the *Zagreus* of the Cretan mythology, or the *Adonis* of Cyprus (see PLUTARCH, *Sympos.* iv. 5). But, in another relation, Osiris was the wandering Sun (see JABLONSKY, *Pantheon Egypt.* ii. 1, § 8). In this Herodotus appears to refer to him below (§ 132). Subsequently to the formation of Alexandria, a purely astronomical interpretation was given to the legend of Adonis; and in later times still almost every deity of the old mythology was referred to either sun or moon (see MACROBIUS, *Saturnal.* i. 21).

<sup>124</sup> διὰ τούτους. S and b have διὰ

τούτων. These words should not be translated by so definite a phrase as “after the example of these,” but “through these.” They would include the case of a colony which brought its religious ritual with it like any other of its customs. It seems uncertain whether Herodotus heard the tradition he relates at first-hand from the Thebans themselves; and hence, perhaps, the reason for adding the second clause, ὅσοι . . . ἀπέχονται. See note 58, above.

<sup>125</sup> προέχεσθαι. S, V, b, d have προεκθέσθαι. The clause προέχεσθαι . . . ἐπιδέξαι is to be considered as an *epexe-gesis* of μηχανήσασθαι.

<sup>126</sup> τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. These words seem superfluous, but perhaps may be explained by considering ἐπωνυμίην ποιήσασθαι as nearly equivalent to ἐπονομάσασθαι. See note 132, below.

<sup>127</sup> Ἀμοῦν. By the way in which the

*Δία.* τοὺς δὲ κριοὺς οὐ θύουσι Θηβαῖοι, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ σφί ἱροὶ διὰ τούτο· μὴ δὲ ἡμέρῃ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐν ὁρῇ τοῦ Διὸς, κριὸν ἓνα κατακόψαντες καὶ ἀποδείραντες κατὰ τὸντὸ ἐνδύουσι τῷγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς, καὶ ἔπειτα ἄλλο ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλῆος προσάγουσι πρὸς αὐτό· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, τύπτονται οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἅπαντες τὸν κριὸν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν ἱρῇ θήκῃ θάπτουσι αὐτόν.

43

*Heracles*  
one of the  
twelve  
deities.  
His name  
passed over  
into Hellas  
from Egypt,  
not to Egypt  
from Hellas.

Ἡρακλῆος δὲ πέρι τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἤκουσα, ὅτι εἴη τῶν δωδέκα θεῶν τοῦ ἐτέρου δὲ πέρι Ἡρακλῆος τὸν Ἕλληνας οἶδασι, οὐδαμῇ Αἰγύπτου ἐδυνάσθην ἀκούσαι· καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον τὸ οὐνομα τοῦ Ἡρακλῆος<sup>128</sup> Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀλλὰ Ἕλληνας μᾶλλον παρ' Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὗτοι οἱ θέμενοι τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γόνῳ τοῦνομα Ἡρακλέα, πολλὰ μοι καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήριά ἐστι τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχειν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὅτι τε τοῦ Ἡρακλῆος τοῦτου οἱ γονεὲς ἀμφότεροι ἦσαν, Ἀμφιτρύων καὶ Ἀλκμήη, γεγονότες τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου καὶ διότι Αἰγύπτιοι οὔτε Ποσειδέωνος οὔτε Διοσκούρων τὰ οὐνόματά φασι εἶδέναι, οὐδὲ σφί θεοὶ οὗτοι ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι ἀποδεδέχεται· καὶ μὴν εἰ γε παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον οὐνομά τευ δαίμονος, τούτων οὐκ ἦκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα ἔμελλον μνήμην ἔξειν, εἴπερ καὶ τότε ναυτιλίῃσι ἐχρέωντο<sup>a</sup>, καὶ ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ναυτίλοι, ὥς ἔλπομαι τε καὶ ἐμὴ γνώμη αἰρέει· ὥστε τούτων ἂν καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν θεῶν τὰ οὐνόματα ἐξεπιστέατο Αἰγύπτιοι ἢ τοῦ Ἡρακλῆος. ἀλλὰ τις ἀρχαῖός ἐστι θεὸς Αἰγυπτίοισι Ἡρακλῆς· ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ<sup>129</sup> λέγουσι, ἕτερά ἐστι ἐπτακισχίλια καὶ μύρια ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλεύσαντα, ἐπεὶ τε ἐκ τῶν

author puts it, one might suppose that the Egyptian word in the nominative case was Ἡρακλῆς. But Ἀμων is the real form, which, indeed, is evidenced by the Hellenic equivalent Ἀμμων.

<sup>128</sup> τὸ οὐνομα τοῦ Ἡρακλῆος. This expression is a striking evidence of the colour which Hellenic channels gave to the facts received by the author. There is no Egyptian name which in the least degree corresponds to *Heracles*; those of the deities which are identified with him being *Sem* or *Som*, and *Chon* (JABLONSKY, *Pantheon Egypt.* ii. c. 3, §§ 3, 4). The only way, therefore, in which a sense can be attached to the author's remark, is to consider that he looks upon the form in which the Egyptian mythology was cast

by the naturalized Greeks of his time as genuine Egyptian, losing sight (except in a few instances) of the fact of this being a mere adapted translation. See note 338 on i. 95, and note 129, below.

<sup>a</sup> ἐχρέωντο. The subject of this word would be Αἰγύπτιοι. There is no reason whatever to believe that the Egyptians themselves ever were maritime, but see note 588 on i. 174.

<sup>129</sup> αὐτοί. If these were the real aboriginal Egyptians, it would be strange that they should select the reign of *Amaris* as a kind of epoch; but if we look upon them as naturalized foreigners, this is not wonderful, that reign being the one in which these first formed an important class (ii. 178). See note 134, below.

οὐκ τῶν θεῶν οἱ δυνάδεκα θεοὶ ἐγένοντο, τῶν Ἡρακλέα ἓνα νομίζουσι.  
 Καὶ θέλων δὲ τούτων περὶ σαφές τι εἶδέναι ἐξ ὧν οἶόν τε ἦν, 44  
 ἐπλευσα καὶ ἐς Τύρον τῆς Φοινίκης, πυνθανόμενος αὐτόθι εἶναι  
 ἱρὸν Ἡρακλῆος ἄγιον<sup>120</sup>. καὶ ἴδον πλουσίως κατεσκευασμένον  
 ἄλλοισι τε πολλοῖσι ἀναθήμασι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἦσαν στῆλαι δύο, ἡ  
 μὲν χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἡ δὲ σμαράγδου λίθου λάμποντος τὰς νύκτας  
 μέγαθος<sup>121</sup>. ἐς λόγους δὲ ἐλθὼν τοῖσι ἱερεῦσι τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρόμην  
 ὁκόστος χρόνος εἴη ἐξ οὗ σφι τὸ ἱρὸν ἱδρυταί; εὗρον δὲ οὐδὲ τούτους  
 τοῖσι Ἕλλησι σύμφερομένους· ἔφασαν γὰρ ἅμα Τύρῳ οἰκίζομένην  
 καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἱδρυθῆναι· εἶναι δὲ ἕτεα ἀφ' οὗ Τύρον  
 οἰκέουσι τριηκόσια καὶ δισχιλία. εἶδον δὲ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ καὶ ἄλλο  
 ἱρὸν Ἡρακλῆος, ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντος Θασιῶν εἶναι<sup>122</sup>. ἀπικόμην δὲ  
 καὶ ἐς Θάσον, ἐν τῇ εὗρον ἱρὸν Ἡρακλῆος ὑπὸ Φοινίκαν ἱδρυμένον,  
 οἱ κατ' Εὐρώπης ζήτησιν ἐκπλώσαντες Θάσον ἔκτισαν καὶ ταῦτα  
 καὶ πέντε γενεῆσι· ἀνδρῶν πρότερά ἐστι ἢ τὸν Ἀμφιτρύωνος  
 Ἡρακλέα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γενέσθαι. τὰ μὲν νυν ἱστορημένα δηλοῖ  
 σαφέως παλαιὸν θεὸν τὸν Ἡρακλέα εἶναι καὶ δοκέουσι δέ μοι  
 οὔτοι ὀρθότατα Ἑλλήνων ποιεῖν οἱ διὰ Ἡράκλεια ἱδρυσάμενοι  
 ἔκτηνται, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὡς ἀθανάτῳ Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμίην θύουσι,

The writer's  
visits to the  
Heracleum  
at Tyre,

and at  
Thasos,  
induce him  
to believe  
both in a  
god and a  
hero called  
Heracles.

<sup>120</sup> ἱρὸν Ἡρακλῆος ἄγιον. The native name of the Tyrian Heracles was *Melkart*, of which word the two elements are *Melec*, or *Moloch* (*dominus*), and *Karta*, or *Karta* (*urbs*), which latter appears in *Carthago* and in *Carteia*, the Carthaginian colony in Spain. It seems likely that the Phœnician *Melkart* (*dominus urbis*) the tutelary deity of Tyre, being transported as the guardian of the trading vessels of his subjects to Corinth, there became the local *Melicerta*,—who betrays his origin by his character as the patron of *navigators*, the light in which the people of the country to which he came would naturally view him.

<sup>121</sup> μέγαθος. This is the reading of all the MSS, but must certainly be corrupt.

<sup>122</sup> ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντος Θασιῶν εἶναι. This is considered as an instance of the pleonastic use of *εἶναι*, but I should rather be disposed to explain the construction in a different way, and to call *εἶναι* the infinitive after the composite participle *ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντας*. If for these two words *λεγόμενοι* were substituted,

the construction would run perfectly regular, and *ἐπωνυμίην ἔχειν* is in fact a mere special case of *λέγεσθαι*. The Tyrian Heracles was *said* (a fact appearing from his surname) to be a Thasian. This is a species of the so-called construction *πρὸς τὸ σημαίνόμενον*, which may be described as the using a combination of words which in the aggregate are the equivalent of one verb, in the regimen that verb would require. See note 126, above. Several examples from the Tragedians are given by SEIDLER (ad *Troad*. 338). The following passage from PLATO is an example of the converse procedure, *ἐπωνομοσθῆ* being used in the regimen of *ὄνομα ἐπετίθη*. *Ἐπιθυμίας δὲ ἀλόγως ἐλκοῦσης ἐπὶ ἡδονὰς καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐν ἡμῖν, τῇ ἀρχῇ ὅτι βίη ἐπωνομοσθῆ*. "But when desire drags us against our reason after pleasure, and has become the master-principle within us, to this domination has been attached the name 'Ἐβρις.'" (*Phædr.* § 30.)

\* πέντε γενεῆσι. See note on § 145, below.

45

Many foolish legends current among the Greeks: one of Heracles in Egypt.

τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ ὡς ἡρωϊ ἐναγίζουσι. Λέγουσι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ "Ἕλληνες" εὐήθης δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁδε ὁ μῦθος ἐστὶ τὸν περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους λέγουσιν ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπικόμενον ἐς Αἴγυπτον στέφαντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, ὑπὸ πομπῆς ἐξήγον ὡς θύσοντες τῷ Διὶ τὸν δὲ τέως μὲν ἡσυχίην ἔχειν ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ κατάρχοντο, ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπόμενον πάντας σφέας καταφονεῦσαι. ἐμοὶ μὲν νυν δοκέουσι, ταῦτα λέγοντες, τῆς Αἰγυπτίων φύσις καὶ τῶν νόμων πάμπαν ἀπειρώς ἔχειν οἱ "Ἕλληνες" τοῖσι γὰρ οὐδὲ κτήνεα ὅσῃ θύειν ἐστὶ, χωρὶς ὄτων<sup>133</sup>, καὶ ἐρσένων βοῶν καὶ μόσχων ὅσοι ἂν καθαροὶ ἔωσι, καὶ χηνῶν, κῶς ἂν οὔτοι ἀνθρώπους θύοιεν; ἔτι δὲ ἓνα εἶναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ ἔτι ἄνθρωπον, (ὡς δὴ φασι,) κῶς φύσιν ἔχει πολλὰς μυριάδας φονεῦσαι; καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν εἰποῦσι καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡρώων εὐμένεια εἶη.

46

The Mendesians consider the goat a sacred animal.

Τὰς δὲ δὴ αἰγας καὶ τοὺς τράγους τῶνδε εἵνεκα οὐ θύουσι Αἰγυπτίῳ οἱ εἰρημένοι. τὸν Πᾶνα τῶν ὀκτῶ θεῶν λογίζονται εἶναι οἱ Μενδήσιοι τοὺς δὲ ὀκτῶ θεοὺς τούτους προτέρους τῶν δωδέκα θεῶν φασὶ γενέσθαι. γράφουσὶ τε δὴ καὶ γλύφουσι οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ οἱ ἀγαλματοποιοὶ τοῦ Πανὸς τῷγαλμα, κατὰπερ "Ἕλληνες, αἰγοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγοσκελέα<sup>134</sup>. οὐ τι τοιοῦτον νομίζοντες εἶναι

<sup>133</sup> ὄτων. This is a conjectural emendation of Valcknaer's. One MS has ὀῶ, and all the rest ὄων.

<sup>134</sup> κῶς ἂν οὔτοι ἀνθρώπους θύοιεν; In spite of this argument, MANETHO (whose antiquarian knowledge was very great) positively declared that the Egyptians had been in the habit of sacrificing such men as were of a red complexion to "Ilithyia;" that they called them ἄνδρας Τυφώνιους, it being the colour they attributed to Typhon; and that they were marked beforehand like the oxen described above (§ 38). This custom prevailed in Heliopolis, and was put a stop to by King Amosis. (Plutarch. *et Porphyr.* quoted by JABLONSKY, *Panth. Egypt.* iii. 3, § 7.) DIODORUS SICULUS (i. 88) says that these victims were offered on "the tomb of Osiris," which being called *Busiris* in the Egyptian language gave rise to the Hellenic legend of the tyrant slain by Heracles, a legend of which that in the text is a slight variation. It seems probable that the *Ilithyia* of Manetho is the Isis worshipped at Busiris (below, § 59), and that in identifying her with Demeter we

must conceive a Demeter-Enryns or Persephone, to whom such offerings would not be inappropriate. Nevertheless, it is not impossible that Manetho's statement was founded on a misinterpretation of certain pictorial groups, which are said by Wilkinson to symbolize conquest.

<sup>134</sup> γράφουσιν . . . τραγοσκελέα. WILKINSON (*Ancient Egyptians*, i. p. 260) denies that this can be said of the representations of any one of the Egyptian gods whatever. The Priapeian Osiris was called *Chemmo* or *Khem*, and from the description given of the image of Pan by STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (*sub v. Πανὸς πόλις*), Wilkinson conceives that he had this deity in his eye. Wilkinson also denies the truth of the aspersion contained in the latter part of the paragraph; but the allusion in the Mosaic law (*Levit.* xviii. 23) taken together with a fragment of PINDAR (*ap. Strabon.* xvii. p. 440) confirms Herodotus's statement. Nevertheless, it is possible that the Egyptians here bear the burden of exotic vices. Compare i. 135, and see notes 128 and 129 on § 43, above.

μιν, ἀλλ' ὁμοίον τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι· ὅτεν δὲ εἵνεκα τοιοῦτον γράφουσι αὐτὸν, οὐ μοι ἡδίων ἔστι λέγειν σέβονται δὲ πάντας τοὺς αἰγας οἱ Μενδήσιοι, καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἔρσενας τῶν θηλέων, καὶ τούτων οἱ αἰπόλοι<sup>135</sup> τιμὰς μέζοντας ἔχουσιν· ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰς μάλιστα, ὅστις ἐπεὰν ἀποθάνῃ, πένθος μέγα παντὶ τῷ Μενδησίῳ νομῷ τίθεται. καλέεται δὲ ὁ τε τράγος καὶ ὁ Πᾶν Αἰγυπτιστὶ Μένδης<sup>a</sup>· ἐγένετο δ' ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ τοῦτο τὸ τέρας· Significa-  
tion of  
the word  
Mendes. γυναικὶ τράγος ἐμίσητο ἀναφανδόν. τοῦτο ἐς ἐπίδειξιν<sup>b</sup> ἀνθρώπων ἀπύκετο.

\*Τὴν δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι μαρὸν ῥιγνται θηρίον εἶναι· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν 47  
τις ψαύση αὐτῶν παριῶν ὑς, αὐτοῖσι ἱματίοισι ἀπ' ὧν ἔβαψε Detestation  
in which  
swine and  
swineherds  
are held. ἑωυτὸν, βὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν· τοῦτο δὲ οἱ συμβῶται, εὐόντες Αἰγύπτιοι ἐγγενέες, ἐς ἱρὸν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐσέρχονται μούνοι πάντων· οὐδὲ σφι ἐκδίδουσαι θυγατέρα οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει οὐδ' ἄγεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν· ἀλλ' ἐκδιδόσθαι τε οἱ συμβῶται καὶ ἀγέσθαι ἐξ ἀλλήλων<sup>136</sup>. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι θύειν ὑς οὐ δικαιοῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι, The animal  
is sacrificed  
on one festi-  
val only,  
conjointly  
to Selene  
and Dio-  
nyzus ; Σελήνῃ δὲ καὶ Διονύσῳ μούνοισι, τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, τῇ αὐτῇ πανσελήνῃ, τοὺς ὑς θύσαντες πατέονται τῶν κρεῶν. διότι δὲ τοὺς ὑς ἐν μὲν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι ὀργῇσι ἀπεστυγήκασιν ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ θύουσι, ἔστι μὲν λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγόμενος· ἐμοὶ μέντοι ἐπίσταμένῳ οὐκ εὐπρεπέστερός ἐστι λέγεσθαι. θυσίῃ δὲ ἦδε τῶν ἠῶν τῇ Σελήνῃ ποίεσθαι· ἐπεὰν θύσῃ, τὴν οὐρὴν ἄκρην καὶ τὸν σπλήνα καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλοον συνθεὶς ὁμοῦ, κατ' ὧν ἐκάλυψε πάσῃ τοῦ κτήνεος τῇ πιμελῇ τῇ περὶ τὴν νηδὺν γινομένη, καὶ ἔπειτα καταγίξει πυρὶ·

<sup>135</sup> οἱ αἰπόλοι. This expression has caused much perplexity, and Schaefer alters it from conjecture into οἱ κόλοι. I am inclined to think that the *leading goats* of the several flocks are intended by the term, which is perhaps a literal translation of an Egyptian word used in the sense of VIRGIL'S *Vir gregis* (*Bucol.* vii. 7). Nor would it be wonderful that, in a locality where the deity was symbolized by this creature, there should be a kind of animal hierarchy culminating in that individual which was preserved as the image of the god. See § 69, below.

<sup>a</sup> Αἰγυπτιστὶ Μένδης. It is said that there is nothing in the *Coptic* to confirm this assertion.

<sup>b</sup> ἐπίδειξιν. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS, including S. Gais-

ford, on the authority of K, P, adopts ἐπίδειξιν, which is undoubtedly more in accordance with the usage of Herodotus. But see note on vi. 61, δειξαι.

<sup>136</sup> ἐκδιδόσθαι τε . . . καὶ ἀγέσθαι ἐξ ἀλλήλων. The more correct and technical expression for a father who gives his daughter in marriage is ἐκδιδόναι, in the active voice. Thus THUCYDIDES (viii. 21) has τοῖς γεωμέτροις μετεδίδουσαν οὐτε ἄλλου οὐδενός, οὐτε ἐκδοῦναι οὐτε ἀγαγέσθαι παρ' ἐκείνων, and our author (v. 92), ἐδίδουσαν δὲ καὶ ἡγοντο ἐξ ἀλλήλων. But ἐκδιδόσθαι, meaning "to procure the making of the marriage," may be fitly used where, as here, the general custom, and not the act of a particular individual, is referred to. For the form ἐκδιδόσθαι, see note 177, below.



- τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα σιτέονται ἐν τῇ πανσελήνῳ ἐν τῇ ἂν τὰ ἱρὰ  
 θύσωσι· ἐν ἄλλῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ οὐκ ἂν ἔτι γευσάλατο· οἱ δὲ πένητες  
 αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου σταιτίνας πλάσαντες ὥς καὶ ὀπτήσαντες  
 48 ταύτας θύουσι. Τῷ δὲ Διόνυσῳ, τῆς ὀρτῆς τῇ δορπίῃ, χοῖρον πρὸ  
 τῶν θυρέων σφάξας ἕκαστος, δίδοι ἀποφέρεισθαι τὸν χοῖρον αὐτῷ  
 τῷ ἀποδομένῳ τῶν συμβωτέων. τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἀνάγουσι ὀρτὴν τῷ  
 Διόνυσῳ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, πλὴν χορῶν, κατὰ ταῦτα σχεδὸν πάντα  
 "Ἑλλῃσι"<sup>137</sup>. αὐτὴ δὲ φαλλῶν, ἄλλα σφί ἐστι ἐξευρημένα ὅσον τε  
 πηχυαῖα ἀγάλματα νευρόσπαστα τὰ περιφορέουσι κατὰ κόμης  
 γυναῖκες, νεύον τὸ αἰδοῖον οὐ πολλῷ τέφ' ἔλασσον ἐὼν τοῦ ἄλλου  
 σώματος προηγέεται δὲ αὐλὸς, αἱ δὲ ἔπονται ἀείδουσιν τὸν Διό-  
 νυσον. διότι δὲ μέζον τε ἔχει τὸ αἰδοῖον, καὶ κινεῖ μῦθον τοῦ  
 σώματος, ἔστι λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱρὸς λεγόμενος. "Ἦδη ὦν δοκεῖ  
 49 μοι Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμυνθέωνος τῆς θυσιῆς ταύτης οὐκ εἶναι ἀδαής,  
 ἀλλ' ἔμπειρος. "Ἑλλῃσι γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξηγησά-  
 μενος"<sup>138</sup> τοῦ Διόνυσου τό τε οὐνομα καὶ τὴν θυσίην καὶ τὴν πομ-  
 πὴν τοῦ φαλλοῦ. ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐ πάντα συλλαβῶν τὸν λόγον  
 ἔφηνε"<sup>139</sup>. ἀλλ' οἱ ἐπυγενόμενοι τούτῳ σοφισταὶ"<sup>140</sup> μεζόνως ἐξέφην.

and so is  
 a pig to  
 Dionysus on  
 the eve of  
 his festival,  
 which in  
 most other  
 respects is  
 like the  
 Hellenic.

Melampus  
 not unac-  
 quainted  
 with the  
 Egyptian  
 rites, from  
 which he  
 adopted the  
 Hellenic

<sup>137</sup> κατὰ ταῦτα σχεδὸν πάντα "Ἑλλῃσι. The κόμης, or the riotous procession afterwards called *κωμασία* by the Alexandrine Greeks, differed in no respect from the parallel proceedings in Europe. SYNE-SIUS (quoted by *Sturz, De Dialecto Aegyptiaca*, p. 103) describes some of these processions in which the attendants of the deities went mopping and mowing with masks of hawks, ibises, or dogs, just like what may be seen in modern Rome at the Carnival. It seems not unlikely that this practice was the origin of the animal choruses in the old Attic comedy (*κῶμον φθῆ*). See note 73 on i. 21.

<sup>138</sup> ὁ ἐξηγησάμενος, "he who set forth." The ἐξηγητὴς set forth the prescribed form of ritual, the "way" in which the deity was to be invoked, and the essential observances which were necessary in order to render him propitious. It was the consciousness of not knowing this which induced the Samaritans to send to Babylon for a Jewish priest "to teach them the manner of the God of the land" (2 *Kings* xvii. 27). In *Acts* xvii. 18 our Version renders *καταγγελεὶς* as if it had been ἐξηγητὴς, "a setter forth," which would have been a proper phrase had the apostle

prescribed a ritual, instead of relating a history.

<sup>139</sup> ἔφηνε, "revealed." See the note on vi. 135.

<sup>140</sup> σοφισταί. See notes 95 and 99 on i. 29 and 30. The σοφὸς or σοφιστὴς of the early times was in many cases a hierophant; or, to speak more accurately, σοφία was considered to include the knowledge both of human and divine things. Thus ISOCRATES (*Laud. Busir.* § 28) says of Pythagoras, who may be considered as the representative of ethico-political science in its earliest form, that he ἀφαικόμενος εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ μαθητὴς ἐκεῖθεν (i. e. τῶν ἱερέων) γενόμενος τὴν τε ἑλλην φιλοσοφίαν πρῶτος εἰς τοὺς "Ἕλληνας ἐκόμισε, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς θυσιῶν καὶ τὰς ἀγιστείας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπιφανέστερον τῶν ἄλλων ἐποτύθασεν. See too what Herodotus (iv. 96) relates of Zoroaster to have done after having been in the society of Pythagoras. Chilo the Lacedaemonian, one of the seven sages, is also represented by him as advising Hippocrates, the father of Piatratus, in a question of hieromancy (i. 59). And Epimenides the Cretan, who was especially notorious as a mystagogue, was placed by some, instead of Periander,

ναν τὸν δ' ὦν φαλλὸν τὸν τῷ Διονύσῳ πεμπόμενον Μελάμπους Dionysiac  
phallo-  
phoria.  
 ἐστὶ ὁ κατηγησάμενος<sup>141</sup>· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου μαθόντες ποιεῦσι τὰ  
 ποιεῦσι Ἕλληες. ἐγὼ μὲν νῦν φημι Μελάμποδα γενόμενον  
 ἄνδρα σοφόν, μαντικὴν τε ἑωυτῷ συστήσαι, καὶ πυθόμενον ἀπ'  
 Αἰγύπτου ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐσηγήσασθαι Ἕλλησι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν  
 Διόνυσον, ὅλγα αὐτῶν παραλλάξαντα· οὐ γὰρ δὴ συμπεσέειν γε  
 φήσω<sup>142</sup>· τὰ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποιεύμενα τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι  
 Ἕλλησι· ὁμότροπα<sup>143</sup> γὰρ ἂν ἦν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, καὶ οὐ νεωστὶ  
 ἐσαγμένα· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ φήσω ὅπως Αἰγύπτιοι παρ' Ἑλλήνων  
 ἔλαβον ἢ τοῦτο ἢ ἄλλο· κού τι νόμαιον πυθέσθαι δέ μοι δοκεί  
 μάλιστα Μελάμπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρὰ Κάδμου τε τοῦ  
 Τυρίου, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φωϊκῆς ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν νῦν  
 Βοιωτίην καλεομένην χώραν.

Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντα τὰ οὐνόματα<sup>144</sup> τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου 50  
 ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκει, The Hel-  
lenic names  
of the gods  
are partly  
Egyptian  
and partly  
Pelasgian.  
 πυνθανόμενος οὕτω εὗρισκω· εἶναι δοκέω δ' ὦν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύ-  
 πτου ἀπείχθαι· ὅτι γὰρ δὴ μὴ Πρῶσιδέωνος καὶ Διοσκουράων, ὥς  
 καὶ πρότερόν μοι ταῦτα εἶρηται, καὶ Ἡρῆς<sup>145</sup>, καὶ Ἰστίης, καὶ  
 Θέμιος<sup>146</sup>, καὶ Χαρίτων, καὶ Νηρηίδων, τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Αἰγυ-  
 πτίοις αἰεὶ κοτε τὰ οὐνόματά ἐστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ· λέγω δὲ τὰ  
 λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι· τῶν δὲ οὐ φασι θεῶν γινώσκειν τὰ

among the number of the seven sages. (PLUTARCH, *Solon*. § 12.) Hence it is not surprising that the mythical ritual of a state was a most important point of public policy. See the remarks of STRABO on the subject (I. c. 2, pp. 26—29), and compare the account of what Clisthenes did at Sicyon (v. 67) and his relative at Athens (v. 69), with the notes on those passages.

<sup>141</sup> ὁ κατηγησάμενος. The MSS vary between this word, ἀπηγησάμενος, and ἐπηγησάμενος, but the majority support the text. The difference between κατηγησάμενος and ἀπηγησάμενος is that between directing the ceremony in question personally and doing it by a general description. See note on vii. 183.

<sup>142</sup> οὐ γὰρ δὴ συμπεσέειν γε φήσω. "For undoubtedly I will not allow that there was a mere coincidence between," &c. &c.

<sup>143</sup> ὁμότροπα. This word seems to be used in the sense of "uniform." The

argument of the writer appears to be that an accidental coincidence would have produced a uniformity in the Hellenic Dionysiac ritual; and on that hypothesis there would be no trace of any portion of it any where having been recently introduced. But the sentence is very obscure, and slovenly if not corrupt.

<sup>144</sup> πάντα τὰ οὐνόματα. See notes on § 43. The manuscripts S and V have πάντων τῶν θεῶν τὰ οὐνόματα.

<sup>145</sup> καὶ Ἡρῆς. MANETHO, in the syncretism of Hellenic and Egyptian deities which was attempted in the time of the Ptolemies, identified the Egyptian *Athor* with the Hellenic *Here*,—which she seems to have been in some respects. See note 121, above.

<sup>146</sup> καὶ Θέμιος. This is not at all in accordance with facts, if the Egyptian word *THME* be, as WILKINSON asserts, the root both of the Hebrew *Thummim* and the Hellenic *Thémis*. But I doubt the truth of the remark in the latter case.

οὐνόματα, οὗτοι δέ μοι δοκέουσι ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ὀνομασθῆναι, πλὴν Ποσειδέωνος. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν παρὰ Λιβύων ἐπύθοντο<sup>147</sup>. οὐδαμοὶ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ποσειδέωνος οὐνομα ἔκτεται, εἰ μὴ Λίβυες καὶ τιμέωσι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον αἰεὶ νομίζουσι δ' ὡν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ'

51

The priapic *Hermæ* were derived from the Pelasgians, as is proved by the Cabiric orgies in Samothrace.

ἤρωσι οὐδέν. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν, καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτοις τὰ ἐγὼ φράσω, "Ἕλληνες ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων νενομίκασι τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμῆος τὰ ἀγάλματα ὀρθὰ ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα ποιεῖντες, οὐκ ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι ἀλλ' ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν, πρῶτοι μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων Ἀθηναῖοι παραλαβόντες, παρὰ δὲ τούτων ὄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι γὰρ ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἑλλήνας τελέουσι<sup>148</sup>, Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο<sup>149</sup> ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ὅθεν περ καὶ Ἕλληνες ἤρξαντο νομισθῆναι (ὅστις δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὄργια μεμύηται τὰ Σαμοθρήικες ἐπιτελέουσι παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, οὗτος ὡνὴρ οἶδε τὸ λέγω. τὴν γὰρ Σαμοθρητικὴν οἶκεον πρότερον Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι, τοί περ Ἀθηναῖοι σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο<sup>150</sup>. καὶ παρὰ τούτων Σαμοθρήικες τὰ ὄργια παραλαμβάνουσι.) ὀρθὰ ὡν ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα τὰγάλματα τοῦ Ἑρμῆος Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων, μαθόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, ἐποιήσαντο· οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ἰρόν τινα λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεξαν, τὰ ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Σαμοθρητικῇ μυστηρίοισι δεδῆλωται. Ἐθυον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι ἐπευχόμενοι, ὥς ἐγὼ ἐν Δωδώνῃ

52

The Pelasgians sacri-

<sup>147</sup> τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν παρὰ Λιβύων ἐπύθοντο. It seems quite impossible to reconcile this view with the account given in iv. 151 of the absence of all intercourse with this part of the world until comparatively recent times. It is perfectly certain that long before these both the name and the office of Poseidon were familiar to the Hellenic race.

<sup>148</sup> ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἑλλήνας τελέουσι, "just then growing into Greeks." See the note on iii. 34. The change conceived by the writer is the same with that which he calls (i. 57) τὴν ἐς Ἑλλήνας μεταβολήν.

<sup>149</sup> σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο. This expression seems to indicate an immigration of Pelasgians into Attica, mixing with a race in which Pelasgian characteristics had given way in a great measure to Hellenic. That, in the view of Herodotus, the Athenians in the earliest times were Pelasgian, and called Cramai, appears from viii. 44. See note 179 on i. 56.

<sup>150</sup> Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι, τοί περ Ἀθηναῖοι σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο. In another passage (vi.

137—140) Herodotus relates that the Pelasgians who were neighbours of the Athenians were expelled by them and migrated to Lemnos. These two statements may no doubt be combined by considering that the Samothracian Pelasgians migrated to Attica, and from thence to Lemnos. But to me it seems more likely that different traditions are followed in the two passages. The Dodonæan legend (which Herodotus here follows) is based upon the ritualistic similarity of the Cabiric worship in Samothrace to the Hermæ-symbolism and religious ideas connected therewith, at Athens. The popular Attic tradition (which is followed by him in the other passage) is one explanation (for Herodotus himself gives another) of the current proverb *Λήμνια ἔργα*, so worked up as to furnish a justification for the bucaniering expedition of Miltiades. For another statement which makes the immigrants into Attica to be Pelasgians from Placie and Scylace, see note 185 on i. 57.

οἶδα ἀκούσας, ἐπωνυμίην δὲ οὐδ' οὔνομα ἐποιεῖντο οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν ficed of old to the gods without naming them, their names coming afterwards (Dionysus last of all) from Egypt.  
οὐ γὰρ ἀκηκόεσάν κω. θεοὺς δὲ προσωνόμασάν σφεας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου, ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομὰς εἶχον ἔπειτα δὲ<sup>151</sup>, χρόνου πολλοῦ διεξεληθόντος, ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπικόμενα τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων Διωνύσου δὲ ὕστερον πολλῶ ἐπύθοντο. καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐχρηστηρίαζοντο περὶ τῶν οὐνομάτων ἐν Δωδώνῃ· τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήιον τοῦτο νενομισται ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι χρηστηρίων εἶναι, καὶ ἦν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον μῦνον ἐπεὶ ὦν ἐχρηστηρίαζοντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ οἱ Πελασγοὶ “εἰ ἀνέλωνται\* τὰ οὐνόματα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκοντα;” ἀνείλε τὸ μαντήιον “χρᾶσθαι” ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔθνον τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν θεῶν χρεώμενοι· παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν Ἕλληνες ἐξεδέξαντο ὕστερον. 53  
Εὐθεν δὲ ἐγένετο ἕκαστος τῶν θεῶν, εἰ τε δ' αἰεὶ ἦσαν πάντες, ὅκοιοί τε τινες τὰ εἶδεα, οὐκ ἠπισταέατο μέχρι οὐ πρώην τε καὶ χθές, ὥς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ<sup>152</sup>. Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὀμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μεν πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐ πλέοσι· οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην<sup>153</sup>. Homer and Hesiod the first constructors of the Hellenic theogonies.  
οἱ δὲ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἑλλήσι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες, καὶ τιμὰς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες καὶ εἶδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες<sup>153</sup>. οἱ δὲ πρότερον

<sup>151</sup> ἔπειτα δέ. So S. Gaisford, with the majority of the MSS, reads ἐπεὶ τε δέ.

\* εἰ ἀνέλωνται, “if they must adopt.” See note 170 on i. 53.

<sup>152</sup> μέχρι οὐ . . . λόγῳ. The sentence is constructed as if the writer had intended to continue it with the words Ἡσίοδος καὶ Ὀμηρος τὴν θεογονίην “Ἑλλήσι ἐποίησαν. But, if this had been written, the objection would not have been met, that Orpheus, Linus, and others had given a mythology professedly at a much earlier date. To forestall this objection, the writer begins a fuller explanation of the state of the case.

<sup>153</sup> οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι . . . σημήναντες. In this passage, Herodotus has been described “as recognizing Homer and Hesiod as the prime authors of Grecian belief respecting the names and generations, the attributes and agency, the forms and the worship of the gods.” (GROTE, *History of Greece*, i. p. 483.) But this seems an undue straining of the text. The writer scarcely conceived the poets in question as *inventing* the mythology of their countrymen in the mo-

dern sense of the word. His words are quite compatible with a process such as that suggested in notes 164 and 366 on Book I. By giving a symmetry and consolidation to the popular creed, and clothing it in the vesture of poetry, they satisfied the imagination of their countrymen; and gradually, as their works were the chief food upon which the national intellect was nourished, they became invested with a kind of sacred character, as the universally received teachers of youth. It is from this point of view that PLATO criticizes them (see, for instance, *Repub.* ii. pp. 378—80), and the same feeling, only exaggerated a hundredfold, gave rise to the misplaced ingenuity of the Alexandrines to endeavour to discover in them (especially in Homer) the germ of those sciences which had by that time grown up. The great bulk of these productions have perished, but traces of their theories remain in STRABO (*passim*) and elsewhere. The Alexandrine Jews, from the time of Ptolemy Philometor, attempted the same thing with their sacred books, and the unfortunate results may be seen in the extant writings of PHILO-JUDEUS.

ποιηται λεγόμενοι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι, ὕστερον, ἐμοί γε δοκέειν, ἐγένοντο τούτων. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα αἱ Δωδωνίδες ἰρήϊαι λέγουσι, τὰ δὲ ὕστερα, τὰ ἐς Ἡσιόδον τε καὶ Ὀμηρον ἔχοντα, ἐγὼ λέγω.

54  
Egyptian  
account of  
the origin  
of the ora-  
cles at Am-  
mon and  
Dodona.

Χρηστηρίων δὲ πέρι, τοῦ τε ἐν Ἑλλάσι<sup>154</sup> καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ, τόνδε Αἰγύπτιοι λόγον λέγουσι· ἔφασαν οἱ ἱρέες τοῦ Θηβαίους<sup>155</sup> Διὸς “δύο γυναῖκας ἰρήϊας” ἐκ Θηβῶν ἐξαχθῆναι ὑπὸ Φοινίκων καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων πυθέσθαι ἐς Λιβύην πρηθεῖσαν, τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας· ταύτας δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας εἶναι τὰς ἰδρυσαμένας τὰ μαντήϊα πρῶτας ἐν τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι ἔθνεσι· εἰρομένου δέ μεν<sup>157</sup>, ὁκόθεν οὕτω ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγουσι; ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα, “ζήτησιν μεγάλην ἀπὸ σφέων γενέσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν τουτέων· καὶ ἀνευρεῖν μὲν σφεας οὐ δυνατοὶ γενέσθαι, πυθέσθαι δὲ ὕστερον ταῦτα περὶ αὐτέων τάπερ δὴ ἔλεγον.” Ταῦτα μὲν νυν τῶν ἐν Θήβῃσι ἱρέων ἤκουον· τάδε δὲ Δωδωναίων φασὶ αἱ προμάντιες<sup>158</sup>.

<sup>154</sup> τοῦ τε ἐν Ἑλλάσι. These words would at first sight suggest not the oracle of Dodona, but that of Delphi (see τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, i. 90, i. e. Apollo). But Dodona is the oracle, κατ' ἐσχῆν, of the old Pelasgian population. Hence Achilles is made to invoke Zeus by the title, “King Zeus, Dodonian, Pelasgic!” (*Iliad* xvi. 223.) If Herodotus is here following, *without alteration*, the story of a traveller belonging to a country in which the national ritual belonged to the Pelasgic family, the expression in the text may be explained; and probably it is the same person who calls the oracle at *Buto*, “the oracle in Egypt” (§ 155).

<sup>155</sup> τοῦ Θηβαίους. See note 611 on i. 182.

<sup>156</sup> ἰρήϊας. The dissonance of this passage with that above (§ 35), ἰρήϊαι γυνὴ οὐδὲμία, is not satisfactorily explained by considering the women as inferior attendants, for in Dodona this does not at all answer to their description. It is easier to suppose either that the custom had been changed in Egypt, or that the two passages rest on different authorities.

<sup>157</sup> εἰρομένου δέ μεν. See note 10, above.

<sup>158</sup> Δωδωναίων φασὶ αἱ προμάντιες. There is some difficulty in reconciling this expression with the notices of Dodona in Homer. He represents the

ἄλλοι (whom PINDAR calls Ἑλλοὶ) as the ὑποφῆται of the deity. They are a set of rude ascetics (*ὑποπόδες*, χαμαιεῦναι) living round about the oracle, as the Delphi did round about Pytho in the early times (*Iliad* xvi. 23). In the *Odyssey* (xvi. 403), εἰ μὲν κ' αὐτῶσι Διὸς μεγάλου θέμιστες (a passage which refers to the oracle of Dodona) there formerly existed the variation Τομοῦραι for θέμιστες, and it was said that this name applied to the same persons who in the *Iliad* are called ἄλλοι. The mountain under which the temple lay was called Τόμαρος or Τυμάρος (STRABO, vii. p. 126). But it seems not impossible that θέμιστες in this passage are the same as the προμάντιες spoken of by Herodotus, the same word being, perhaps, used to designate both the deity and the sacred minister, as was the case with Βάκχος, Μέλισσα, and Σάληνος. (See note 216 below.) The alternative reading Τομοῦραι has a feminine termination, and therefore is not unfavourable to this hypothesis. STRABO (l. c.) says that the female prophetesses came in at the time when the worship of *Dione* was associated with that of *Zeus*. If this be true, the state of things at Dodona may be illustrated by that at Pytho. The *Selli* and the *Delphi* are severally pericæcians, perhaps originally hierodules, living around spots where oracles are delivered, the religion being

“ δύο πελειάδας μελαίνας ἐκ Θηβέων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀναπτα-  
 μένας, τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην, τὴν δὲ παρὰ σφέας ἀπικέσθαι·  
 ἰζομένην δὲ μιν ἐπὶ φηγὸν αὐδάσασθαι φωνῇ ἀνθρωπινήῃ, ὡς χρεῶν  
 εἶη μαντήϊον αὐτόθι Διὸς γενέσθαι· καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβεῖν θεῖον  
 εἶναι τὸ ἐπαγγελλλόμενον αὐτοῖσι, καὶ σφεας ἐκ τούτου ποιῆσαι·  
 τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Λίβυας οἰχομένην πελειάδα λέγουσι “ Ἀμμωνος  
 χρηστήριον κελεύσαι τοὺς Λίβυας ποιέειν ” ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο  
 Διὸς. Δωδωναίων δὲ αἱ ἱρήϊαι (τῶν τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ οὐνομα ἦν  
 Προμένεια, τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην Τιμαρέτῃ, τῇ δὲ νεωτάτῃ Νικάνδρῃ,) 56  
 ἔλεγον ταῦτα· συνωμολόγησεν δὲ σφί καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Δωδωναῖοι οἱ  
 περὶ τὸ ἱρόν. Ἐγὼ δ’ ἔχω περὶ αὐτέων γνώμην τήνδε· εἰ ἀληθές The au-  
 thor's cri-  
 ticism of  
 the story.  
 οἱ Φοῖνικες ἐξήγαγον τὰς ἱρὰς γυναικάς, καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς  
 Λιβύην τὴν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπέδοντο, δοκέει ἐμοὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη  
 τῆς νῦν Ἑλλάδος πρότερον δὲ Πελασγίης <sup>159</sup> καλευμένης τῆς αὐτῆς  
 ταύτης πρηθῆναι ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς, ἔπειτα δουλεύουσα αὐτόθι ἰδρύ-  
 σασθαι ὑπὸ φηγῷ πεφυκυῖη Διὸς ἱρόν ὥσπερ ἦν οἶκος ἀμφιπο-  
 λεύουσαν ἐν Θήβῃσι ἱρόν Διὸς, ἐνθα ἀπίκητο ἐνθαῦτα μνήμην  
 αὐτοῦ ἔχειν ἐκ δὲ τούτου, χρηστήριον κατηγήσατο, ἐπεὶ τε  
 συνέλαβε τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν· φάναι δὲ οἱ ἀδελφεὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ  
 πεκρήσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Φοινίκων, ὑπ’ ὧν καὶ αὕτη ἐπρήθη.  
 Πελειάδες <sup>160</sup> δέ μοι δοκεῖνσι κληθῆναι πρὸς Δωδωναίων ἐπὶ τοῦδε 57

an elemental one, and the sacred symbol an oak in the one case, a strangely shaped rock (γῆς ὀμφαλός) in the other. The original deity at Dodona was apparently considered a male one, and to this was superadded a female (Dione). The original at Pytho was female (*Æschylus*, *Æumenid.* 2), and to this was superadded a male (*Zeus*, represented by his *προφήτης*, *Apollo Loxias*, *Æumenid.* 19). But the Apollo-worship of the Delphians gave a marked anthropomorphic character to their traditions, which, in its results, produced a strong contrast with those of Dodona in later times, although at first there was apparently a great affinity between the religions of the two places.

<sup>159</sup> *Πελασγίης*. It is to be observed that the author here makes the name *Pelasgia* co-extensive with what in his time was called *Hellas*, perhaps from an inaccuracy of language. For the phrase *τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης*, compare § 158: *ἐκ τῆς βορήνης θαλάσσης ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν νοτίην*

καὶ Ἐρυθρὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην καλεομένην.

<sup>160</sup> τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν. According to the view of Herodotus, the *Pelasgian*, and not the *Hellenic* language, would have been learned by the female. With a similar forgetfulness, he makes the Greek name *Peleiades* to be given to the priestesses, although he elsewhere declares the *Pelasgian* language to be a barbarous one. See note 187 on i. 57.

<sup>160</sup> *Πελειάδες*. *SERVIVS* (*ad Virgil. Ecl. ix.* 13) says that in the Thessalian tongue the word *Pelaiades* signified both “doves” and “prophetesses.” The parallel case of *Melissa* (see note on v. 92) somewhat confirms this. But, if this is true, the origin of the synonym seems rather to be looked for in the pantheistic views which regarded the motions of animals as ominous, and as directed spontaneously towards sacred places. A relic of this superstition exists in the habit of the Indian Mohammedans to conceal the

αἱ γυναῖκες, διότι βάρβαροι ἦσαν ἐδόκεον δὲ σφι ὁμοίως ὄρνισι φθέγγεσθαι· μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τὴν πελειάδα ἀνθρωπητῇ φωνῇ αὐδάσθαι, [λέγουσι<sup>161</sup>] ἐπεὶ τε συνετὰ σφι ἦν δα ἡ γυνή· ἕως δὲ ἐβαρβαρίζε, ὄρνιθος τρόπον ἐδόκεε σφι φθέγγεσθαι. ἐπεὶ τέφ τροπῇ ἂν πελειάς γε ἀνθρωπητῇ φωνῇ φθέγγαιτο; μέλαιναν δὲ λέγοντες εἶναι τὴν πελειάδα, σημαίνουσι ὅτι Αἰγυπτίῃ ἡ γυνὴ ἦν. ἡ δὲ μαντήϊς ἡ τε ἐν Θήβῃσι τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι καὶ ἐν Δωδώνῃ παραπλήσια ἀλλήλησι τυγχάνουσι ἐοῦσαι<sup>162</sup>. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰρών ἡ μαντική<sup>163</sup> ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπυγμένη.

58

Processions and pilgrimages first devised by the Egyptians.

59

Pilgrimages to diverse places.

Πανηγύρις δὲ ἄρα καὶ πομπὰς καὶ προσαγωγὰς\* πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίῳ εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι· καὶ παρὰ τούτων Ἕλληνες μεμαθήκασιν. τεκμήριον δέ μοι τούτου τόδε· αἱ μὲν γὰρ φαίνονται ἐκ πολλοῦ τευ χρόνου ποιούμεναι, αἱ δὲ Ἑλληνικαὶ νεωστὶ ἐποιήθησαν. Πανηγυρίζουσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίῳ οὐκ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, πανηγύρις δὲ συχνὰς· μάλιστα μὲν καὶ προθυμώτατα ἐς Βούβαστιν<sup>164</sup> πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι· δεύτερα ἐς Βούσιριν πόλιν τῇ Ἴσι· ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ δὴ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ μέγιστον Ἴσιος ἰρόν<sup>165</sup>. Ἰδρυται δὲ ἡ

magnetic needle of their compasses under the wings of the figure of a bird, so placed that its flight appears to be in the direction of Mecca. See FASHLEY, *Crete*, ii. p. 38.

<sup>161</sup> [λέγουσι.] This word is found in all the MSS, but it appears to me to have been introduced to render the construction more apparently easy. αὐδάσθαι is governed by ἐνόμιζον (or some such word) gathered by inference from the ἐδόκεον σφι of the preceding sentence.

<sup>162</sup> ἡ μαντήϊς . . . ἐοῦσαι. That the mode of divination at Thebes and Dodona may have been similar in the time of the writer is possible; but it seems certain that in the early times the divination at Dodona was from the sound of the leaves of "the talking oaks" (αἱ προσήγοροι ὄρνευ, *Æsch. Prom.* 832). Odysseus went to Dodona "to learn the counsel of Zeus from a divine oak of lofty boughs" (*Odys.* xiv. 328). In later times an augury appears to have been sought from the sound of certain gongs. The first of these was made to vibrate by being struck with a scourge of brass by a figure rotating (as the wind blew) upon a fixed axis, upon which, either from juxtaposition, or from being properly harmonized, the rest sounded too, and continued so long that τὸ Δωδωνεῖον χαλκίον

became a proverbial expression. MENANDER applies the phrase to a female whom, when once set a-talking, it was impossible to stop (*Steph. Byzant.* v. Δωδώνη).—If it is this mode of divination to which the author alludes in the text, it might well be resorted to where the original conception of the deity was very different; and the identity of religion may be only a later inference from similarity of ritual. It seems pretty certain that originally the Zeus of Thebes and of Ammon were θεοὶ οὐράνιοι, and that the Zeus of Dodona was a θεὸς χθόνιος.

<sup>163</sup> καὶ τῶν ἰρών ἡ μαντική, "the method of divining from victims also."

\* προσαγωγὰς. This word is apparently used to denote the introduction of the worshipper into a sanctuary in which the idol or some sacred relic of the deity was preserved, which was exhibited to him by the hierophant.

<sup>164</sup> Βούβαστιν. Several MSS have Βούβαστον. But below (§ 67) all but one have Βουβόστι, and that one Βουβόστη; and in § 137 all have Βουβάστι. The name of the town is, according to another passage (§ 156), the same as the name of the deity. For its site, see note on § 158.

<sup>165</sup> μέγιστον Ἴσιος ἰρόν. EUDOXUS

πόλις αὕτη τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Δέλτα· Ἴσις δέ ἐστι κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Δημήτηρ· τρίτα δ' ἐς Σάϊν πόλιν τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ<sup>166</sup> πανηγυρίζουσι· τέταρτα δὲ ἐς Ἡλιούπολιν τῷ Ἠλίῳ· πέμπτα δὲ ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν τῇ Αἰγυπτοῦ· ἕκτα δὲ ἐς Πάπρημιν πόλιν τῷ Ἀρεΐ<sup>167</sup>. Ἐς μὲν νυν Βούβαστιν πόλιν ἐπεὰν κομίζονται, ποιεῖσι τοιάδε· πλέουσί τε γὰρ δὴ ἅμα ἄνδρες γυναιξί, καὶ πολλόν τι πλήθος ἐκατέρων ἐν ἐκάστῃ βάρῃ· αἱ μὲν τινες τῶν γυναικῶν κρόταλα ἔχουσιν κροταλίζουσι, οἱ δὲ αὐλέουσι κατὰ πάντα τὸν πλόν· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες αἰεῖδουσι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας κροτέουσι· ἐπεὰν δὲ πλέοντες κατὰ τινα πόλιν ἄλλην γένωνται, ἐγχρίψαντες τὴν βάρην τῇ γῇ ποιεῖσι τοιάδε· αἱ μὲν τινες τῶν γυναικῶν ποιεῖσι τάπερ εἶρηκα, αἱ δὲ τωθάζουσι βοῶσαι τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ γυναῖκας· αἱ δ' ὀρχέονται· αἱ δ' ἀνασύρονται ἀνιστάμεναι. ταῦτα παρὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν παραποταμὴν ποιεῖσιν· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπικῶνται ἐς τὴν Βούβαστιν, ὀρτάζουσι μεγάλας ἀνάγοντες θυσίας· καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος ἀναισιμούνται πλεόν ἐν τῇ ὁρτῇ ταύτῃ ἢ ἐν τῷ ἅπαντι ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἐπιλοιπῷ· συμφοιτέωσι δὲ ὅτι ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή ἐστι (πλήν παιδίων) καὶ ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα μυριάδας, ὥς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι· ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ ποιέεται. Ἐν δὲ Βουσίρῃ πόλιν ὡς ἀνάγουσι τῇ Ἴσι τὴν ὁρτὴν, εἶρηται πρότερόν μοι<sup>168</sup>. τύπτονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίην πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, μυριάδες κάρτα πολλὰ ἀνθρώπων τὸν δὲ τύπτονται οὐ μοι ὁσιόν<sup>169</sup> ἐστι λέγειν. ὅσοι δὲ Καρῶν εἰσὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκόντες, οὗτοι δὲ τοσοῦτῳ ἔτι πλέω ποιεῖσι τούτων, ὅσῳ καὶ τὰ

60

Procession to Bubastis. Description of it.

61

Festival of Isis at Busiris.

considered that *Busiris* had, above all other places in Egypt, the best claim to be the birthplace of Osiris (*ap. Plutarch. De Is. et Os.* p. 359). Diodorus (i. 88) says that the word means in the Egyptian language, "the tomb of Osiris" (see note on § 48). The ruins at *Bahbeit* are supposed to be on the site of the temple of Isis.

<sup>166</sup> τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ. In *PLUTARCH*'s time this deity was identified with *Isis*. (*De Is. et Os.* p. 354.)

<sup>167</sup> ἐς Πάπρημιν πόλιν τῷ Ἀρεΐ. That *Ares* should be the deity whose worship predominated in this city would lead one to conceive that possibly a camp was formed in it, or near it. And this supposition accords with its probable site,

which was in the western part of the Delta (see note on iii. 12), not far from the head-quarters of the army which observed the north-west entrance into the country.

<sup>168</sup> εἶρηται πρότερόν μοι. This seems to refer to § 40, but it is a singular thing that there the name of the deity should not be mentioned, and also that in that passage the mournful ritual should be described as *preceding*, and here as *following* the festival. The MSS bear marks of having varied considerably in that passage; and, perhaps, the variation was once much greater than now can be traced. See note 117, above.

<sup>169</sup> οὐ μοι ὁσιόν. See note on § 132, τὸν οὐκ ἀνομαζόμενον θεόν, κ.τ.λ.



62

Illumination of lanterns at Sais.

μέτωπα κόπτονται μαχαίρησι<sup>170</sup>. καὶ τούτῳ εἰσι δῆλοι ὅτι εἰσι ξεῖνοι καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι. Ἐς Σαῖν δὲ πόλιν ἐπεὰν συλλεχθῶσι τῇσι θυσίῃσι, ἐν τινι νυκτὶ λύχνα καίουσι πάντες πολλὰ ὑπαίθρια περὶ τὰ δώματα κύκλῳ· τὰ δὲ λύχνα ἐστὶ ἐμβάφια ἔμπλεα ἁλὸς καὶ ἐλαίου ἐπιπολῆς δὲ ἔπεστι αὐτὸ τὸ ἐλλύχνιον. καὶ τοῦτο καλεῖται παννύχιον καὶ τῇ ὀρτῇ οὖνομα κέεται Λυχνοκατῆ<sup>171</sup>. οἱ δ' ἂν μὴ ἔλθωσι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὴν πανήγυριν ταύτην, φυλάσσουντες τὴν νύκτα τῆς θυσίης καίουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες τὰ λύχνα. καὶ οὕτω οὐκ ἐν Σαῖ μούνη καλεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον. ὅτεν δὲ εἵνεκα φῶς ἔλαχε καὶ τιμὴν ἢ νύξ αὕτη, ἐστὶ ἱρὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος λεγόμενος. Ἐς δὲ Ἑλλίου πόλιν καὶ Βουτουῖν θυσίας μούνας ἐπιτελέουσι φοιτέοντες. ἐν δὲ Παπρήμῃ<sup>172</sup> θυσίας μὲν καὶ ἱρὰ, κατὰπερ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ, ποιέουσιν· εὐτ' ἂν δὲ γίνηται καταφερὴς ὁ ἥλιος, ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες τῶν ἱρέων περὶ τῷγαλμα πεπονέαται· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ξύλων κορύνας ἔχοντες ἐστᾶσι τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ἄλλοι δὲ εὐχωλὰς ἐπιτελέοντες, πλείυνες χιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστοι, ἔχοντες ξύλα καὶ οὗτοι, ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα ἁλῆες ἐστᾶσι· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐὼν ἐν νηφ' μικρῷ ξύλῳ κατακεχρυσωμένῳ προεκομίζουσι τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐς ἄλλο οἶκημα ἱρόν· οἱ μὲν δὴ ὀλγοὶ οἱ περὶ τῷγαλμα λελειμμένοι ἔλκουσι τετράκυκλον ἄμαξαν, ἄγουσαν τὸν νήον τε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ νηφ' ἐνεδν ἄγαλμα· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐῷσι, ἐν τοῖσι προπυλαίοισι ἐστεῶτες, ἐσιέναι· οἱ δὲ εὐχωλιμαῖοι, τιμωρέοντες τῷ θεῷ, παύουσι αὐτοὺς ἀλεξομένους. ἐνθαῦτα μάχη ξύλοις καρτερῇ γίνεταί· κεφαλὰς τε συναράσσονται, καὶ ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, πολλοὶ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι ἐκ τῶν τραμάτων· οὐ μέντοι οἷ γε Αἰγύ-

63  
Festivals at Heliopolis and Buto. Mock fight at Papremis.

<sup>170</sup> ὅσῳ καὶ τὰ μέτωπα κόπτονται μαχαίρησι. Compare the conduct of the priests of Baal described in 1 Kings xviii. 28. As the circumstance of their being foreigners is regarded as being evinced by this proceeding, it seems likely that they were settlers in the country, mixed up with the population, not mercenary troops, whom no one would for an instant think of confounding with the native population. And, if settlers, they would not improbably be Phoenicians—whom, in fact, CORINNA and BACCHYLIDES identified with Carians (*ap. Athen.* p. 174)—a people which, from their proximity to Egypt, as well as from their commercial habits, would naturally spread

into the country, and settle in it.

<sup>171</sup> Λυχνοκατῆ. In the temple of Athens *Polias* at Athens, a lamp used to be kept burning before the idol, which was said to be replenished with oil and supplied with a new wick only once a year, on a special day. (STRABO, ix. p. 240, and PAUSANIAS, i. 26. 7.) Although the perennial character of this lamp is probably a later fiction, yet the burning lamp itself, as an appropriate emblem of the goddess, is doubtless very ancient. In the *Odyssey* (xix. 34) she *holds* it to Telemachus and his father while arming themselves.

<sup>172</sup> Παπρήμι. See note on iii. 12.

πτιοι ἔφασαν ἀποθνήσκειν οὐδένα. Τὴν δὲ πανήγυριν ταύτην ἐκ 64  
τοῦδε νομίσαι φασὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· οἰκέειν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦτω τοῦ  
Ἄρεος τὴν μητέρα· καὶ τὸν Ἄρεα ἀπότροφον<sup>173</sup> γενόμενον, ἐλθεῖν  
ἐξανδρωμένον ἐθέλοντα τῇ μητρὶ συμμῖξαι· καὶ τοὺς προπόλους  
τῆς μητρὸς, οἳα οὐκ ὁπωπύτας αὐτὸν πρότερον, οὐ περιορᾶν παρ-  
ιέναι ἀλλ' ἀπερύκειν· τὸν δ' ἐξ ἄλλης πόλιος ἀγαγόμενον ἀνθρώ-  
πους τοὺς τε προπόλους τρηχέως περισπεῖν, καὶ ἐσελθεῖν παρὰ  
τὴν μητέρα· ἀπὸ τούτου τῷ Ἀρεὶ ταύτην τὴν πληγὴν ἐν τῇ ὀρτῇ  
νενομῆκεναι φασί.

Popular  
legend to  
account for  
the ritual.

Καὶ τὸ μὴ μίσγεσθαι γυναῖξιν ἐν ἱροῖσι μηδὲ ἀλούτους ἀπὸ  
γυναικῶν ἐς ἱρὰ ἐσιέναι, οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ πρῶτοι θρησκευσάντες. οἱ  
μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν πάντες ἄνθρωποι, πλην Αἰγυπτίων καὶ  
Ἑλλήνων, μίσγονται ἐν ἱροῖσιν καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἀνιστάμενοι  
ἀλουτοὶ ἐσέρχονται ἐς ἱρὸν, νομίζοντες ἀνθρώπους εἶναι κατὰπερ  
τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα ὁρᾶν καὶ ὀρνίθων γένεα  
ὀχευόμενα ἐν τε τοῖσι νηοῖσι τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖσι τεμένεσιν· εἰ ἂν  
εἶναι τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο μὴ φίλον, οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ τὰ κτήνεα ποίεειν. οὗτοι  
μὲν νυν τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγοντες, ποιεῦσι ἐμοὶ γε οὐκ ἄρεστά· Αἰγύ-  
πτιοι δὲ θρησκεύουσι περισσῶς τὰ τε ἄλλα περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ, καὶ δὴ  
καὶ τάδε.

Ἐοῦσα δὲ Αἰγυπτος ὁμοῦρος τῇ Λιβύῃ οὐ μάλα θηριώδης ἐστί· 65  
τὰ δὲ ἔοντα σφί ἅπαντα ἱρὰ νενόμισται· καὶ τὰ μὲν σύντροφα  
αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, τὰ δὲ οὐ. τῶν δὲ εἵνεκεν ἀνείται τὰ  
ἱρὰ<sup>174</sup> εἰ λέγοιμι, καταβαλεῖν ἂν τῷ λόγῳ ἐς τὰ θεῖα πρήγματα, τὰ  
ἐγὼ φεῖνω μάλιστα ἀπηγγέσθαι· τὰ δὲ καὶ εἴρηκα αὐτῶν ἐπιφαύ-

Animal  
idolatry  
of the  
Egyptians.

<sup>173</sup> ἀπότροφον, "brought up away from home." συμμῖξαι, "to communicate with." See i. 123, συμμίσγων ἐνὶ ἐκδότῳ ὁ Ἀσπαςος τῶν πρώτων Μήδων.

<sup>174</sup> τῶν δὲ εἵνεκεν ἀνείται τὰ ἱρὰ, "but the reasons for which the sacred animals are held sacred." The word ἀνείσθαι would properly denote the being let go free, and would originally apply to such a case as an ox or horse "turned out" to enjoy a holiday for the remainder of life. Such an indulgence, if granted on religious grounds, would be a species of dedication; and the description which STRABO gives of the Apis-bull at Memphis answers to this. Julius Cæsar, when he passed the Rubicon, turned loose, by

way of consecration, several troops of horses ("consecravit ac vagos sine custode dimisit." Suetonius, *Julius Cæs.* c. 81). The Calmucks are said to turn camels loose in the same way. The term probably passed from cattle to animals where it was inappropriate, and, they being *feræ nature*, all that remained of its original meaning was the dedication to this or that deity. After undergoing this change, there was no reason the word should not be applied to the dedication even of land, especially if let go out of cultivation, and devoted to pasture or the growing timber. CALLIMACHUS, *Hymn. Demet.* 47, τέκνον, οὗτος τὰ θεοῖσιν ἀνειμένα δένδρεα κόπτεις.

Hereditary  
conservators  
of animals.

σας, ἀναγκαίῃ καταλαμβάνόμενος εἶπον. νόμος δέ ἐστι περὶ τῶν θηρίων ὥδε ἔχων μελεδωνοὶ ἀποδεδέχεται τῆς τροφῆς χωρὶς ἐκάστων καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θήλειαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τῶν παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδέκεται τὴν τιμὴν. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇσι πόλεσι ἕκαστοι εὐχὰς τάσδε σφί ἀποτελέουσι· εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἂν ᾗ τὸ θηρίον, ξυροῦντες τῶν παιδίων ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἢ τὸ ἥμισυ ἢ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἰστᾶσι σταθμῷ πρὸς ἀργύριον τὰς τρίχας· τὸ δ' ἂν ἐλκύσῃ, τοῦτο τῇ μελεδωνῷ<sup>175</sup> τῶν θηρίων διδοῖ· ἢ δ' αὐτ' αὐτοῦ τάμνουσα ἰχθὺς, παρέχει βορὴν τοῖσι θηρίοις. τροφή μὲν δὴ αὐτοῖσι τοιαύτη ἀποδέδεκται. τὸ δ' ἂν τις τῶν θηρίων τούτων ἀποκτείνῃ, ἣν μὲν ἐκὼν, θάνατος ἢ ζημία· ἣν δὲ ἀέκων, ἀποτίνει ζημίην τὴν ἂν οἱ ἱρέες τάζωνται. δς δ' ἂν ἱβῶ ἢ ἱρῃκα ἀποκτείνῃ, ἣν τε ἐκὼν ἣν τε ἀέκων, τεθνάναι ἀνάγκη. Πολλῶν δὲ ἐόντων ὁμοτρόφων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι θηρίων, πολλῶν ἂν ἐτι πλέω ἐγένετο, εἰ μὴ κατελάμβανε τοὺς αἰελοῦρους τοιάδε· ἐπεὶ τέκωσι αἱ θήλειαι, οὐκέτι φοιτεύουσι παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας· οἱ δὲ διζήμενοι μίσγεσθαι αὐτῇσι οὐκ ἔχουσι· πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα σοφίζονται τάδε· ἀρπάζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν θηλέων καὶ ὑπαιρεόμενοι τὰ τέκνα κτείνουσι· κτείναντες μέντοι οὐ πατέονται· αἱ δὲ στερισκόμεναι τῶν τέκνων ἄλλων δὲ ἐπιθυμέουσai, οὕτω δὴ ἀπικνεύονται παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας· φιλότεκνον δὲ τὸ θηρίον. πυρκαϊῆς δὲ γενομένης, θεῖα πρήγματα καταλαμβάνει τοὺς αἰελοῦρους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι διαστάντες φυλακὰς ἔχουσι τῶν αἰελοῦρων, ἀμελήσαντες σβεννύναι τὸ καίμενον· οἱ δὲ αἰελοῦροι, διαδύοντες καὶ ὑπερβώσκοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐσάλλονται ἐς τὸ πῦρ· ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα<sup>176</sup>, πένθεα μεγάλα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει. ἐν οὗτοις δ' ἂν οἰκίοις αἰελοῦρος ἀποθάνῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, οἱ ἐνοικεόντες

66  
Peculiarity  
in the habits  
of the Cat.

<sup>175</sup> τῇ μελεδωνῷ. As the conservators of the sacred animals were of both sexes, it seems strange that the feminine gender should here be used. Possibly, in the particular case that the author had in his eye, the functionary was a woman. And the sacred animal, too, must have been of an ichthyophagous character, such as an ichneumon or cat. Such an offering as fish would have been unacceptable to a cow, sheep, goat, or asp. For a crocodile it would have been unnecessary to chop the fish in pieces. Perhaps it was in the

city *Bubastis* that the information was gained. In the neighbourhood of that city was a very ancient Hellenic trading settlement (see note on § 154), and it appears from § 67 that there were the head-quarters of the cat-mummies.

<sup>176</sup> ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα. Some of the MSS have *τούτων δὲ γινόμενων*, which seems undoubtedly to be an arbitrary correction. One of these is S, in which changes, made apparently for the sake of grammatical propriety, are more common than in any other.

πάντες ξυρέονται τὰς ὀφρίας μούνας· παρ' ὁτέοισι δ' ἂν κύων, πᾶν  
 τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν. Ἀπαγέεται<sup>177</sup> δὲ οἱ αἰέλουροι ἀποθα- 67  
 νόντες ἐς ἱρὰς στέγας, ἔνθα θάπτονται ταριχευθέντες ἐν Βουβάστι *Cat-mum-*  
 πόλι<sup>178</sup>. τὰς δὲ κύνας ἐν τῇ ἐωυτῶν ἑκαστοὶ πόλι θάπτουν· ἐν ἱρήσι *mies laid*  
 θήκησι· ὡς δὲ αὐτῶς τῇσι κυσὶ οἱ ἰχνευταὶ θάπτονται. τὰς δὲ *up at Bu-*  
 μυγαλὰς<sup>179</sup> καὶ τοὺς ἱρηκὰς ἀπάγουσι ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν<sup>180</sup>. τὰς δὲ *bastia.*  
 ἴβις ἐς Ἑρμέω πόλιν<sup>181</sup>. τὰς δὲ ἄρκτους εὐούσας σπανίας<sup>182</sup>, καὶ *Others*  
 τοὺς λύκους οὐ πολλῶ τέφ ἐόντας ἀλωπέκων μέζοντας, αὐτοῦ *at other*  
 θάπτουν· τῇ ἂν εὐρεθέωσι κείμενοι. *places.*

Τῶν δὲ κροκοδείλων ἡ φύσις ἐστὶ τοιῦδε· τοὺς χειμεριωτάτους 68  
 μῆνας τέσσερας ἐσθίει οὐδέν· ἔον δὲ τετράπουν, χερσαῖον καὶ *The Croco-*  
 λιμναῖόν ἐστι· τίκτει μὲν γὰρ ὡὰ ἐν γῇ καὶ ἐκλέπει, καὶ τὸ πολλὸν *dile: its de-*  
 τῆς ἡμέρης διατρίβει ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ *scription*  
 ποταμῷ· θερμότερον γὰρ δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς τε αἰθρίας καὶ τῆς *and habita.*  
 δρόσου. πάντων δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν θνητῶν τοῦτο ἐξ ἐλαχίστου  
 μέγιστον γίνεται· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὡὰ χηνέων οὐ πολλῶ μέζονα τίκτει,  
 καὶ ὁ νεοσσὸς κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ὡοῦ γίνεται· αὐξανόμενος δὲ γίνεται  
 καὶ ἐς ἑπτακαίδεκα πήχους, καὶ μέζων ἔτι· ἔχει δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν  
 ὕος, ὀδόντας δὲ μεγάλους καὶ χαυλιόδοντας<sup>183</sup>, κατὰ λόγον τοῦ  
 σώματος· γλώσσαν δὲ μούνον θηρίων οὐκ ἔφυνσε· οὐδὲ τὴν κάτω  
 κινεῖ γνάθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο μούνον θηρίων τὴν ἄνω γνάθον προ-

<sup>177</sup> ἀπαγέεται. This is the reading of F, the others having the common form ἀπάγονται. There is the same variation above, § 47, where all the MSS but F have ἐκδίδονται and ἔχονται, and in i. 209, where F has κηδέσεται, and the rest (with one exception, which has κηδέωνται) the common form κηδόνται.

<sup>178</sup> ἐν Βουβάστι πόλι. See note on § 158.

<sup>179</sup> τὰς μυγαλὰς, "shrewmice." The story ran in later times that Latona, when nursing Horus, changed herself into one of these animals to escape the pursuit of Typhon, by burrowing in the earth (ANTONINUS LIBERALIS, *Fab.* 28). PLUTARCH (*Sympos.* iv. 5, p. 670) says that the animal being regarded as blind was considered an emblem of primeval darkness. The mummies of the shrew-mouse are said to be found at Thebes, Buto, and *Alhribis*, probably the Atar-bechis of Herodotus (§ 41). (WILKINSON, *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. p. 135, 2nd Series.)

See notes on § 41 and § 141.

<sup>180</sup> ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν. See §§ 155, 6.

<sup>181</sup> τὰς δὲ ἴβις ἐς Ἑρμέω πόλιν. The ibis-mummies are found in abundance at Thebes and Memphis, as well as at Her-mopolis. There were three towns in Egypt which went by the last name, and there is nothing to show which Herodotus meant, or indeed whether he had any one especially in his eye, as he appears to be speaking at second-hand.

<sup>182</sup> τὰς δὲ ἄρκτους εὐούσας σπανίας. WILKINSON (ii. p. 136) says that there is little doubt of the bear having been always unknown in Egypt. The only way in which it appears in the paintings or sculptures is among the presents brought by foreigners to the Egyptian sovereign.

<sup>183</sup> χαυλιόδοντας, "tusks." This description is quite false. PORPHYRY (ap. *Euseb. Præp. Ev.* i. 3) says that the account of the mode of capturing the crocodile, as well as the descriptions of the phoenix and the river-horse, are, with

ἀγει τῇ κάτω ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὄνυχας καρτεροὺς καὶ δέρμα λεπιδωτὸν, ἄρρηκτον ἐπὶ τοῦ κότου τυφλὸν δὲ ἐν ὕδατι<sup>155</sup>, ἐν δὲ τῇ αἰθρῇ ὀξυδερκέστατον. ἅτε δὴ ὦν ἐν ὕδατι δίαυταν ποιούμενον, τὸ στόμα ἐνδοθεν φορεῖ πᾶν μεστὸν βδελλέων<sup>156</sup>. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ὄρεα καὶ θηρία φεύγει μιν ὁ δὲ τροχίλος εἰρηναῖον οἱ ἐστὶ ἅτε ὠφελεομένην πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβῆ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ὁ κροκόδειλος, καὶ ἔπειτα χάνη,—ἔωθε<sup>157</sup> γὰρ τοῦτο ὥς ἐπίπαν ποιεῖν πρὸς τὸν ζέφυρον,—ἐνθαῦτα ὁ τροχίλος ἐσδύνων ἐς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καταπίνει τὰς βδέλλας, ὁ δὲ ὠφελεύμενος ἤδεται<sup>69</sup> καὶ οὐδὲν σίνεται τὸν τροχίλον. Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱροὶ εἰσι οἱ κροκόδειλοι, τοῖσι δ' οὐ, ἀλλ' ἅτε πολεμίους περιέπουσι. οἱ δὲ περὶ τε Θήβας καὶ τὴν Μοῖριος λίμνην οἰκόντες καὶ κάρτα ἡγνῆται αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἱρούς. ἐκ πάντων δὲ ἓνα ἐκάτεροι τρέφουσι κροκόδειλον, δεδιδωγμένοι εἶναι χειροῖθεα ἀρτήματά τε λίθινα χυτὰ καὶ χρύσεια ἐς τὰ ὄτα ἐνθέντες, καὶ ἀμφιδέας περὶ τοὺς προσθίους πόδας, καὶ σιτία ἀπότακτα διδόντες καὶ ἰρήϊα, καὶ περιέποντες ὥς κάλλιστα ζῶντας, ἀποθανόντας δὲ ταριχεύοντες θάπτουσι ἐν ἱρήσι θήκησι. οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἐλεφαντίνην πόλιν οἰκόντες καὶ ἐσθίουσι αὐτοὺς, οὐκ ἡγεόμενοι ἱρούς εἶναι. καλέονται δὲ οὐ κροκόδειλοι ἀλλὰ χάμψαι<sup>158</sup>. κροκοδείλους δὲ Ἴωνες ὠνόμασαν<sup>159</sup>, εἰκάζοντες αὐτῶν τὰ εἶδεα τοῖσι παρὰ σφίσι γινομένοισι κροκοδείλοισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇσι αἱμασιῇσι. Ἀγραι δὲ σφεων πολλὰ κατεστέασι καὶ παντοῖαι· ἡ δ' ὦν ἐμοί γε δοκεῖ ἀξιωτάτῃ ἀπηρηγῆσθαι εἶναι, ταύτην γράφω ἐπεὶ νῶτον ὑὸς δελεάσῃ περὶ ἀγκιστρον, μετρίε ἐς μέσον τὸν ποταμόν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ

Not held sacred by all Egyptians.

Is eaten at Elephantine. Crocodile an Ionian word meaning a lizard.

Mode of taking them.

very slight changes, taken verbally from Hecataeus. It seems likely that here also the writer is speaking at second-hand. See note 19, above.

<sup>155</sup> τυφλὸν δὲ ἐν ὕδατι. This notion probably arose from the appearance of the so-called "nictitating membrane," a horny substance which the animal has the power of drawing over its eye. The crocodile was, like the tiger in some parts of India, the impersonation of the Evil principle, and received at an early period divine honours, doubtless by way of propitiation. The silly syncretism of the neo-platonists, missing the original conception of the creature as a symbol of a destructive power, fixed upon this organ as the cause of the animal's deification.

Like the Supreme Deity, it saw all things while not observed to see them! (PLUTARCH, *De Isid. et Os.* p. 381.)

<sup>156</sup> μεστὸν βδελλέων. It is said that no leeches are to be found in the Nile.

<sup>157</sup> ἔωθε. The manuscripts S and V have ἐώθεε, all the others warranting the form in the text. In iii. 33, exactly the converse is the case.

<sup>158</sup> χάμψαι. WILKINSON says that this word is "a corruption of the Coptic or Egyptian *Meash* or *Emsoah*, from which the Arabs have derived their modern appellation *temeah*." (*Ancient Egyptians*, ii. p. 231.)

<sup>159</sup> κροκοδείλους δὲ Ἴωνες ὠνόμασαν. See above, note 128.

ἔχον δέλφαινα ζῶην, ταύτην τύπτει ἐπακούσας δὲ τῆς φωνῆς ὁ κροκόδειλος ἵεται κατὰ τὴν φωνήν, ἐντυχὼν δὲ τῷ νύτῳ καταπίνει· οἱ δὲ ἔλκουσιν ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐξελευσθῇ ἐς γῆν, πρῶτον ἀπάντων ὁ θηρευτῆς πηλῶ κατ' ὧν ἔπλασε αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας, κάρτα εὐπετέως τὰ λουπὰ χειροῦται· μὴ ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο, σὺν πόνῳ.

Οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οἱ ποτάμιοι νομῶ μὲν τῷ Παπρημίτῃ<sup>189</sup> ἱροὶ εἰσι, 71  
τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι οὐκ ἱροὶ· φύσιν δὲ παρέχονται ἰδέσθαι. The River-horse described.  
τοιοῦνδε τετράπουν ἐστὶ δίχληλον, [ὅπλα βούδς,]<sup>190</sup> σιμόν, λοφιὴν ἔχον ἵππου, χαυλιόδοντας φαῖνον, οὐρὴν ἵππου καὶ φωνὴν μέγαθος, ὅσον τε βούδς ὁ μέγιστος· τὸ δέρμα δ' αὐτοῦ οὕτω δὴ τι παχύ ἐστὶ, ὥστε αὐτοῦ γενομένου, ξυστὰ ποιεῖσθαι ἀκόντια ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Γίνονται δὲ καὶ ἐνύδριες<sup>191</sup> ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, τὰς ἱρὰς ἡγῆνται εἶναι. 72  
νομίζουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τὸν καλεούμενον λεπιδωτὸν ἱρὸν εἶναι, The Otter, Lepidotus, Eel, and sea-fox.  
καὶ τὴν ἑγχελην. ἱρούς δὲ τούτους τοῦ Νείλου φασὶ εἶναι καὶ τῶν ὀρνέων τοὺς χηνάλωπεκας\*.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὄρνις ἱρὸς, τῷ οὐνομα φοῖνιξ· ἐγὼ μὲν μιν 73  
οὐκ εἶδον εἰ μὴ ὅσον γραφῇ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ σπάνιος ἐπιφοιτᾷ. The Phoenix.

<sup>189</sup> νομῶ Παπρημίτῃ. See note on iii. 12.

<sup>190</sup> [ὅπλα βούδς.] These words seem undoubtedly to have crept into the text from the margin, after having been written there as an explanation of the word δίχληλον. The description is entirely false, for the foot of the animal is divided into toes like that of the elephant. Neither has it the tail of a horse. Herodotus, therefore (or his authority, see PORPHYRY, cited in note 183), could never have seen the real animal, which, indeed, is not found in the river below Thebes. But at Hermopolis, in the lower Delta, there was an image of *Typhon*, under the form of a river-horse, having a hawk, with a serpent in its talons, perched on its back; and on the seventh day of the month *Tybi* there was a festival at which the inhabitants used to eat cakes made into the form of the animal (PLUTARCH, *De Is. et Os.* p. 371). There was, therefore, probably, a traditional shape, which, in the course of years, had doubtless deviated considerably from its archetype, and from this the description may have been originally drawn. It is a curious

circumstance that now in some of the representations in the temples the animal is found depicted with cloven hooves and with huge projecting tusks, as described by Herodotus (HAMILTON, *Ægyptiaca*, pl. 23); and it is a remarkable proof of the carelessness of the Greeks for the sciences of observation, that 700 years later ACHILLES TATTIUS, himself an Alexandrine, gives a description of the animal scarcely less incorrect than that in the text. He makes it have cloven hooves and large crooked incisors (iv. 2).

<sup>191</sup> ἐνύδριες. The otter is unknown in Egypt, but WILKINSON says that he has known modern travellers mistake the *ichneumon*, when in the water; for it; and he considers that Herodotus may have been led into the error in the text by seeing this animal swimming. Another view is that he mistook the large *monitor-lizard* of the Nile for the otter.

\* τὰ τοὺς χηνάλωπεκας. These animals are the geese of the Nile, which obtained their name from living in holes on the bank, like foxes. They appear continually in Egyptian monuments.

σφι, διὰ ἐτέων (ὡς Ἡλιουπολίται λέγουσι) πεντακοσίων<sup>192</sup>. φοιτᾶν δὲ τότε φασί, ἐπεὰν οἱ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ πατήρ. ἔστι δὲ, εἰ τῇ γραφῇ παρόμοιος, τοσόσδε καὶ τοιόσδε τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ χρυσόκομα τῶν πτερῶν, τὰ δὲ ἐρυθρά· ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αἰετῷ περιήγησιν ὁμοιότατος, καὶ τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦτον δὲ λέγουσι μηχανᾶσθαι τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες· ἐξ Ἀραβίης ὀρμεώμενον, ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Ἥλιου κομίζειν τὸν πατέρα ἐν σμύρνῃ ἐμπλάσσοντα, καὶ θάπτειν ἐν τοῦ Ἥλιου τῷ ἱρῷ κομίζειν δὲ οὕτω· πρῶτον, τῆς σμύρνης ὡς πλάσσειν ὅσον τε δυνατός ἐστι φέρειν μετὰ δὲ, πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὸ φορέοντα· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποπειρηθῇ<sup>193</sup>, οὕτω δὴ κοιλῆναντα τὸ ὦον τὸν πατέρα ἐς αὐτὸ ἐντιθέναι· σμύρνη δὲ ἄλλῃ ἐμπλάσσειν τοῦτο κατ' ὃ τι τοῦ ὦου ἐγκοιλῆνας ἐνέθηκε τὸν πατέρα· ἐσκεμμένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς, γίνεσθαι τῶντ' ὅτι βάρος· ἐμπλάσαντα δὲ κομίζειν μιν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐς τοῦ Ἥλιου τὸ ἱρὸν. ταῦτα μὲν τοῦτον τὸν ὄρνιν λέγουσι ποιεῖν.

74

*These  
snakes at  
Thebes.*

Εἰσὶ δὲ περὶ Θήβας ἱροὶ ὄφεις ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμῶς δηλήμονες· οἱ μεγάλῃ ἐόντες μικροὶ<sup>194</sup> δύο κέρα φορέουσι πεφυκότα ἐξ ἄκρης τῆς κεφαλῆς· τοὺς θάπτουσι ἀποθανόντας ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Διὸς

<sup>192</sup> διὰ ἐτέων πεντακοσίων. SCHOLZ (*Les. Egypt.*) supposes that the word *φῶνιξ* is derived from the Egyptian *fenech*, "a secular period," a conjecture which is confirmed by the circumstance that some accounts made the interval between two consecutive apparitions of the bird 1461 years, which is undoubtedly the "annus canicularis" or Sothic period (see note on § 142). But it is not easy to see what cyclical period would coincide even roughly with 500 years. IDLER (*Handbuch der Chronologie*, i. pp. 186, *seqq.*) discusses the question at length, and gives solutions by himself and others. The *real* cycle, which approaches the nearest to the number in the text, is that which would arise from taking the year *without* its intercalated days. For 487 years of 360 days equal 480 Julian years, so that in this time a civil year of that length would adjust itself to its proper place in the natural year. During this period, too, the heliacal rising of Sirius (see note 13, above) would *seven times* coincide with the first day of the month *Thoth*. The opinion of DES VIGNOLES is, that it is really this cycle

expressed in round numbers to which the number 500 in the text refers. It must be said, however, on the other side, that there is no positive evidence of the recognition of such a year or such a cycle in Egypt. IDLER himself considers that 500 is merely a round number for one-third of the Sothic period of 1461 *intercalated* years. It seems not impossible that it is one-third of the Sothic period, regarded as the *representative* of an early cycle of 487 non-intercalated years. If stated *itself* in terms of non-intercalated years, it would be nearly 494 years, which comes closer to 500.

<sup>193</sup> ἀποπειρηθῇ. See the first note on ix. 31.

<sup>194</sup> μεγάλῃ ἐόντες μικροί, "being small in size." See note 157 on i. 51. WILKINSON (*A. E.* ii. p. 246) says that these horned snakes are very common in Upper Egypt, but that there is no evidence from the sculptures of their having been sacred to the Theban deity. They are exceedingly venomous, and very dangerous, as they bury themselves in the sand, which is of the same colour.

τούτου γάρ σφεας τοῦ θεοῦ φασὶ εἶναι ἱρούς. Ἔστι δὲ χώρος τῆς 75  
 Ἀραβίης, κατὰ Βουτοῦν πόλιν<sup>195</sup> μάλιστα κη κείμενος· καὶ ἐς Bones of  
snakes in  
the neigh-  
bourhood  
of Buto.  
 τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἦλθον, πυλθανόμενος περὶ τῶν πτερωτῶν ὀφίων  
 ἀπικόμενος δὲ εἶδον ὅστέα ὀφίων καὶ ἀκάνθας, πλήθει μὲν ἀδύνατα  
 ἀπηγγήσασθαι· σωροὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀκανθέων καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ ὑποδε-  
 έστεροι, καὶ ἐλάσσονες ἔτι τούτων πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν οὔτοι. ἔστι  
 δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ἐν τῷ αἰ ἄκανθαι κατακεχρύαται τοιούσδε τις  
 ἐσβολή ἐξ οὐρέων στεινῶν ἐς πεδίον μέγα· τὸ δὲ πεδίον τοῦτο  
 συνάπτει τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ πεδίῳ· λόγος δὲ ἐστὶ, ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πτερω-  
 τοὺς ὄφιν ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίης πέτεσθαι ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου· τὰς δὲ ἱβίς<sup>a</sup> The Ibis  
destroys  
the snakes.  
 τὰς ὀρνίθας ἀπαντῶσας ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτης τῆς χώρας οὐ παρι-  
 ἔναι τοὺς ὄφιν, ἀλλὰ κατακτείνειν· καὶ τὴν ἱβιν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον  
 τετιμῆσθαι λέγουσι· Ἀράβιοι μάλως πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων ὁμολογέ-  
 ουσιν δὲ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι διὰ ταῦτα τιμᾶν τὰς ὀρνίθας ταύτας. 76  
 δὲ τῆς μὲν ἱβίος τόδε μέλαινα δεινῶς πᾶσα, σκέλεα δὲ φορέει Description  
of the bird.  
 γεράνου, πρόσωπον δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπὶ ἡγρυπτον μέγαθος ὅσον  
 κρέξ· τῶν μὲν δὴ μελαινέων τῶν μαχομένων πρὸς τοὺς ὄφιν ἦδε  
 ἰδέη· τῶν δ' ἐν ποσὶ μᾶλλον εἰλευμένων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισιν (διξαι  
 γὰρ δὴ εἰσι αἱ ἱβίαι) ἦδε<sup>b</sup>· ψιλὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν δειρὴν  
 πᾶσαν λευκὴ πτεροῖσι, πλὴν κεφαλῆς καὶ αὐχένος<sup>c</sup> καὶ ἄκρων  
 τῶν πτερίγων καὶ τοῦ πυγαίου ἄκρον ταῦτα δὲ τὰ εἶπον πάντα  
 μέλαινά ἐστι δεινῶς· σκέλεα δὲ καὶ πρόσωπον ἐμφερὲς τῇ ἐτέρῃ·  
 τοῦ δὲ ὄφιος ἡ μορφή οἷη περ τῶν ὕδρων<sup>196</sup>. πτίλα δὲ οὐ πτερωτὰ

<sup>195</sup> κατὰ Βουτοῦν πόλιν. If this *Buto* is the same as that mentioned in § 59, and described in § 166, it is very difficult to give any other sense to the expression than that it is on the *same line* (in this case on the same parallel of latitude) as that city. It is very conceivable that a navigator would refer all the places inland to their projections (so to speak) on the course which he himself was taking,—which here would be up the river. In this way, perhaps, κατὰ Συνόπην is to be understood in i. 76. *Pteris* is there regarded as lying in the line which, drawn directly to the line of coast, would pass through Sinope, but without any reference to its distance.

<sup>a</sup> τὰς δὲ ἱβίς. The *ibis* is a bird of a weak bill, like a curlew, and could not by any possibility destroy real snakes.

<sup>b</sup> ἦδε. The manuscripts M, K, P, F

have §. The rest omit the word. I have introduced ἦδε, which is the conjecture of Schweighäuser. Gaisford follows the majority of the MSS in omitting the word; but the resulting text could not have been written by Herodotus even as a memorandum.

<sup>c</sup> αὐχένος. Gaisford, with the majority of MSS, has τοῦ αὐχένος.

<sup>196</sup> οἷη περ τῶν ὕδρων. This statement must be second-hand, as the writer only professes to have seen the *bones* of the Arabian snakes. In a description of some others which he identifies with these, he calls them μικροὶ τὰ μεγάλῃα (iii. 107). WILKINSON (*Anc. Egypt.* ii. p. 218) considers that what the author saw was the remains of bats, which are found in large quantities in some parts of Egypt. The conjecture is somewhat confirmed by the description of the wings



φορέει, ἀλλὰ τοῖσι τῆς νυκτερίδος πτεροῖσι μάλιστα κη ἐμφερέστατα· τοσαῦτα μὲν θηρίων περὶ ἰρῶν εἰρήσθω.

77  
Habits of  
the popula-  
tion of the  
arable part  
of Egypt.

Διτῶν δὲ δὴ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν σπειρομένην Αἴγυπτον οἰκέουσι, μνήμην ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐπασκέοντες μάλιστα, λογιώτατοι<sup>197</sup> εἰσι μακροῦ τῶν ἐγὼ ἐς διάπειραν ἀπικόμην. τρόπον δὲ ζῆς τοῦδε διαχρέωνται· συρματίζουσι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπεξῆς μηνὸς ἐκάστου ἐμέτοισι θηράμενοι τὴν ὑγίειν καὶ κλύσμασι, νομίζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τρεφόντων σιτῶν πάσας τὰς νούσους τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι γίνεσθαι. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ Αἰβύρας ὑγιηέστατοι<sup>198</sup> πάντων ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ὥρέων (δοκέειν ἐμοὶ) εἴνεκεν, οὐ μεταλλάσσουν αἱ ὄραι· ἐν γὰρ τῇσι μεταβολῇσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι αἱ νοῦσοι μάλιστα γίνονται, τῶν τε ἄλλων πάντων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὥρέων μάλιστα<sup>199</sup>. ἀρτοφαγεῖν δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀλυρέων ποιεῦντες ἄρτους, τοὺς ἐκεῖνοι κυλλήστεις<sup>200</sup> ὀνομάζουσι. οἷον δ' ἐκ κριθῶν πεποιημένον διαχρέωνται· οὐ γὰρ σφί εἰσι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ

(πτίλα οὐ πτερωτά), which agree with the membrane which enables the bat to fly; and these remains the writer may have considered to belong to the winged serpents which appear in the paintings.

<sup>197</sup> *λογιώτατοι*, "the richest in legendary lore." See above, § 3. The abundance of monuments, to each of which a tradition attached, was singularly favourable to the cultivation of this talent. Wesseling quotes a passage from Proclus, which well illustrates the Egyptian practice, and shows the foundation which existed for many of their narratives: Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ἔτι καὶ τὰ γεγονότα διὰ τῆς μνήμης ἀεὶ νέα παρέσθιν, ἥ δὲ μνήμη διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας, αὐτὴ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν σπηλῶν. The PSEUDO-SANCHONIATHON professed to derive his information ἐκ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ὁπομημάτων καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναγραφῶν (Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* i. 10). These ἀναγραφῆ, however, were undoubtedly in many instances not contemporaneous, but the result of a previously calculated chronology. Of this the Parian Chronicle is one obvious example, and the synchronism of Semiramis with the siege of Troy (Eusebius, l. c.) another.

<sup>198</sup> *ὕγιηέστατοι*. So Gaisford reads, with the majority of manuscripts. S, V, δ, d have *ὕγιεστέροι*. The form *ὕγιηότατος* is used in iv. 187. A proof of the fact stated in the case is the extremely small number of infant mummies

which are found, as compared with those of adults.

<sup>199</sup> *τῶν τε ἄλλων . . . μάλιστα*. These words are omitted in S, V, and d.

<sup>200</sup> *κυλλήστεις*. This was the local name given to loaves twisted into a point (Pollux and Athenæus, cited by Larcher). Possibly this shape had a reference originally to the same idea which dictated the pyramidal figure. The display of religious symbolism in articles of food is found every where. See Pictarch, cited in note 190. Varro (*De lingua Lat.* iv. p. 30) has a fanciful derivation of the word "panis" from the god Pan, whose shape, he says, was originally given to loaves. This figure may very likely have been only a symbol something like a sugar-loaf (see note 367 on i. 105). Cakes called *παραμίδες*, or *παραμύωντες*, were eaten in the nightly festivals (Lactantius, *ap. Athen.* xiv. p. 647), and the word *panis* was one of the surnames under which Ceres was worshipped in Italy.

The word was notorious as coming from Egypt, and was used as such by Aristophanes in his play of the *Danaides*. But it has no affinity with any known Egyptian word (Jablonsky, *Voc. Egypt.* p. 117), so that possibly it belongs to the naturalized foreigners whom Herodotus elsewhere appears to treat as Egyptians. (See notes on § 43 and § 46.)

ἄμπελοι<sup>221</sup>. ἰχθύων<sup>222</sup> δὲ τοὺς μὲν πρὸς ἥλιον αἰήναυτες ὤμους σιτέονται, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ ἁλμης τεταριχευμένους<sup>223</sup>. ὀρνίθων δὲ τοὺς τε ὄρυγας καὶ τὰς νήσους καὶ τὰ σμικρὰ τῶν ὀρνίθων ὡμὰ σιτέονται, προταριχεύσαντες· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα ἢ ὀρνίθων ἢ ἰχθύων ἐστὶ σφι ἐχόμενα, χαρὶς ἢ ὁκόσοι<sup>224</sup> σφι ἱροὶ ἀποδεδέχεται, τοὺς λοιποὺς ὀπτοὺς καὶ ἐφθοὺς σιτέονται. Ἐν δὲ τῇσι συνουσίῃσι, 78 τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν ἐπεὰν ἀπὸ δείπνου γένωνται περιφέρει ἀνὴρ νεκρὸν ἐν σορῷ ξύλων πεποιημένον, μεμιμημένον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ γραφῇ καὶ ἔργῳ, μέγας ὅσον τε πάντα<sup>225</sup> πηχυαῖον ἢ δίκηχυν· δεικνὺς δὲ ἐκάστῳ τῶν συμποτέων λέγει· “ἐς τοῦτον ὀρέων, πῖνέ τε καὶ τέρπευ· ἔσσαι γὰρ ἀποθανῶν τοιοῦτος.” ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια ποιεῖσι.

Strange custom at entertainments.

Πατρίοισι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι, ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτέωνται. 79 τοῖσι ἄλλα τε ἐπάξιά ἐστι νόμῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ αἴσμα ἐν ἐστὶ Ἀίνος, ὅσπερ ἐν τε Φωϊκῇ αἰοδιμός ἐστι καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ καὶ ἄλλῃ· κατὰ μέντοι ἔθνεα οὕνομα ἔχει· συμφέρεται δὲ αὐτὸς<sup>a</sup> εἶναι τὸν οἱ “Ἕλληνες Δίωνος ὀνομάζοντες ἀείδουσι· ὥστε πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποθωυμάζειν με τῶν περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐόντων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Δίον<sup>226</sup> ὁκόθεν ἔλαβον φαίνονται δὲ αἰεὶ κοτε τοῦτον ἀείδοντες· ἐστὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτιστὶ ὁ Δίως καλούμενος Μανέρως<sup>227</sup>. ἔφασαν δὲ

Ancient chant, called by the Egyptians Maneros, identical with the Hellenic Linus.

<sup>221</sup> οὐ γὰρ σφί εἰσι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἄμπελοι. There were no vines in that part of Egypt which was overflowed by the Nile, but there were on the banks of the lake Mareotis, and also in the *Faioum*, or the neighbourhood of the lake Moeris (STRABO, xvii. p. 452). See note 111, above.

<sup>222</sup> ἰχθύων. The priests never ate any of these. See above, § 37.

<sup>223</sup> ἐξ ἁλμης τεταριχευμένους. See note 54, above.

<sup>224</sup> χαρὶς ἢ ὁκόσοι. The change of gender to the masculine may perhaps be accounted for in the following manner. In the notion of the Egyptians, it was not the whole species of any animal which was primarily held sacred. At first, certain individuals, selected as the symbolic ἐγλάματα of particular deities, were dedicated; and the veneration attaching to these gradually extended itself, first of all to those which resembled the sacred animal (a stage of the process which appears in the custom described above,

§ 38), and afterwards, after a long course of time, to the entire species.

<sup>225</sup> πάντα. This word when applied to measurements always means “in every dimension.” Here, therefore, it would imply that the mummy was of a cubical figure, which there seems no reason to suppose. I suspect the word has slipped out of its place, and that originally it occupied the site of the words καὶ γραφῇ καὶ ἔργῳ, which crept in from the margin as an interpretation of it.

<sup>a</sup> αὐτὸς εἶναι. So Gaisford prints, and does not notice any MS variation. But in v. 52, there is an equal unanimity for αὐτός.

<sup>226</sup> τὸν Δίον, “the Linus.” Compare νόμον τὸν ὀρθιον, “the reveillé,” i. 24. The article is used from the well-known character of the melody. So below, § 92, τῇ μήκωνι.

<sup>227</sup> ἐστὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτιστὶ . . . Μανέρως. According to JABLONSKY (*Vöcc. Egypt.* p. 128) the word “Maneros” is equivalent to “let us sing.” He conceives the

80

Respect  
towards  
the aged as  
in Lacedæmon.

81

They wear  
linen next  
the skin,  
and white  
woollen  
over-gar-  
ments.

μιν Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου παῖδα μουν-  
γενέα γενέσθαι· ἀποθανόντα δ' αὐτὸν ἄνωρον θρήνοισι τούτοις  
ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων τιμηθῆναι· καὶ αἰοιδῆν τε ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μύ-  
νην σφίσι γενέσθαι. Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τότε ἄλλο Αἰγύπτιοι  
'Ελλήνων μούνοισι<sup>208</sup> Λακεδαιμονίοισι· οἱ νεώτεροι αὐτῶν τοῖσι  
πρεσβυτέροισι συντυγχάνοντες εἴκουσι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἐκτράπονται,  
καὶ ἐπιούσι ἐξ ἔδρης ὑπανιστάται. τότε μέντοι ἄλλοισι Ἑλ-  
λήνων οὐδαμοῖσι συμφέρονται· ἀντὶ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους  
ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι, προσκυνέουσι κατιέντες μέχρι τοῦ γούνατος τὴν  
χεῖρα. Ἐνδεδύκασι δὲ κιθῶνας λινέους περὶ τὰ σκέλεα θυσαν-  
τοὺς, οὓς καλέουσι καλασίρις<sup>209</sup>. ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ εἰρήνεα εἴματα  
λευκὰ ἐπαναβληδὸν φορέουσι. οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τὰ ἱρά ἐσφέρεται  
εἰρήνεα, οὐδὲ συγκαταθίσπτεται σφί· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον. ὁμολογέουσι  
δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοισι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι<sup>210</sup>, εἰς:

phrase to have been the beginning of the song referred to in the text, which was accordingly known by that name. Compare ARISTOPHANES, *Nub.* 967: ἡ "Παλάδα Περγέουιν δεινὰν" ἡ "Τηλέφορον τι βοῦμα." In all probability this chant was used on the occasion described in § 132, and in all cognate rituals, viz. all such symbolized the temporary suspension of the vital powers of nature, whether these were represented by the decadent sun (as in the case of Osiris), or the sown seed (as in the Eleusinia), or the fertilizing showers (as in the Hyacinthia of Amyclæ). Adonis, Gingras, Linus, Zagreus, and others, are all so many different local variations, with more or fewer adventitious features, of the same myth. The song of BION, Αἰδέω τὸν Ἀδωνιν, is, probably, only a Hellenic version of the ancient "Maneros" adapted to the taste of the Ptolemaic times. That of the female in THEOCRITUS (xv. 100) is another specimen, only much altered from its original style for the purpose of courtly compliment.

If Jablonsky be right, the mistake of the word "Maneros" for a proper name is another instance of the turbid nature of the sources from which Herodotus drew. In the time of PLUTARCH a place had been found for this personage in the Osiris-cycle.

<sup>208</sup> Ἑλλήνων μούνοισι. In Lacedæmon the respect to the aged was most conspicuous; though the customs mentioned in

the text seem to have existed universally throughout Hellas (XENOPHON, *Memorab.* ii. 3, 16). But the new style of education introduced by the sophists was hostile to the traditional forms of reverence as well as to most others, and hence ARISTOPHANES makes the δίκαιος λόγος exhort the young Athenians τῶν θάκων τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὑπανίστασθαι προσιούσιν (*Nub.* 993). As the Lacedæmonians were the most conservative of ancient usages, the difference might appear so strongly marked between them and others to a casual observer as to warrant the observation in the text.

<sup>209</sup> καλασίρις. JABLONSKY (*Voc. Egypt.* p. 103, *seqq.*) is very uncertain as to the etymology of this word. He rather inclines to think that in its native form it was pronounced *Shal-ha-schar* (*vestis ad cutem*). The word *Kal*, however, appears to have meant "the leg," and he thinks that possibly there may be some etymological connexion.

<sup>210</sup> Ὀρφικοῖσι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι. The two are united in the phraseology of EURIPIDES, *Hippolyt.* 952:

ἦδη νῦν ἀρχεῖ, καὶ δὲ ἀρχέου βορᾶς  
σίτοις κατῆλν', Ὀρφέα τ' ἄνακτ' ἔχον  
βάκχευε, πολλῶν γραμμάτων τιμῶν κα-  
νοῦς.

The ascetic character of the orgies, or rather of the preparation for them, as well as their substantial identity with those of the Idæan deities, may be seen in the second fragment from the *Krῆτες* of EURIPIDES (p. 98, *Dindorf.*).

δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι <sup>211</sup> καὶ Πυθαγορείοισι οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ὀργίων μετέχοντα ὁσίων ἐστὶ ἐν εἰρινέοισι εἴμασι θαφθῆναι, ἔστι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἰρὸς λόγος λεγόμενος <sup>212</sup>.

Καὶ ταῖδε ἄλλα Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐστὶ ἐξευρημένα· μείς τε καὶ ἡμέρη 82  
ἐκάστη θεῶν ὅτεν ἐστί· καὶ τῇ ἑκάστος ἡμέρη γενόμενος, ὅτεοισι Each day  
and each  
month sac-  
cred to some  
deity.  
ἐγκυρήσει· καὶ ὅκως τελευτήσει καὶ ὁκοῖός τις ἔσται· καὶ τούτοις Astrology.  
τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἐν ποιήσει γενόμενοι ἐχρήσαντο. τέρατά τε Registration  
of pheno-  
mena.  
πλέα σφι ἀνεύρηται ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἅπασι ἀνθρώποισι· γενομένου  
γὰρ τέρατος, φυλάσσουνσι γραφόμενοι τῷποβαῖνον καὶ ἦν κοτε  
ὑστερον παραπλήσιον τούτῳ γένηται, κατὰ τὸντὸ νομίζουσι ἀπο-  
βήσεσθαι. Μαντική δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὧδε διακέεται· ἀνθρώπων μὲν 83  
οὐδενὶ προσκέεται ἡ τέχνη, τῶν δὲ θεῶν μετεξετέροισι· καὶ γὰρ Oracles  
many in  
number,  
of which  
that at *Buto*  
is the most  
respected.  
Ἡρακλῆος μαντήιον αὐτόθι ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀθηναίης  
καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἄρεος καὶ Διός, καὶ, ὅγε μάλιστα ἐν τιμῇ  
ἄγονται <sup>213</sup> πάντων τῶν μαντήϊων, Λητοῦς ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλι ἐστὶ.  
οὐ μέντοι αἱ γε μαντήϊαι σφι κατὰ τὸντὸ ἐστᾶσι, ἀλλὰ διάφοροι  
εἰσι. Ἡ δὲ ἱητρικὴ κατὰ ταῖδε σφι δέδασται· μῆς νούσου ἑκάστος 84  
ἱητρός ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐ πλεόνων πάντα δ' ἱητρῶν ἐστὶ πλέα· οἱ μὲν Medical  
professors.

<sup>211</sup> δοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι. The transfer of these ceremonies from Egypt to European Hellas probably took place through the intercourse which was established between the two countries in the time of Amasis. It seems to have been effected mainly through the agency of Onomacritus, of whom Herodotus speaks, vii. 6. Such *ἔργια* or *τελεταί* must not, either in the case of Dionysus or any other deity, be confounded with the *public* ritual of the same deity, although doubtless there was a connexion between the two. They were the vehicle for what may be called the personal religion of antiquity, as the public ceremonies were for the state religion. The latter are what VARRO calls "*Theologie genus civile*, quod maxime sacerdotes nosse atque administrare debent; in quo est, quos deos colere, quæ sacra et sacrificia facere quoniam par sit." The former are referred to by PLATO, *ἀγύρται καὶ μάντιες ἐπὶ πλουσίων θύρας ἰόντες πείθουσιν, ὥς ἐστι παρὰ σφισὶ δύναμις ἐκ θεῶν ποριζομένη θυσιῶν τε καὶ ἐνψύδαις εἶνε τι ἀδίκημα γέγονεν αὐτοῦ ἢ προγόνων ἀκείσθαι* (*Rep.*

ii. p. 364). See HESYCHIUS, *sub* v. *Λύσιοι τελεταί*, and EURIPIDES (*Bacch.* 72—81). In the time of DEMOSTHENES, the active management of these ceremonies had become a subject for contemptuous ridicule (see *Orat. c. Ctesiph.* p. 313), and the participation in them indicated extreme superstition (THEOPHRASTUS, *Charact.* 25, 4) although at the same time Aristotle could be successfully charged with blasphemy against the state religion for his *scolium* to Hermias.

<sup>212</sup> ἰρὸς λόγος λεγόμενος. Possibly the real origin of the practice of burying in linen was the same as that of burying in woollen in England, the desire to encourage the staple manufacture of the country.

<sup>213</sup> ὅγε μάλιστα ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται. In § 155, he calls this oracle τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, as if there was no other worth speaking of. It was probably more accessible to the foreign merchants, from its situation; and perhaps from the symbolism being analogous to that found in other mercantile haunts, for instance at Delos. See § 155, 6.

Division  
of studies  
among  
them.

85

Funerals.  
Lamentation  
in  
public of  
female  
mourners.

86

Embalming.

Three different  
methods.

γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν ἡτροὶ κατεστέασι, οἱ δὲ κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ ὀδόντων οἱ δὲ τῶν κατὰ νηδὺν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀφανέων νοῦσων.

Θρήνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαὶ σφεων εἰσὶ αἶδε τοῖσι ἂν ἀπογένηται ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἄνθρωπος τοῦ τις καὶ λόγος ἦ, τὸ θῆλυ γένος πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων τούτων κατ' ὧν ἐπλάσατο τὴν κεφαλὴν πηλῷ ἢ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον κάππειτα ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι λιπούσαι τὸν νεκρὸν, αὐταὶ ἂν τὴν πόλιν στρωφόμεναι, τύπτονται ἐπεξωσμένοι καὶ φαίνουσαι τοὺς μαζοὺς<sup>214</sup>. σὺν δὲ σφι αἱ προσήκουσαι πᾶσαι ἐτέρωθεν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες τύπτονται ἐπεξωσμένοι καὶ οὔτοι ἐπέαν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, οὕτω ἐς τὴν ταρίχευσιν κομίζουσι. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατέαται<sup>215</sup>, καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσι ταύτην οὔτοι ἐπέαν σφι κομισθῇ νεκρὸς δεκνύασι τοῖσι κομίσασι παραδεγμένα νεκρῶν ξύλινα τῇ γραφῇ μεμνημένα· καὶ τὴν μὲν σπουδαιοτάτην αὐτῶν φασὶ εἶναι, τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον ποιεῖναι τὸ οὐνομα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι<sup>216</sup> ὀνομάζειν, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν δεκνύασι ὑποδεεστέραν τε ταύτης καὶ εὐτελεστέραν, τὴν δὲ τρίτην εὐτελεστάτην φράσαντες δὲ πυνθάνονται παρ' αὐτῶν κατὰ ἥντινα βούλονται σφι σκευασθῆναι τὸν νεκρὸν; οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐκποδῶν, μισθῷ ὁμολογήσαντες, ἀπαλλάσσονται· οἱ δὲ ὑπολειπόμενοι ἐν οἰκήμασι ὧδε τὰ σπουδαιότατα ταριχεύουσι· πρῶτα μὲν σκολιῷ σιδήρῳ διὰ τῶν μυωτήρων ἐξάγουσι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ οὕτω ἐξάγοντες τὰ δὲ ἐγχείοντες φάρμακα<sup>217</sup>. μετὰ δὲ, λίθῳ Αἰθιοπικῷ<sup>218</sup> ὅξει παρασχίσαντες παρὰ τὴν λαπάρην, ἐξ ὧν εἶλον τὴν κοιλίην

<sup>214</sup> ἐπεξωσμένοι . . . μαζοὺς. The girdle prevented the tunic from falling lower than the waist, which, when loosened for the purpose of beating the breast, it would otherwise have done.

<sup>215</sup> κατέαται. The Sancroft MS has *κατατεράχεται*, which seems to be a gloss.

<sup>216</sup> ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι. See note on § 132. WILKINSON says that Herodotus is wrong in stating that there were three distinct modes of finishing the decoration of the mummies, there being really an indefinite variety. Also that the imitation of the form attributed to Osiris was not confined to the first class of them (*A. E.* ii. p. 455, 2nd Series). It would appear that every individual who was considered worthy of admission to the presence of Osiris after death was

allowed to assume his name and form. A parallel to this appears in the Dionysiac mysteries, the worthy participator in which was himself termed *Bacchus*: (*Βάκχος ἐκλήθην ὁσωθείς*. EURIPIDES, *fragm.* 2 of the *Κρήτες*). Hence the proverb: πολλοὶ μὲν νασθηκοφόροι ταῖροι δὲ τε Βάκχοι. See note 158, above.

<sup>217</sup> ἐγχείοντες φάρμακα, "by infusing drugs," i. e. for the purpose of decomposing the brain, which otherwise it would have been impossible to extract by the nostrils.

<sup>218</sup> λίθῳ Αἰθιοπικῷ. Kenrick well remarks on the antiquity of the practice of embalming, as shown by the retention of this primitive instrument in the process. He points out a similar case in the sacrifice of a swine by the *fetialis* at Rome, which was done with a flint.

πάσαν ἐκκαθήραντες δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ διηθήσαντες οἶνον φ.  
 αὐτὶς διηθέουσι θυμήμασι τετριμμένοισι· ἔπειτα τὴν  
 σμύρνης ἀσηράτου τετριμμένης, καὶ κασῆς, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θνα-  
 μάτων πλὴν λιβανωτοῦ πλήσαντες, συρράπτουσι ὅπισω ταῦτα  
 δὲ ποιήσαντες, ταριχεύουσι λίτρη<sup>210</sup> κρίψαντες ἡμέρας ἑβδομή-  
 κοντα<sup>211</sup>· πλεύνας δὲ τουτέων οὐκ ἔξεστι ταριχεύειν. ἐπεὰν δὲ  
 παρέλθωσι αἱ ἑβδομήκοντα, λούσαντες τὸν νεκρὸν κατειλίσσουσι  
 πᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα σινδόνης βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι<sup>b</sup> κατατετμη-  
 μένοισι, ὑποχρίοντες τῷ κόμμῳ τῷ δὴ ἀντὶ κόλλης τὰ πολλὰ  
 χρέωνται Αἰγύπτιοι· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ παραδεξάμενοί μιν οἱ προσ-  
 ἦκοντες, ποιεῖνται ξύλινον τύπον ἀνθρωποειδέα· ποιησάμενοι δὲ,  
 ἐσεργῇσι τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ κατακλητίζαντες οὕτω θησαυρίζουσι· [ἐν  
 οἰκήματι θηκαίῳ, ἰσάντες ὀρθὸν πρὸς τοῦχον οὕτω μὲν τοὺς τὰ  
 πολυτελέστατα σκενάζουσι νεκρούς<sup>212</sup>.] Τοὺς δὲ τὰ μέσα βουλο- 87  
 μένους τὴν δὲ πολυτελεῆν φεύγοντας, σκενάζουσι ὥδε<sup>221</sup>. ἐπεὰν

<sup>210</sup> λίτρη. So Gaisford reads, with several MSS. Others have λίτρη. The substance meant is no doubt the *trona* of commerce (hydro-carbonate of soda), which was obtained from the so-called Natron lakes to the south of Alexandria. The words λίτρη κρίψαντες are to be taken together. The body was immersed in a bath of brine.

<sup>a</sup> ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα. DIODORUS SICULUS (I. 72) sets down seventy-two days as the time occupied, not indeed in embalming, but in mourning for the deceased, a part of which only was taken up by the actual process. (See *Genesis* I. 3.) That the number seventy-two should be expressed roundly as seventy may be illustrated by the parallel case of the supposed seventy-two translators of the Old Testament into Greek being habitually called *the seventy*.

<sup>b</sup> σινδόνης βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι. These words have occasioned a good deal of difficulty, as the writer appears to speak of something other than linen. Yet it is ascertained that the bandages of the mummies are of that substance. Cotton was indeed in after-times cultivated in Egypt, and the dresses of the priests made of it; but, when Herodotus speaks of cotton, he calls it *είριον ἀπὸ ἑλίου* (iii. 47. 106), and in the latter passage he speaks of the tree as growing in India, and does not mention it in a way to induce the belief that he saw it either in

Egypt or elsewhere. Perhaps it was introduced into Egypt from India after the conquests of Alexander. The substance of which he here speaks is (I believe) a linen made from an *imported* flax (*bysseus*). The Elean *bysseus* was, according to PAUSANIAS (v. 5. 2), of a pale yellow colour (somewhat perhaps resembling raw silk). Pausanias notices that Elis is the only place in Hellas where this grows; and on this coast there was in very early times a town *Samos*, which undoubtedly was a settlement for commercial purposes, and probably made from the island of the same name. It existed apparently in the time of Stesichorus, and its name survived in the *Σαμικὸν πεδίον* to that of Pausanias (PAUSANIAS, l. c., and STRABO, viii. 3, pp. 160, 1). It seems to me likely that the commodity began to be brought to Egypt in Psammithichus' reign from Elis by Samians; and that previously it came from Syro-Phoenicia. See notes on § 154, below. Pausanias compares the colour of the "Hebrew" *bysseus* with that of the Elean.

<sup>212</sup> ἐν οἰκήματι . . . νεκροῖς. These words are omitted from the manuscripts S, V, d. They can hardly have dropped out; but on the other hand there is no reason to suppose them an interpolation. I look upon this as another evidence of a twofold recension.

<sup>221</sup> τοὺς δὲ τὰ μέσα . . . σκενάζουσι ὥδε. This is rather a loose expression at

Div  
of  
f

- τοὺς κλυστήρας<sup>223</sup> πλήσωνται τοῦ ἀπὸ κέδρου ἀλείφατος γνωμένου, ἐν ᾧν ἐπλησαν τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν κοιλίην, οὔτε ἀναταμόντες αὐτὸν οὔτε ἐξελόντες τὴν νηδὺν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔδρην<sup>224</sup> ἐσηθήσαντες· καὶ ἐπιλαβόντες τὸ κλύσμα τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ<sup>225</sup>, тариχεύουσι τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας· τῇ δὲ τελευταίῃ ἐξιείσι ἐκ τῆς κοιλίης τὴν κεδρίην, τὴν ἐσήκαν πρότερον· ἡ δὲ ἔχει τοσαύτην δύναμιν, ὥστε ἅμα ἐωυτῇ τὴν νηδὺν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα κατατετηκότα ἐξάγει· τὰς δὲ σάρκας τὸ λίτρον κατατήκει· καὶ δὴ λείπεται τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ δέρμα μῦνον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα· ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, ἀπ' ᾧν ἔδωκαν οὕτω τὸν νεκρὸν οὐδὲν ἔτι πρηγματευθέντες<sup>226</sup>. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη тариχευσίς ἐστι ἥδε, ἡ τοὺς χρήμασι ἀσθενεστέρους σκενάζει· συρμαίῃ διηθήσαντες τὴν κοιλίην, тариχεύουσι τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα ἡμέρας, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπ' ᾧν ἔδωκαν ἀποφέρεσθαι. Τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, ἐπεὰν τελευτήσωσι, οὐ παραντίκα διδοῦσι тариχεύειν, οὐδὲ ὅσαι ἂν ὦσι εὐειδέες κάρτα καὶ λόγου πλεῖνος γυναῖκες· ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν τριταῖαι ἢ τεταρταῖαι γένωνται, οὕτω παραδιδούσι τοῖσι тариχεύουσι· τοῦτο δὲ ποίεουσιν οὕτω τοῦδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα μὴ σφί οἱ тариχευταὶ μίσγωνται τῇσι γυναῖξί· λαμβοθῆναι γάρ τινά φασι μισγόμενον νεκρῷ προσφάτῳ γυναϊκός· κατεῖπαι δὲ τὸν ὁμότεχνον. Ὅς δ' ἂν ἢ αὐτῶν Διγυπτίων ἢ ξείνων ὁμοίως ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου ἀρπαχθεὶς ἢ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φαίνεται τεθνηὼς, κατ' ἣν ἂν πόλιν ἐξενειχθῇ, τοῦ-
- 88
- 89
- 90

Women of  
distinction  
are not im-  
mediately  
embalmed.

Bodies of  
persons

first sight, but it really admits of a most satisfactory explanation. There is, in fact, no accusative case after the verb; for, if τοὺς βουλομένους, &c., were to be taken with σκενάζουσι, it would be implied that every person determined beforehand for himself how he should be embalmed. On the other hand, if the dative had been used, together with such a phrase as τὸν προσήκοντα νεκρὸν for the object of σκενάζουσι, that case (which doubtless often happened) would be excluded. The existing expression includes both cases, and τὸν νεκρὸν in the next sentence is equally applicable to the one and the other.

<sup>223</sup> τοὺς κλυστήρας, "their injecting instruments." The article is used as if the reader were familiar with the fact that such things were employed, — a feature which indicates that the writer took down the exact words of a native authority, or

of one who habitually saw the proceeding described.

<sup>224</sup> κατὰ τὴν ἔδρην, "in situ," "in its natural position."

<sup>225</sup> ἐπιλαβόντες τὸ κλύσμα τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ, "after keeping the injection from returning by the vent behind." This was no doubt effected by means of a plug, and I should almost be inclined to adopt a proposed conjecture, ἐπιβαλόντες τὸ κλύσμα, if there were any authority for the use of the last word. But the text will undoubtedly give a good sense.

<sup>226</sup> οὐδὲν ἔτι πρηγματευθέντες. This expression, if it is to be taken literally, implies that the corpse was not even swathed in linen, but left in the state in which the aboriginal races of the island of Madeira (of which a specimen exists at Cambridge, in Trinity College Library) were piled up in caves.

τους πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ταριχεύσαντας αὐτὸν καὶ περιστειλάντας drowned or destroyed by crocodiles  
ὡς κάλλιστα θάψαι ἐν ἱρήσιν θήκησιν· οὐδὲ ψαῦσαι ἔξεστι αὐτοῦ are buried at the cost of the township where they are found.  
ἄλλον οὐδένα, οὔτε τῶν προσηκόντων οὔτε τῶν φίλων ἀλλά μιν  
οἱ ἱρέες αὐτοὶ οἱ τοῦ Νεῖλου, ἅτε πλέον τι ἢ ἀνθρώπου νεκρὸν,  
χειραπτάζοντες θάπτουσι.

Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν  
εἰπεῖν, μὴδ' ἄλλων μηδαμὰ μηδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι <sup>226</sup>. (οἱ 91  
μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι οὕτω τοῦτο φυλάσσουσι· ἐστὶ δὲ Χέμμις Chemmis, in the Thebaic nome, is the haunt of Perseus.  
πόλις μεγάλη νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ<sup>227</sup>, ἐγγὺς Νέης πόλιος· ἐν  
ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ Περσέος τοῦ Δαναῆς ἱδὼν τετράγωνον πέριξ  
δὲ αὐτοῦ φοίνικες πεφύκασιν· τὰ δὲ πρόπυλα τοῦ ἱεροῦ λίθινά ἐστι,  
κάρτα μεγάλα· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἀνδριάντες δύο ἐστᾶσι λίθινοι  
μεγάλοι· ἐν δὲ τῷ περιβεβλημένῳ τοῦτῳ νῆος τε ἔστι, καὶ  
ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνέστηκε τοῦ Περσέος. οὗτοι οἱ Χεμμῖται  
λέγουσι τὸν Περσέα πολλάκι μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν γῆν φαίνεσθαι  
σφι, πολλάκι δὲ ἔσω τοῦ ἱεροῦ· σανδάλιον <sup>228</sup> τε αὐτοῦ πεφορη- A gigantic sandal is sometimes found.  
μένον εὐρίσκεσθαι, ἔον τὸ μέγαθος δίκηχυν· τὸ ἐπεὰν φανῇ, εὐθνή-  
ειν ἅπασαν Αἴγυπτον. ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι· ποιεῖσι δὲ τὰδε Ἑλ-  
ληνικὰ τῷ Περσέϊ· ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθεῖσι διὰ πάσης ἀγωνίης  
ἔχοντα, παρέχοντες ἀεθλα κτήνεα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ δέρματα. εἰρο-  
μένου δέ μιν <sup>229</sup> ὃ τι σφι μούνιοισι ἔωθε ὁ Περσεὺς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι,  
καὶ ὃ τι κεχωρίδαται Αἰγυπτίων τῶν ἄλλων ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν

<sup>226</sup> Ἑλληνικοῖσι... ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι. This sentence is unintelligible as it stands. It is not to be explained on the hypothesis that φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι is equivalent to εὐ χρᾶσθαι, for in that case we should have οὐδὲ... οὐδαμὰ... οὐδαμῶν in the following clause of the sentence. And the manuscripts S and V leave out the words φεύγουσι and μηδαμὰ. I am disposed to think a deep corruption exists, arising probably from the combination of two different recensions. The words are as incoherent as those contained in S and V in some places where there is a great deficiency in them compared with the other MSS. See note 136 on i. 45.

<sup>227</sup> Χέμμις πόλις μεγάλη νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ. Besides the city in the Thebaic nome, there was an island named Chemmis (of which Herodotus speaks below, § 166) in a lake near the city Buto, and also a Χεμμίτης νομός (§ 165). The root of the word is probably Cham

(= Ham), which in Coptic is said to denote the name of the country. DIODORUS (i. 18) says that Χέμμις is the name of the city, and that its meaning is Πανὸς πόλις. If it be identical with the modern *Akhmim*, it is on the eastern branch of the Nile, in lat. 26° 40'.

<sup>228</sup> σανδάλιον. It is a curious circumstance that one of the colleges of der-wishes at Cairo shows the *shoe* of their founder, which is of immense size. (WILKINSON, *Modern Egyptians*, i. p. 287.) Probably here is an instance of an old Coptic superstition mahometanized. The footstep of Hercules, of similar dimensions, was shown in Scythia (see iv. 82), and a sculptured impression of a human foot, about sixteen inches long, found in front of the Sphinx, is in the British Museum.

<sup>229</sup> εἰρομένου δέ μιν. See above, note 84.



τιθέντες, ἔφασαν "τὸν Περσέα ἐκ τῆς ἐκουτῶν πόλιος γεγονέναι τὸν γὰρ Δαναὸν καὶ τὸν Λιγκέα, ὄντας Χερμίτας, ἐκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα." ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενεηλογέοντες, κατέβαινον ἐς τὸν Περσέα. "ἀπικόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, κατ' αἰτῆμ τὴν καὶ Ἕλληνας λέγουσι, οἰσόντα ἐκ Λιβύης τὴν Γοργοῦς κεφαλὴν, ἔφασαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ παρὰ σφέας καὶ ἀναγνῶναι τοὺς συγγενὰς πάντας ἐκμεμαθηκότα δὲ μὲν ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον τὸ τῆς Χέμμιος οὐνομα, πεπυσμένον παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς· ἀγῶνα δὲ οἱ γυμνικόν, αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος, ἐπιτελέειν.")

## 92

Habits of the dwellers in the marshes. Their monogamy.

Their diet.

The lotus.

The lily.

Ταῦτα μὲν πάντα<sup>220</sup> οἱ κατύπερθε τῶν ἐλέων οἰκόντες Αἰγύπτῳ νομίζουσι· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐν τοῖσι ἔλεσι κατοικημένοι τοῖσι μὲν αὐτοῖσι νόμοισι χρέωνται τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ γυναικὶ μὴ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν συνοικεῖ<sup>221</sup>, κατὰ περ Ἑλλήνες. ἀτὰρ πρὸς εὐτελέην τῶν σιτίων τάδε σφι ἄλλα ἐξεύρηται· ἐπεὰν πλήρης γένηται ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίσῃ, φύεται ἐν τῷ ὕδατι κρίνεα πολλὰ, τὰ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι λωτόν· ταῦτα ἐπεὰν δρέψωσι, αἰαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον, καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ λωτοῦ τῇ μήκῃ<sup>222</sup> ἔὼν ἐμφερὲς πτίσαντες, ποικύνται ἐξ αὐτῷ ἄρτους ὁποῖος πυρὶ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ λωτοῦ τούτου ἐδαδίμη, καὶ ἐγγλύσσει<sup>223</sup> ἐπιεικῶς, ἔὼν στρογγύλον, μέγας κατὰ μῆλον. ἔστι δὲ

<sup>220</sup> ταῦτα μὲν πάντα. It is not easy to say to what these words exactly refer, but it seems plain that they do not to what has immediately preceded. I should be inclined to think that once they stood next to the word ἄπτουσι, which closes the ninetyeth section. Οἱ κατύπερθε τῶν ἐλέων as opposed to οἱ ἐν τοῖσι ἔλεσι are not the inhabitants of Upper Egypt exclusively, but include the dwellers in the Delta, with the exception of those who lived about the region of the Sebennyitic mouth, and the two false channels derived from that branch (see note 81, above), and, perhaps, also of those who inhabited the islands in the lake of Buto, if WILKINSON is right in assigning *Elbe* (the refuge of Amyrtæus and the blind Anysis) to that locality. See note on § 140.

<sup>221</sup> καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ γυναικὶ μὴ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν συνοικεῖ. This has been supposed equivalent to the English "in all other respects, except that each man cohabits with only one wife." But no slovenliness of style will warrant the supposition that

a specially copulative conjunction is used in a specially disjunctive sense. The difficulty arises mainly from the circumstance of Diodorus affirming that polygamy, except for the priests, was customary in Egypt (i. 80), and the consequent theory that Herodotus here wishes to note the difference in this respect among the marshmen. But it does not seem at all certain that Herodotus took the same view as Diodorus of this very point. If his notion of Egyptians was derived mainly from naturalized Ionians and Carians, the case might well be quite otherwise. If the two authorities are to be reconciled with one another, the least violent method would be to erase the word Αἰγύπτιοι after ἄλλοι, considering it to be a gloss of the latter word misunderstood.

<sup>222</sup> τῇ μήκῃ. The article is used from the notoriety of the μήκων or poppy-head. See notes 206 and 228, above.

<sup>223</sup> ἐγγλύσσει, "gives a sweet taste." The word is explained in HESYCHIUS by the phrase ἐγγλυκίζει.

καὶ ἄλλα κρίνεα ῥόδοις ἐμφερέα, ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ γινόμενα καὶ ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν ὁ καρπὸς ἐν ἄλλῃ κάλυκι<sup>224</sup> παραφυομένη ἐκ τῆς ῥίξης γίνεται, κηρίῳ σφηκῶν ἰδέην ὁμοιότατον<sup>225</sup>. ἐν τούτῳ τρωκτὰ ὅσον τε πυρὴν ἐλαίης ἐγγίνεται συχνά· τρώγεται δὲ καὶ ἀπαλὰ ταῦτα καὶ αἰα. τὴν δὲ βύβλον τὴν ἐπέτειον γινομένην, ἐπεὰν ἀνασπά- The byblus.  
σωσι ἐκ τῶν ἐλέων, τὰ μὲν ἄνω αὐτῆς ἀποτάμνοντες ἐς ἄλλο τι τράπουσι<sup>226</sup>, τὸ δὲ κάτω λελειμμένον ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πῆχυν τρώγουσι, καὶ πωλέουσι· οἱ δὲ ἂν καὶ κάρτα βούλονται χρηστὴ τῇ βύβλῳ χρᾶσθαι, ἐν κλιβάνῳ διαφανεῖ πνίξαντες οὕτω τρώγουσι<sup>227</sup>. οἱ δὲ Dried fish.  
τινες αὐτῶν ζῶσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων μόνων<sup>228</sup>. τοὺς ἐπεὰν λάβωσι καὶ ἐξέλωσι τὴν κοιλίην, αἰαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον καὶ ἔπειτα αἶους and in their  
έόντας σιτέονται.

Οἱ δὲ ἰχθύες οἱ ἀγελαῖοι ἐν μὲν τοῖσι ποταμοῖσι οὐ μάλα 93  
γίνονται<sup>229</sup>. τρεφόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῇσι λίμνῃσι, τοιάδε ποιεῖν· ἐπεὰν The fish of  
σφεας ἐσίῃ οἰστρος κυτσκεσθαι, ἀγεληδὸν ἐκπλώουσι ἐς τὴν Egypt only  
θάλασσαν ἡγέονται δὲ οἱ ἔρσενες ἀπορραίνοντες τοῦ θοροῦ· αἱ δὲ gregarious  
ἐπόμεναι ἀνακάπτουσι<sup>231</sup>, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κυτσκονται· ἐπεὰν δὲ πλή- in their  
transit to  
the sea,  
and in their  
course up

<sup>224</sup> ἐν ἄλλῃ κάλυκι. The plant described by Herodotus is doubtless the *Nelumbium speciosum*, a kind of water-lily growing in all the ditches and rivers of the warmer parts of Asia, as well as in the Nile. The peculiarity of it is that the male flowers float on the surface of the water, while the female organs take the form of seeds buried in the cavities of a large fleshy receptacle, something like a pomegranate cut in half, which grows from a separate stem below the surface. This, when impregnated with the pollen from the stamens, ultimately assumes the appearance of a hard bed filled with holes, each of which contains a nut. The plant is figured in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, vol. xvi. p. 141.

<sup>225</sup> ὁμοιότατον. The change of gender here is observable: "a thing very like a wasp's comb." It is not the *καρπὸς*, but the fleshy receptacle described in the last note, which presents this appearance.

<sup>226</sup> ἐς ἄλλο τι τράπουσι. See § 96.

<sup>227</sup> οἱ δὲ ἂν . . . τρώγουσι, "but those who wish to have the byblus in thorough perfection stop till they have baked it in a piping-hot oven, and then eat it." The word *διαφανῆς*, perhaps, was originally applied in this sense to stones, which with increase of heat appeared bright to

the eye (see iv. 73). But from such a case the transition is easy to other bodies where no such test of heat is applicable. This seems a more natural explanation than to suppose that ἐν κλιβάνῳ διαφανεῖ means "in a pipkin made red-hot." For the force which the word οὕτω exerts, see note 22 on i. 5.

<sup>228</sup> ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων μόνων. In i. 200, three tribes are mentioned among the Babylonians who live entirely on fish. Probably, like these Egyptians, they were the inhabitants of marshes, those on the lower part of the Tigris.

<sup>229</sup> ὅσας οἱ δὲ ἰχθύες ἀγελαῖοι . . . οὐ μάλα γίνονται, τρεφόμενοι δὲ, κ.τ.λ., a reading which cannot have been derived from that of the other MSS (which Gaisford follows) by accident, the sense being entirely different. Neither does it seem likely to have been altered by accident into that other. See note 220, above. The expression ἐν τοῖσι ποταμοῖσι is inappropriate to Egypt, where there is only a single ποταμός, i. e. the Nile.

<sup>230</sup> τῆς. Gaisford includes this word between brackets as probably corrupt. It is not found in 8, a, or F, but exists in the great majority of MSS, and there seems no obvious objection to it.

<sup>231</sup> ἀνακάπτουσι. ARISTOTLE (*De ge-*

the river  
to their  
haunts in  
the marshes.  
Strange  
mode of  
generation.

ρες γένωνται ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, ἀναπλώουσι ὀπίσω ἐς ἥθεα τὰ ἐωυτῶν ἕκαστοι. ἡγέονται μέντοι γε οὐκέτι οἱ αὐτοὶ, ἀλλὰ τῶν θηλέων γίνεται ἡ ἡγεμονίη ἡγεύμεναι δὲ ἀγγελῶν, ποιεῦσι οἶον περ ἐπολεῦν οἱ ἔρσενες· τῶν γὰρ ὠῶν ἀπορραίνουσι κατ' ὀλίγους τῶν κέγχρων<sup>242</sup>, οἱ δὲ ἔρσενες καταπίνουσι ἐπόμενοι· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ κέγχροι οὗτοι ἰχθύες· ἐκ δὲ τῶν περιγινόμενων καὶ μὴ καταπινομένων κέγχρων οἱ τρεφόμενοι ἰχθύες γίνονται. οἱ δ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἀλώσι ἐκπλώοντες ἐς θάλασσαν, φαίνονται τετριμμένοι τὰ ἐπαιστέρα τῶν κεφαλῶν· οἱ δ' ἂν ὀπίσω ἀναπλώοντες, τὰ ἐπιδεῖα τετρίφεται· πάσχουσι δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τὸδε ἐχόμενοι τῆς γῆς ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ καταπλώουσι ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ ἀναπλώοντες ὀπίσω, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀντέχονται ἐγχριπτόμενοι καὶ ψαύοντες ὡς μάλιστα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ἀμάρτοιεν τῆς ὁδοῦ διὰ τὸν ῥόον. ἐπεὰν δὲ πληθύνεσθαι<sup>243</sup> ἄρχηται ὁ Νεῖλος, τά τε κοῖλα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ τέλματα τὰ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πρῶτα ἄρχεται πίπλασθαι, διηθέοντος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ<sup>244</sup>. καὶ αὐτίκα τε πλέα γίνεται ταῦτα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἰχθύων σμικρῶν πίπλαται πάντα. κόθεν δὲ οἶκος αὐτοὺς γίνεσθαι, ἐγὼ μοι δοκέω κατανοεῖν τοῦτο· τοῦ προτέρου ἔτεος ἐπεὰν ἀπολίπη ὁ Νεῖλος, οἱ ἰχθύες ἐντεκόντες<sup>245</sup> ὡς ἐς τὴν ἰλὺν ἅμα τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ὕδατι ἀπαλλάσσονται· ἐπεὰν δὲ περιελθόντος τοῦ χρόνου πάλιν ἐπέλθῃ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐκ τῶν ὠῶν τούτων παραντίκα γίνονται οἱ ἰχθύες. καὶ περὶ μὲν τοὺς ἰχθύς οὕτω ἔχει.

94

Oil in use  
drawn from

Ἀλείφατι δὲ χρέωνται Αἰγυπτίων οἱ περὶ τὰ ἔλαια οἰκόντες ἀπὸ τῶν σιλλικυπρίων τοῦ καρποῦ, τὸ καλεῦσι μὲν Αἰγύπτω

neratione animalium, iii. p. 756) terms this story, τὸν εὐθὺς λόγον, related by 'Herodotus ὁ μυθολόγος.

<sup>242</sup> τῶν γὰρ ὠῶν ἀπορραίνουσι κατ' ὀλίγους τῶν κέγχρων. Much difficulty has been occasioned by this expression, and I am not satisfied with any explanation which has been given, or any emendation which has been proposed. If the passage be not corrupt, τὰ ὡς must be taken to mean "the roe" in the aggregate, and οἱ κέγχροι the individual eggs of which it is composed; and the passage must be translated "they keep spawning their roe by a few eggs at a time." But ὠῶν in the singular is so habitual an expression that it is difficult to conceive that Herodotus would have thus used the plural to denote a composite unit; and

I should be rather inclined to believe the text made up of two separate readings, each of them independent of the other:

1. τῶν γὰρ ὠῶν ἀπορ-  
ραίνουσι, οἱ δὲ ἔρσενες,
2. ἀπορραίνουσι κατ' ὀλί-  
γους τῶν κέγχρων, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>243</sup> πληθύνεσθαι. S and V have πλέ-  
εσθαι.

<sup>244</sup> διηθέοντος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, "the water percolating through [the ground] from the river," not overflowing the banks in the first instance, but filtering through the soil on which the alluvium rests. See note on § 125, below.

<sup>245</sup> ἐντεκόντες. S and V have εἰ τεκόντες.

κίκι<sup>246</sup>. ποιεύσι δὲ ὧδε παρὰ τὰ χεῖλα τῶν τε ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν the seeds  
 λιμνέων σπείρουσι τὰ σιλλικύπρια ταῦτα, τὰ ἐν Ἑλληνσι<sup>247</sup> αὐτό- of the  
 ματα ἄγρια φύεται· ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ σπειρόμενα, καρπὸν kiki, a wild  
 φέρει πολλὸν μὲν δυσώδεα<sup>248</sup> δὲ τοῦτον ἐπεὰν συλλέξωνται, οἱ water-plant  
 μὲν κόψαντες ἀπιποῦσι<sup>249</sup>. οἱ δὲ καὶ φρύξαντες ἀπέψουσι, καὶ τὸ improved  
 ἀπορρέον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συγκομίζονται. ἔστι δὲ πῖον καὶ οὐδὲν ἦσσαν by culti-  
 τοῦ ἐλαίου τῷ λύχνῳ προσηγὲς, ὁδμὴν δὲ βαρέαν παρέχεται. vation.  
 Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς κώνωπας ἀφθόνους ὄντας τάδε σφί ἐστι μεμηχανη- 95  
 μένα· τοὺς μὲν τὰ ἄνω τῶν ἐλέων οἰκέοντας οἱ πύργοι ὠφελέουσι, Protection  
 ἐς οὗς ἀναβαλίνοντες κοιμούνται· οἱ γὰρ κώνωπες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων, from mos-  
 οὐκ οἴοι τε εἰσι ὑψοῦ πέτεσθαι· τοῖσι δὲ περὶ τὰ ἔλα οἰκέουσι, quitoes,  
 τάδε ἀντὶ τῶν πύργων ἄλλα μεμηχάνηται· πᾶς ἀνὴρ αὐτῶν ἀμφί- how ob-  
 βληστρὸν ἔκτιται, τῷ τῆς μὲν ἡμέρης ἰχθὺς ἀγρεύει<sup>250</sup>, τὴν δὲ tained.  
 νύκτα τάδε αὐτῷ χρᾶται· ἐν τῇ ἀναπαύεται κοίτῃ περὶ ταύτην  
 ἴσῃσι τὸ ἀμφίβληστρον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐνδὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ καθεύδει· οἱ  
 δὲ κώνωπες, ἣν μὲν ἐν ἱματίῳ ἐνελιζόμενος εἶδη ἢ συνδόνι, διὰ  
 τούτων δάκνουσι· διὰ δὲ τοῦ δικτύου οὐδὲ πειρῶνται ἀρχήν<sup>251</sup>.

Τὰ δὲ δὴ πλοῖα σφί, τοῖσι φορτηγέουσι, ἔστι ἐκ τῆς ἀκάνθης 96  
 ποιούμενα· τῆς ἡ μορφή μὲν ἐστὶ ὁμοιοτάτη τῷ Κυρηναίῳ λωτῷ<sup>252</sup>, Description  
 of the river-  
 craft.

<sup>246</sup> κίκι. The Hellenic name of this plant was, according to HESYCHIUS, *κρότων*, it being in fact that from the seeds of which the modern "Croton oil" is derived. It is the same which, in the English version of JONAH iv. 6, is called "a gourd," the old ante-hieronymian Latin versions having rendered the *κολοκύνθης* of the LXX by "cucurbita." A very curious dispute, not unaccompanied with bitterness, took place between S. Jerome and S. Augustine on occasion of the former having adopted the word "hedera" in his new translation from the Hebrew as a more analogous plant to the *kiki*. A tumult was occasioned in one of the African churches by the change, and to allay it a compromise had to be made. See AUGUSTINE, *Ep.* lxxv.

<sup>247</sup> Ἑλληνσι. S has *ἐλεσι*, which is, perhaps, the true reading.

<sup>248</sup> *δυσώδεα*. On this account the *kiki* ointment was used chiefly by the lower classes, and the olive oil fetched a high price.

<sup>249</sup> *ἀπιποῦσι*, "squeeze out the juice." ARISTOPHANES makes *Cleon* use this

word in threatening the *Sausage-seller* that he will "drain him dry as hay" with property-taxes:

*δῶσειμι μοι καλὴν δίκην  
 ἰπούμενος ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς.*  
 (Equis. 923.)

<sup>250</sup> τῷ τῆς μὲν ἡμέρης ἰχθὺς ἀγρεύει. Possibly the same word in Egyptian might be used for a mosquito-net (*κωνοπέριον*) and a fishing-net (*δίκτυον*), and thus occasion furnished for this story; and afterwards, to solve the difficulty of supposing that a mosquito could not pass the meshes of the latter, a further fiction invented (*οὐδὲ πειρῶνται ἀρχήν*). But two points appear from the story; one, that the author is *not* speaking here from his personal knowledge; the other, that the manufactures of thread must have reached a great perfection in Egypt to allow of the fine gauze which is requisite for a mosquito curtain.

<sup>251</sup> ἀρχήν. See note 42 on i. 9.

<sup>252</sup> ὁμοιοτάτη τῷ Κυρηναίῳ λωτῷ, "the Cyrenæan lotus," i. e. that which is called "the lotus" at Cyrene. The epi-

τὸ δὲ δάκρυον κόμμι ἐστί· ἐκ ταύτης ὦν τῆς ἀκάνθης κοφάμενοι ξύλα ὅσον τε διπήχεα πλωθηδὸν συντιθεῖσι, ναυπηγεύμενοι τρόπον τοιόνδε<sup>253</sup>. περὶ γόμφους πυκνοὺς καὶ μακροὺς περιείρουσι τὰ διπήχεα ξύλα· ἐπεὰν δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ναυπηγήσωνται, ζυγὰ ἐπιτολῆς τείνουσι αὐτῶν νομεῦσι δὲ σὺδὲν χρέωνται· ἔσθθεν δὲ τὰς ἀρμονίας<sup>254</sup> ἐν ὧν ἐπάκτωσαν τῇ βύβλῳ· πηδάλιον δὲ ἐν ποιεῦνται, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τῆς τρόπιος<sup>255</sup> διαβύνεται<sup>256</sup>. ἰσθῶ δὲ ἀκανθίνῳ χρέωνται, ἰσθίοισι δὲ βυβλίνοισι. ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα ἀνὰ μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν οὐ δύνανται πλέειν ἢν μὴ λαμπρὸς ἄνεμος ἐτέχη,

that is used distinctively, because the author has just before been speaking of the Egyptian *lotus* (§ 92) without any distinctive epithet. The two plants were of totally different kinds, the Egyptian *lotus* being a bulbous water-plant, the Cyrenaean a kind of thorn (*Zizyphus napeca*). The tree is called in Arabic *sidr*, and its fruit *nabk*, whence the botanical "napeca." This latter is said to be a kind of berry about the size of a wild plum, containing a nut of a sweetish taste like that of a date. In Barbary it is sold in the markets, and a liquor analogous to date wine made from it. Cattle, too, are fed with it. There can be no doubt that this is the food of the Loto-phagi (iv. 177), and probably the foundation for the story in the *Odyssey* (ix. 94).

<sup>253</sup> ναυπηγεύμενοι τρόπον τοιόνδε. The great distinction between the ordinary ship-building and that of the Egyptian river-craft seems to have arisen from the circumstance that the latter were flat-bottomed, with vertical sides, and the former built with a framework, of which the several pieces were curved ribs (*ρομέες*), set in a keel. The first step in making the Nile boats apparently was to set up a number of long vertical stakes near to each other, thus tracing out the outline of the sides of the barge. These are the γόμφοι of the text. Round them were carried strings of acacia plank, one course above the other (πλωθηδόν), thus producing a kind of thin bulwark. When this had been carried up a sufficient height, cross-beams (ζυγὰ) were laid on to preserve it in shape; and, this being completed for the whole length, the result was a rude flat-bottomed lighter lying bottom upwards. It does not appear to me necessary to suppose that the passing

the courses of acacia plank inside and out of the stakes is involved in the word περιείρουσι. It may be observed that, in navigation like that of the Nile, no inconvenience would follow from the want of a keel, and no convexity of the sides would be required to resist a sea, while for a given draft of water a larger freight could be carried in such a build than in an ordinary vessel.

<sup>254</sup> τὰς ἀρμονίας, "the seams." Lat. *commisuras*. These were caulked from the inside with tow made of the byblus plant,—an operation which must have been effected after the barge was turned by the help of levers from the position in which it had been built.

<sup>255</sup> διὰ τῆς τρόπιος, "through the cut-water." The LEXICON GUDIANUM interprets this word *τρόπιος* by τὸ κενότατον μέρος τῆς πηδῆς περὶ ὃ σχίσται τὸ κύμα. Where the vessel was built with a keel, the *τρόπιος* would be continued all along it, and hence the word might be applicable to the whole extent. But the word *δροχον* seems (see POLLUX, i. 85) to be the specially appropriate term for the keel, properly so called, i. e. the backbone (as it were) in which the ribs of the vessel are set. The point which Herodotus puts prominently forward in his description is, not that the rudder is carried through the keel, but that, instead of being lashed by the side of the cut-water, it pierces it. Vessels such as the *βαφίς* would have stem and stern alike, and would, when floating down the stream, be steered forward, the stone towing aft. See note 259.

<sup>256</sup> διαβύνεται. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. But S and V have *διαδύνεται*. The form *διαβύνεται* is found, however, in all the copies in iv. 71: διὰ τῆς ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς διέναι διαβύνεται.

ἐκ γῆς δὲ παρέλκεται κατὰ ῥόον δὲ κομίζεται ὧδε ἔστι ἐκ μυρικής πεποιημένη θύρη κατερραμμένη ῥίπτει καλάμων<sup>257</sup>, καὶ λίθος τετρημένος<sup>258</sup> διτάλαντος μάλιστα καὶ σταθμόν τούτων τὴν μὲν θύρην δεδεμένην κάλῃ ἐμπροσθε τοῦ πλοίου ἀπείει ἐπιφέρεσθαι, τὸν δὲ λίθον ἄλλῃ κάλῃ ὅπισθε ἢ μὲν δὴ θύρῃ, τοῦ ῥόου ἐμπίπτοντος, χωρεῖ ταχέως καὶ ἔλκει τὴν βάριν (τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ οὕνομά ἐστι τοῖσι πλοίοισι τούτοις) ὁ δὲ λίθος ὀπισθε ἐπελκόμενος καὶ ἐὼν ἐν βυσσῷ, κατιθύνει τὸν πλόν<sup>259</sup>. ἔστι δὲ σφί τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα πλήθει πολλὰ, καὶ ἄγει ἔνια πολλὰς χιλιάδας ταλάντων. Ἐπεὰν 97 δὲ ἐπέλθῃ ὁ Νεῖλος τὴν χώραν, αἱ πόλεις μῦναι φαίνονται ὑπερέχουσαι, μάλιστα καὶ ἐμφερέες τῇσι ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πόντῳ νήσοις<sup>260</sup>. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τῆς Αἰγύπτου πέλαγος γίνεταί, αἱ δὲ πόλεις μῦναι ὑπερέχουσι. πορθομένονται ὦν, ἐπεὰν τοῦτο γένηται, οὐκέτι κατὰ τὰ ῥέεθρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσου τοῦ πεδίου. ἐς μὲν γε Μέμφιν ἐκ Ναυκράτιος ἀναπλῶντι, παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς πυραμίδας γίνεταί ὁ πλόος [ἔστι δὲ οὐκ οὗτος<sup>261</sup>, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ ὄξυ τοῦ

At the time of the inundation, the face of Egypt is like a sea studded with islands. Boats sail from Naucratis to

<sup>257</sup> θύρη κατερραμμένη ῥίπτει καλάμων, "a door-shaped board lashed to a crate of reeds." I conceive the machine to have acted on the principle of a ship's log, and when in operation to have presented the same appearance that the log would if thrown out from a vessel at anchor in a stream. It was probably a considerable surface of wattled work, strengthened by the parallelogram of tamarisk wood in the middle. From the centre of the whole a rope would proceed, made fast to the cut-water of the barge, and probably under water. When the barge dropped down with the stream, this machine would assume a vertical position in the water, and would be acted upon over its whole surface by the stream at a velocity equal to the difference between the velocity of the Nile current and that of the artificially retarded barge. This in some cases would be very considerable, and would be most so where an additional force would be most requisite. See note 259.

<sup>258</sup> τετρημένος. S and F have τετριμμένος, which would mean (if genuine) a rubbed stone or boulder, a kind very likely to be employed. But τετρημένος is more likely to be the true reading.

<sup>259</sup> κατιθύνει τὸν πλόν. If the barge had floated freely in the stream, she

would of course not have answered the helm. But the friction of the stone towing astern on the bottom of the river would cause her velocity to be slightly less than that of the stream, and thereby allow her to be steered. In this way, therefore, the weight may be said "to guide the course," although it did not really do so, but merely supplied the necessary conditions for enabling the helm to do it. Captain Basil Hall, in descending the river Guayaquil in South America by the force of the stream, found the same method employed for the same object. Occasionally this stone might lodge in the weeds, and the force of the stream upon the barge scarcely be sufficient to overcome the obstacle, and it seems to be for this case that the pilot-crate was intended. If it were floating in front of the barge, any sudden check received by the latter would be partially counteracted by the momentum of the stream upon the flat surface of the machine.

<sup>260</sup> τῇσι ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πόντῳ νήσοις. A very likely object of comparison to occur to a Samian trader.

<sup>261</sup> [ἔστι δὲ οὐκ οὗτος . . . παρὰ Κερκασσων πόλιν.] I have inclosed these words in brackets, because they appear to me to proceed from some one—perhaps an ancient editor—who wished to correct the

Memphis  
by the side  
of the pyra-

98

mid, and  
from Cano-  
bus to Nau-  
cratis, com-  
ing off An-  
thylla and  
Archandro-  
polis.

99

Stories re-  
lated by the  
Egyptians  
for which  
the writer  
does not  
vouch.  
Men the  
first king.

Δέλτα, καὶ παρὰ Κερκάσῳρον πόλιν<sup>202</sup>.] ἐς δὲ Ναύκρατιν<sup>203</sup> ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ Κανώβου διὰ πεδίου πλέων, ἥξει κατ' Ἀνθυλλὰν τε πόλιν, καὶ τὴν Ἀρχάνδρου καλευμένην<sup>204</sup>. Τουτέων δὲ ἡ μὲν Ἀνθυλλα, ἐούσα λογίμη πόλις, ἐς ὑποδήματα ἐξάιρετος δίδοται τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου τῇ γυναικί. (τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ἐξ ὅσου ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος.) ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα πόλις δοκεῖ μοι τὸ οὖνομα ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαναοῦ γαμβροῦ, Ἀρχάνδρου τοῦ Φθίου, τοῦ Ἀχαιοῦ· καλέεται γὰρ δὴ Ἀρχάνδρου πόλις. εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλος τις Ἀρχάνδρος· οὐ μέντοι γε Αἰγύπτιον τὸ οὖνομα.

Μέχρι μὲν τούτου ὄψις τε ἐμῇ<sup>205</sup> καὶ γνώμη καὶ ἱστορίῃ ταῦτα λέγουσά ἐστι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούδε, Αἰγυπτίους ἐρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων<sup>206</sup> κατὰ τὰ ἥκουον<sup>207</sup>. προσέσται δὲ αὐτοῖσί τι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὄψιος. τὸν Μῆνα τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα Αἰγύπτου, οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον τοῦτο μὲν<sup>208</sup> ἀπογεφυρῶσαι<sup>209</sup> καὶ τὴν Μέμφιν—τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν

writer's statement. To take *ἔστι δὲ οὐκ* (or *οὐδ'*) *οὗτος* to mean "this is not the usual course," which Schweighäuser unscrupulously does, appears to me quite unwarranted.

<sup>202</sup> παρὰ Κερκάσῳρον πόλιν. See above, §§ 15. 17.

<sup>203</sup> ἐς δὲ Ναύκρατιν. Just below a town called *e' Rameneeh*, the bed of an old canal is visible, which formerly ran into the Nile there; and this is supposed by some to be the proper emplacement of *Naucratis*, and the canal taken to be the representative of the Canobic branch of the Nile. (WILKINSON, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 181.) But in Wilkinson's map *e' Rameneeh* is placed on the western bank, whereas it is clear from STRABO (quoted in note on ii. 163) that *Naucratis* was on the eastern. The site of *e' Rameneeh* corresponds far better with the *Momemphis* of Strabo. (See note on ii. 163.) Wilkinson does not give its distance from *Atfeh*, but from the map one may judge it is only four or five miles higher up the Nile. *Atfeh* is from *Rosetta* by the river 22½ miles, and from Cairo 123. From *Atfeh* to *Alexandria* by the canals is about 49 miles.

<sup>204</sup> ἥξει κατ' Ἀνθυλλὰν τε πόλιν, καὶ τὴν Ἀρχάνδρου καλευμένην, "you will come off the city Anthylla and what is called Archandrus's town." (See note 195, above.) It will appear in the *Excursus* on § 149, that at the time Herodotus, or his authority, visited the Labyrinth,

the water of the Nile was in all probability out. This state of things synchronized with the prevalence of the Etesian winds, which allowed of a southward course under sail. See note 53, above. STRABO, on the other hand, seems to have visited Egypt when the waters were confined to their bed. Hence *Anthylla* is less likely to be his *Gynæcopolis*, as has been thought.

<sup>205</sup> ὄψις τε ἐμῇ. These words must be taken as considerably qualified by the word *γνώμη* which follows them. It is impossible to suppose that the author saw any one covering himself when asleep with a fishing-net (§ 94) to keep out the mosquitoes, or live winged snakes (§ 76), or a river-horse with cloven hooves (§ 71), or a crocodile with tusks (§ 68). It is difficult to conceive that he was at Elephantine (see note 84, above), or saw swine employed in threshing (see note 53, above), or even was at Thebes itself (see note 10, above).

<sup>206</sup> Αἰγυπτίους ἐρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων. What follows until § 147, must be regarded as pure Egyptian legends, in the shape retailed by the *ἐξήγηται* (especially at Memphis) to those who visited the temples.

<sup>207</sup> κατὰ τὰ ἥκουον. See note on iv. 76, κατὰ τὰ ὄρα.

<sup>208</sup> τοῦτο μέν. See note 276, below.

<sup>209</sup> ἀπογεφυρῶσαι. This word properly means to "dyke off," i. e. by means of

πάντα ῥέειν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ψάμμινον πρὸς Διβύης<sup>270</sup>, τὸν δὲ Μῆνα ἀναθεῖν, ὅσον τε ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἀπὸ Μέμφιος, τὸν πρὸς μεσαμβρίας ἀγκῶνα προσχώσαντα, τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηράναι<sup>271</sup> τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ὀχετεῦσαι<sup>272</sup>, τὸ μέσον τῶν οὐρέων ῥέειν<sup>273</sup>. ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Περσέων ὁ ἀγκὼν οὗτος τοῦ Νείλου ὃς ἀπεργημένος ῥέει<sup>274</sup> ἐν φυλακῇσι μεγάλῃσι ἔχεται, φρασσόμενος ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· εἰ γὰρ ἐβελήσῃ ρήξας ὑπερβῆναι ὁ ποταμὸς ταύτῃ, κίνδυνος πάσῃ Μέμφι κατακλυσθῆναι ἐστίν—ὥς δὲ τῷ Μῆνι τούτῳ τῷ πρώτῳ γενομένῳ βασιλεῖ χέρσον γεγενῆσθαι τὸ ἀπεργημένον<sup>275</sup>, τοῦτο μὲν<sup>276</sup> ἐν αὐτῷ πόλιν κτίσαι ταύτην, ἦτις νῦν

a dam to recover land which would be otherwise overflowed, like the *polders* of Holland. But, as the phrase ἀπογεφυρώσαι τῇ Μέμφι is rather vague, the writer interposes a description of the operation which was effected.

<sup>270</sup> πρὸς Διβύης, "on the Libyan side [of its present course]." τὸν πρὸς μεσαμβρίας ἀγκῶνα is "the reach southward [of Memphis]".

<sup>271</sup> τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηράναι. RENNELL (*Geography of Herodotus*, p. 501) considers that the operation here described consisted in assisting the natural tendency of the river to change its bed by filling up the existing one. He supposes that this process had gone on so long while the stream ran under the ridge which extends on the western bank of the river in a parallel direction to it, that a considerable portion of the water must have deviated into another channel, and that by the dam Herodotus mentions this secondary channel was made the primary one. If the operation really was such as this, the old bed of the river might be converted into a canal for the purpose of receiving the overflow of the Nile at the time of inundation, and husbanding it for use in the dry season; and it is not improbable that this was a use it was put to by the aid of sluices, and that it formed a portion of a canal-system communicating with the lake Moeris. See note on § 149.

<sup>272</sup> τὸν ποταμὸν ὀχετεῦσαι, "conveyed the river through a made channel."

<sup>273</sup> τὸ μέσον τῶν οὐρέων ῥέειν, "so as to flow midway between the mountains," i. e. the Libyan and the Arabian. See above, § 8.

<sup>274</sup> ὁ ἀγκὼν οὗτος τοῦ Νείλου ὃς ἀπεργημένος ῥέει. This phrase is a very re-

markable one. If the words ὃς ἀπεργημένος ῥέει be applied to the single substantive Νείλου, they are a mere platitude, "a river which flows in a made channel." If they be applied to the composite substantive ἀγκῶν τοῦ Νείλου, it seems unusual that the word ἀγκῶν, which is appropriate to the windings of a *land-valley*, should have the term ῥέει coupled with it. Nevertheless I believe this to be the true way of pointing and constructing the passage. The rivers of European Hellas, with very few exceptions, were mere brooks, no where presenting that appearance of one long "reach" after another which is so striking in a large navigable river. When, therefore, this phenomenon first came under notice in the Nile, a new term had to be invented; and analogy could certainly suggest nothing more appropriate than ἀγκῶν. I would therefore translate this passage: "This reach of the Nile which runs in a made channel." Memphis being situated in the narrow part of the Nile valley, a spectator from thence would see two distinct lines of river, according as he looked upwards or downwards, their continuity being broken to the eye by the city and its traffic, even if there was no obvious change of direction. Nothing would under such circumstances be more natural than to call the one "the southern reach" (ὁ πρὸς μεσαμβρίας ἀγκῶν) and the other "the northern one."

<sup>275</sup> τὸ ἀπεργημένον, "the space gained by damming"

<sup>276</sup> τοῦτο μὲν. These words, which had been used before the parenthetical account of the diversion of the Nile channel, are again repeated upon the recurrence to the primary matter of the story. The length



100

After *Mes* came a series of 330 names all recorded in a roll. Eighteen of them were Æthiopians, one a native queen, *Nitocris*, and the rest Egyptians. Story of *Nitocris*, her revenge and her death.

Μέμφις καλέσεται ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἡ Μέμφις ἐν τῷ στενωφὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου· ἔκωθεν δὲ αὐτῆς περιουρῆσαι λίμνην ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς βορρην τε καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην· τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ αὐτὸς ὁ Νεῖλος ἀπέργει· τοῦτο δὲ, τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρὸν ιδρύσασθαι ἐν αὐτῇ, ἔον μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιαπληροτάτον. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον, κατέλεγον οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐκ βύβλου<sup>277</sup> ἄλλων βασιλέων τριηκοσίων τε καὶ τριήκοντα οὐνόματα· ἐν τοσαύτησι γενεῇσι ἀνθρώπων ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν Αἰθίοπες ἦσαν, μία δὲ γυνὴ ἐπιχωρή<sup>278</sup>. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, ἄνδρες Αἰγύπτιοι· τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ οὐνομα ἦν ἦτις ἐβασίλευσε τόπερ τῇ Βαβυλωνίῃ, Νίτωκρις· τὴν ἔλεγον τιμωρέουσαν ἀδελφεῶν, — τὸν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλεύοντα σφέων ἀπέκτειναν, ἀποκτείναντες δὲ οὗτω ἐκείνη ἀπέδωκε τὴν βασιλείαν, — τοῦτω τιμωρέουσαν πολλοὺς Αἰγυπτίων διαφθεῖραι δόλῳ· ποιησαμένην γὰρ μιν οἰκημα περιμυκεῖς ὑπόγαιον καίνουσιν τῷ λόγῳ<sup>279</sup>, νόφ δὲ ἄλλα μηχανᾶσθαι καλέσασαν δὲ μιν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς μάλιστα μεταίτιους τοῦ φόνου ᾗδε<sup>280</sup>, πολλοὺς ἐστὶν δαιτυμένουςι δὲ ἐπέιναι τὸν ποταμὸν δι

of the parenthetical narrative is the cause of this; and on the same principle are repeated τῷ πρώτῳ γενομένῳ βασιλεῖ.

<sup>277</sup> ἐκ βύβλου. This papyrus document was probably a kind of genealogical table, connecting in one system all the various historical or legendary data at the command of the priests of the Hephaestum. It may have been analogous to the West Saxon pedigree preserved at Cambridge on a roll in the library of Trinity College, which proceeds from Adam to Japheth according to the Scriptural account, but connects this point with the royal family of England (Henry VII. being the last link in the chain) by a farrago of traditions partly classical, partly Scandinavian, partly British, and partly Anglo-Saxon. To attach value to such a production of a kind to allow it to enter into a chronological system, is indirectly to destroy all confidence in genuine history.

<sup>278</sup> μία δὲ γυνὴ ἐπιχωρή. That the patriotism of the Egyptians should not allow them to consider *Nitocris* a foreigner is not to be wondered at. They laid claim to Cambyzes in the face (according to Herodotus) of facts of which they could not possibly be ignorant. See iii. 2. The name *Nitocris* is only the hellenized form of *Neit-okr*, a name which, according to Champollion and others, appears on the

monuments, and is equivalent to Ἀθήνη Νίκη, an interpretation which was actually given to the word by Eratosthenes. The identity of the Egyptian *Nēth* with the Hellenic Ἀθήνη had been remarked by PLATO (*Timæus*, p. 21). And the etymological connexion of *Neith* with *Anaitis* is the same as that of *Derceto* with *Atergatis*, *Cyphas* with *Acyphas*, *στάχυν* with *ἄσταχυν*, *λαρῶ* with *ἀλαρῶ*, *τεῖων* with *ἀτέων*; or of *nēssa* with the Latin *anas*, *ποτὶ* with *αὔρι*, *τραχὺς* and *τρας* with *αἰτρα*, *ράχος* with *ἀράχνη* and *αἰρας*, *λάχνη* and *λάχων* with *alga*, and probably *κελαινός* with *aquila* and *aquilo*. The interchange of the elementary structure *an-ith* with *aith-n* may be illustrated by the pairs *ἀκιδνός* and *κινάδος*, *ὄρνειος* and *νοθείος*, *καρὸς* and *σκιρρὸς*, and the English *ask* and its archaic but now vulgar form *axe*. It may be observed that the Egyptian name remained at Thebes of Boeotia in the *Nēthrai* πόλιν (*ÆSCHYLUS*, *Theb.* 460).

<sup>279</sup> καίνουσιν τῷ λόγῳ, "pretended to hanel it." The more usual term would be *καίνισεν* or *ἐγκαίνισεν*. CALLIMACHUS says of *Perillus*, the inventor of Phalaris's brazen bull, whom the tyrant shut up in it as the first victim, *πρώτος ἐνέει τὸν ταῦρον ἐκαίνισεν* (*fr.* 119).

<sup>280</sup> ᾗδε. S has *ἦδε*.

αὐλῶνος<sup>231</sup> κρυπτοῦ μεγάλου. ταύτης μὲν πέρι τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον πλὴν ὅτι αὐτὴν μιν, ὡς τοῦτο ἐξέργαστο, ῥίψαι ἐς οἰκημα σποδοῦ πλέον ὅκως ἀτιμώρητος γένηται. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βασιλέων οὐ γὰρ 101 ἔλεγον οὐδεμίαν ἔργων ἀπόδεξι, κατ' οὐδὲν εἶναι λαμπρότητος<sup>232</sup>, The last king Mæris the only one of note. His works. πλὴν ἑνὸς τοῦ ἐσχάτου αὐτῶν Μοίριος· τούτου δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι μνημόσυνα<sup>233</sup> τοῦ Ἑφαίστου τὰ πρὸς βορρῇν ἄνεμον τετραμμένα προπύλαια· λίμνην τε ὀρύξαι τῆς ἡ περιόδου δσων ἐστὶ σταδίων ὕστερον δηλώσω<sup>234</sup>. πυραμίδας τε ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοδομῆσαι τῶν τοῦ μεγάλθεος πέρι ὁμοῦ αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ ἐπιμνήσομαι. τούτου μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδένα οὐδέν.

Παραμεινόμενος ὢν τούτους, τοῦ ἐπὶ τούτοις γενομένου βασι- 102 λείος, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σέσωστρις, τούτου μνήμην ποιήσομαι. τὸν To Mæris succeeded Sesostris, who made a warlike expedition with a fleet ἔλεγον οἱ ἱεεὶς πρῶτον μὲν πλοίοις μακροῖς ὁρμηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου<sup>235</sup>, τοὺς παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν κατοικη- μένους<sup>236</sup> καταστρέφειν· ἐς δὲ πλεοντά μιν πρόσω ἀπικέσθαι ἐς

<sup>231</sup> ἐπεῖναι τὸν ποταμὸν δι' αὐλῶνος. See note 621 on i. 184.

<sup>232</sup> κατ' οὐδὲν εἶναι λαμπρότητος, "[I gather that] they were of no consideration in the matter of distinction." The expression κατ' οὐδὲν is analogous to κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον (§ 10), κατὰ συνκῆν (iv. 23), and the common expressions κατ' ἄνθρωπον, κατ' ἄνδρα. The infinitive is to be taken after αὐτοῖς, gathered inferentially from the preceding clause. If Herodotus had written πάντας (which would seem most natural), he would have implied that the Egyptians actually told him that these sovereigns were mere nobodies, which, probably, was not the case. Translate, "But of the other kings, as they did not mention any works to show, it would appear they were," &c. See note 192 on i. 59.

<sup>233</sup> τούτου δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι μνημόσυνα. See note 52 on i. 13.

<sup>234</sup> ὕστερον δηλώσω. See below, § 149.

<sup>235</sup> πλοίοις μακροῖς ὁρμηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου. Perhaps it was this circumstance, combined with the belief of it having been Sesostis to whom the internal water communication of Egypt was due (see § 108), that gave birth to the tradition (which Στράβων mentions as if resting on as high authority as any other), that he was the commencer of the canal which was intended to connect the

Nile with the Red Sea (xvii. c. i. p. 443). It is the assertion of the author of the Aristotelian *Meteorologica* (i. p. 352) who does not mention any one repeating the attempt between him and Darius. It seems probable also that the ὅλκοι ἐπί-θλοι, of which Herodotus speaks below (§ 159) were the nucleus of traditions orally transmitted, and varying in the names of the personages to whom they were attributed. See notes on §§ 158 and 159.

<sup>236</sup> τοὺς παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν κατοικημένους. Στράβων (in a passage where he professes to be following Eratosthenes) gives an account of the traditions relative to Sesostis's wide conquests, which plainly shows the origin of them. Just on the Asiatic side of the strait which forms the mouth of the Arabian gulf, there was said to be a stele of Sesostis recording in hieroglyphics the fact of his passage over: φαίνεται γὰρ τὴν Αἰθιοπίδα καὶ τὴν Τρωγλοδυτικὴν πρῶτος καταστρεφόμενος οὗτος, εἰτα διαβάς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν, κἀν-τεῦθεν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπελθὼν τὴν σύμπασαν διδὲ καὶ πολλὰ χού Σεσώστριος χάρακες προσαγορεύονται, καὶ ἀφιδρύματα ἐστὶν Αἰγυπτίων θεῶν ἱερῶν (xvi. p. 386). In the same way, the expedition of Jason to Colchis was said to have been extended through Albania and Iberia (i. e. the modern Georgia), and even as far as Ar-

out of the Arabian gulf, and afterwards overran the continent of Asia with an army.

103

Passing over into Europe he subdued the Scythians and Thracians, which constitute the limit of his expedition.

θάλασσαν οὐκέτι πλωτὴν ὑπὸ βραχέων ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ὥς ὀπίσω ἀπίκετο ἐς Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ τῶν ἱρέων τὴν φάτιν, στρατιὴν πολλὴν λαβὼν ἤλαυνε διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου, πᾶν ἔθνος τὸ ἐμποδὼν καταστρέφοντας. ὁτέοισι μὲν νυν αὐτῶν ἀλκίμοισι ἐνετύγχανε καὶ δεινῶς γλιχομένοισι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, τούτοις μὲν στήλας ἐνίστη<sup>287</sup> ἐς τὰς χώρας, διὰ γραμμάτων λεγούσας τὸ τε ἑωυτοῦ ὄνομα καὶ τῆς πάτρης, καὶ ὥς δυνάμει<sup>288</sup> τῇ ἑωυτοῦ κατεστρέψατό σφεας ὁτέων δὲ ἀμαχητὶ καὶ εὐπετέως παρέλαβε τὰς πόλεις, τούτοις δὲ ἐνέγραφε ἐν τῇσι στήλησι κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖσι ἀνδρητοῖσι τῶν ἐθνέων γενομένοις καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰδοῖα γυναικὸς προσεέγραφε, δῆλα βουλόμενος ποιεῖν ὥς εἶσαν ἀνάκτιδες<sup>289</sup>. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῖν διεξῆγε τὴν ἡπείρου, ἐς δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διαβὰς τοὺς τε Σκύθας κατεστρέψατο καὶ τοὺς Θρηάκας· ἐς τούτους δέ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ οὐ προσώτατα<sup>290</sup> ἀπικέσθαι ὁ Αἰγύπτους στρατός· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ τούτων χώρῃ φαίνονται σταθεῖσαι αἱ στήλαι<sup>291</sup>, τὸ δὲ προσωτέρω τούτων οὐκέτι ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἐπιστρέψας ὀπίσω ἦε καὶ ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Φάσι ποταμῷ, οὐκ

menia and Media, from the circumstance of a number of temples existing in which a cognate ritual prevailed: ὡς μαρτυρεῖ τὰ τε ἱερόνια καὶ ἄλλα δομῆματα πλείω (xi. p. 417; compare p. 463). In the time of Alexander this hypothesis became converted into history by the fiction of one *Armenus* from *Armenium*, a Thesalian town situated between Phere and Larissa, who was said to have accompanied Jason as an ally in his expedition. See notes 621 and 628 on Book I.

<sup>287</sup> ἐνίστη. The MSS vary between this and ἀνίστη, but in vi. 43 they are as unanimous for κατίστα. In § 106, below, they vary between ἴστα and ἴστη, with a preponderance for the former.

<sup>288</sup> δυνάμει. See note 132 on i. 41.

<sup>289</sup> δῆλα βουλόμενος ποιεῖν ὡς εἶσαν ἀνάκτιδες. In the time of Diodorus a feature was supplied to the story of Sesostris, which, as Herodotus does not mention it, we may suppose did not exist in his days, viz. that the monuments on which the conquest of *brave* nations was recorded were distinguished by the analogous symbol of virility. His conquests, too, were extended beyond the main, even to the including some of the Cyclades (i. 55), doubtless from the symbolism appropriate

to the orgiastic worship of Dionysus which would be found at Naxos and elsewhere. Subsequently to the rise of the Greek dynasty at Alexandria, the habit of considering the mythical narratives of the early times as a merely poetical garb thrown around historical facts grew rapidly, and the identification of Dionysus and Sesostris as great conquerors would be a generally received explanation of their several stories. There can be no question that the figure spoken of in the text had nothing to do either with Sesostris the Egyptian historical king, or with the idea of effeminacy. It was a symbol belonging to the system of religion of which the *Thesmophoria* was a festival. See HERACLIDES the Syracusan, *ap. Athenæum*, xiv. p. 647, and AUGUSTINE, *De Civ. D.* vi. 9.

<sup>290</sup> οὐ προσώτατα. This is the reading of the majority of MSS. Gaisford, on the authority of P and F, omits οὐ. But a very good sense may be given if that particle be retained. Translate, "But I conceive the Egyptian army to have reached [only] these, and not the extreme parts of the earth."

<sup>291</sup> αἱ στήλαι. See note 286, above.

ἔχω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, εἴτε αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις On his re-  
ἀποδασάμενος τῆς ἐωντοῦ στρατιῆς μόριον ὅσον δὴ αὐτοῦ κατ- left a part  
έλιπε τῆς χώρας οἰκήτορας, εἴτε τῶν τινὲς στρατιωτῶν τῇ πλάνῃ of his army  
αὐτοῦ ἀχθεσθέντες, περὶ Φάσιν ποταμὸν κατέμειναν. on the  
Phasis.

Φαίνονται μὲν γὰρ ἔδντες οἱ Κόλχοι Αἰγύπτιοι νοήσας δὲ πρό- 104  
τερον αὐτὸς ἢ ἀκούσας ἄλλων, λέγων ὥς δέ μοι ἐν φροντίδι ἐγένετο, Evidence  
εἰρόμην ἀμφοτέροισι<sup>293</sup>. καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κόλχοι ἐμεμνέατο τῶν Αἰγυ- that these  
πτίων ἢ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν Κόλχων νομίζειν δ' ἔφασαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι Colchians  
τῆς Σεσώστριος στρατιῆς εἶναι τοὺς Κόλχους. αὐτὸς δὲ εἴκασα are Egypt-  
τῇδε, καὶ ὅτι μελάνχροές εἰσι καὶ οὐλότριχες<sup>292</sup>. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐς Circum-  
οὐδὲν ἀνήκει· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι· ἀλλὰ τοισίδε καὶ μάλ- cision is  
λον, ὅτι μούνοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων Κόλχοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ a native  
Αἰθίοπες περιτάμνονται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδῶα· Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ custom with  
Σύριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίῃ<sup>294</sup> καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογέουσι παρ' Αἰγυ- both, but  
πτίων μεμαθηκέναι, Σύριοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Θερμῶδοντα καὶ Παρθένιον not with the  
ποταμὸν, καὶ Μάκρωνες οἱ τοῦτοισι ἀστυγείτονες ἔδντες, ἀπὸ Phœnicians  
Κόλχων φασι νεωστὶ μεμαθηκέναι· οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσι οἱ περιτα- and Syrians  
μύμενοι ἀνθρώπων μούνοι<sup>295</sup>. καὶ οὗτοι Αἰγυπτίοισι φαίνονται either of  
Palestine  
or Pontus.

<sup>292</sup> εἰρόμην ἀμφοτέροισι. This expres-  
sion goes to prove the fact of the author,  
or the individual whom he impersonates,  
having been on the Phasis; and indeed it  
seems certain that some of his statements  
must be derived from Phasian merchants.  
Yet it is very strange that in this case he  
should not ever mention the name of the  
town (which was the same as that of the  
river), nor give any of the curious par-  
ticulars relating to the trade there (see  
note 363 on i. 104). It is even stranger  
that he should say nothing of *Dioscurias*,  
which was in the actual mouth of the  
Euxine. (See note on vi. 9.)

<sup>293</sup> μελάνχροες καὶ οὐλότριχες. The  
mummies have always been found to pos-  
sess straight hair, and an *European*, not  
African, configuration of skull. And in the  
paintings the Egyptians are represented  
as *red*, not black. Is it possible that  
the Egyptians here alluded to are the  
same race as those pirates (apparently  
the relic of an African tribe) which  
haunted the marshes of the Bucolic branch  
of the Nile? See above, note 61 on  
§ 17. They are described as φοβεροὶ καὶ  
ἐγριοὶ ἄνθρωποι, μεγάλοι μὲν πάντες, μέ-  
λαρες δὲ τὴν χροὶν οὐ κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδοῦν

τὴν ἑκρατον, ἀλλ' οἷος ἂν γένοιτο νόθος  
Αἰθίοψ. (ACHILLES TATIUS, iii. 9.) The  
novelist, however, goes on to say that  
they are ψιλοὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς and λεπτοὶ  
τοὺς πόδας, which are not negro charac-  
teristics.

<sup>294</sup> Σύριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίῃ. This  
phrase has occasioned some difficulty  
from Herodotus's notice being supposed  
to militate against the passages of the  
Old Testament (1 Sam. xviii. 25; 2 Sam.  
i. 20, &c.) in which the Philistines are  
distinguished as "the uncircumcised;"  
and occasion has been taken to argue that  
the interior of the country (the Holy  
Land) was regarded by him as part of  
Palestine. But it has been overlooked  
that subsequently to the time of Saul a  
great change took place in the population  
of the Philistine cities (see note on § 157,  
below), and that a considerable Egyptian  
element had probably been introduced.  
I do not believe that Herodotus has here  
any thing but the *coast* in his mind.

<sup>295</sup> οἱ περιταμύμενοι ἄνθρωποι μούνοι.  
It is remarkable that here no mention  
should be made of the Jews or the Ara-  
bians, as practising this same rite, and  
that the narrator should pass at once from

## 105

The mode of manufacturing linen is similar, and so is the language, and the whole mode of life.

ποιεῦντες κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ<sup>296</sup>, αὐτῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὁκότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἑτέρων ἐξέμαθον ἀρχαῖον γὰρ δὴ τι φαίνεται εἶναι ὡς δ' ἐπιμισγόμενοι Αἰγύπτῳ ἐξέμαθον, μέγα μοι καὶ τόδε τεκμήριον γίνεται· Φοινίκων ὁκόσοι τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπιμίσγονται, οὐκέτι Αἰγυπτίους μιμνέονται κατὰ τὰ αἰδοῖα, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιγυωμένων οὐ περιτάμνουσι τὰ αἰδοῖα. Φέρε νυν καὶ ἄλλο εἶπω περὶ τῶν Κόλχων, ὡς Αἰγυπτίοισι προσφερέες εἰσὶ. Λίνον μοῖνον οὗτοί τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐργάζονται κατὰ τὰ αὐτά. καὶ ἡ ζῶη πᾶσα καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα ἐμπερήs ἐστι ἀλλήλοισι<sup>2</sup>. Λίνον δὲ τὸ μὲν Κολχικόν, ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σαρδονικόν<sup>297</sup> κέκληται· τὸ μέντοι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπικνεύμενον καλέεται Αἰγύπτιον.

the seaboard of Palestine to that of Pontus. The Syrians of Pontus are the *Cappadocians*, i. e. the inhabitants of that large portion of Asia Minor which lies east of the Halys (see note 27 on i. 6). Is it to be supposed that only those who dwelt immediately in the neighbourhood of the Thermodon had the custom he speaks of, or was he unacquainted with any others than these? If the latter be the true solution, it becomes easy to understand that his knowledge must have gained as a trader in the maritime ports, and that the information obtained was limited by this condition. See note 363 on i. 104, and note 26 on ii. 7.

<sup>296</sup> κατὰ τὰ αὐτά. See above, § 35. STRABO (xi. 2) mentions this circumstance of the similar manufacture as being the principal ground of the opinion held by some that the Colchians were of Egyptian origin, but he does not make any special reference to Herodotus.

<sup>2</sup> ἡ γλῶσσα ἐμπερήs ἐστι ἀλλήλοισι. This expression probably refers to the effect produced on the ear of a traveller who understood neither language, and must not be regarded as in itself a proof of any near *etymological* affinity. Such a similarity may be remarked between Italian and Bohemian, especially by a person who has been for a considerable time accustomed to the sounds of any dialect of the German just before visiting Bohemia. There can be no doubt that Herodotus employed a Greek interpreter in Egypt, and probably also at Phasis. See note 338 on i. 95, and note 128, above.

<sup>297</sup> Σαρδονικόν. The manuscripts S, F, a have the variation Σαρδωνικόν.

Whichever reading be adopted, the reference appears to be to the island Sardinia (Σαρδία); and it is not easy to say how a Colchian product should have acquired such a name. The island Sardinia itself was very little known to the Greeks (see note on v. 106), although its repute for abundant resources was very great. But its produce appears to have been simply agricultural. RITTER (*Vorhalle Europäische Völkergeschichte*, p. 48) supposes the word to have no connexion with Sardinia at all, but to be synonymous with Σαρδονικόν, and denote the muslins brought from the Σαρδία. But unless the text be altered very violently, and without any external ground, this view seems utterly untenable. As a mere stop-gap, I am disposed to propose the following explanation. It is well known that the Carthaginians had manufactures of linen in the island of Malta, the produce of which was remarkable for its extreme fineness and softness (λεπτότητι καὶ μαλακότητι. DIODORUS, v. 12). The effeminate Verres kept the whole population of the town (Melita) employed for three years in supplying him with the article (CICERO in *Verr.* ii. 4. 46). From the deficient knowledge which the Greeks had of the places to which the Phœnicians and their colonies traded, it seems very possible that they should believe these manufactured articles to have come from Sardinia itself, just as the spices produced in the islands under the line may now be called Indian. If now the articles which came from India by way of the Colchians were similarly distinguished by their texture from the Egyptian linen (which was undoubtedly, for the most part,

Τὰς δὲ στήλας <sup>105</sup> τὰς ἴσας κατὰ τὰς χώρας ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασι- 106  
 λεὺς Σέσωστρις, αἱ μὲν πλεῖντες οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιεοῦσαι· ἐν δὲ  
 τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ· αὐτὸς ὄρεον εἰσάσας, καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ  
 εἰρημμένα ἐνεόντα, καὶ γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην  
 δύο τύποι <sup>106</sup> ἐν πέτρῃσι ἐγκεκολλημένοι τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρός, τῇ τε

There re-  
 main some  
 of Sesostris's  
 columns in  
 Palestine,  
 and two  
 other monu-

course in comparison: RITTER, l. c. p. 45), possibly the term *Σαρδονικόν* came to be applied to them, with a reference not to any locality, but only to the *quality* of the manufacture. This secondary usage of a term originally denoting locality, may be illustrated by the use in our own time of the words *muslins*, *calicoes*, and *cashmeres*, to denote European fabrics of an analogous kind to those originally brought from the East.

<sup>105</sup> τὰς δὲ στήλας. Some MSS have αἱ δὲ στήλαι.

<sup>106</sup> ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ. The worship of Derceto or Atargatis prevailed in the Philistine towns. See the note 366 on l. 105.

<sup>106</sup> δύο τύποι. The latter of these two reliefs was discovered in the year 1817 by the Rev. G. C. Renouard, chaplain at Smyrna, and has since been the subject of much discussion among the learned. A figure of it is given in the Classical Museum, vol. i. p. 232. It is on a rock called *Karabé* (the black hip), which has been cut almost perpendicular, and forms a smooth, almost square, wall somewhat broader than high. The rock is seen at a considerable distance, and on approaching it closer one perceives, if not the figure itself, at least the square cavity on the ground of which the figure is cut, in the same manner in which the reliefs are wrought on the monuments of Egypt. The inscription on the breast, if any ever existed, has been effaced by the effect of time, which has left very little more than the mere outline of the figure remaining. The dimensions of this agree pretty well with the account of Herodotus, but there is considerable variation in the details. The head-dress is a high tiara (such as that which Herodotus mentions as having been worn by the *Sacæ*: *κυρβάσια ἐς δὲ ἀκτῆματιν ὀρθή*, vii. 64), very different from the Egyptian *pshent* or the Phrygian bonnet. The shoes are turned up at the toes, and the clumsiness and rudeness in the proportions of the body and the whole execution do not agree with other well-

known Egyptian monuments of the time of Sesostris, or with Egyptian art in general. The only circumstance favourable to the hypothesis of an Egyptian origin is a bird in a kind of ornamented frame before the face of the warrior,—a feature which has hitherto not been seen on any other than Egyptian monuments. On the other hand, the omission of the name of Sesostris is remarked by Lepsius himself (who is otherwise favourable to Herodotus's view) as being contrary to the Egyptian custom.

The rock on which the figure is cut is represented as being near *Nymphis* (the ancient *Nymphæum*), close to which one of the great roads from Mysia to Lydia ran. Professor Welcker says that an attentive traveller cannot fail to perceive the monument. But its distance from the road is such that no details can have been discernible; and these it seems likely that Herodotus obtained at second-hand. (See notes 329 and 331 on i. 93.) The figure really has a lance in its *left* hand, and in its *right* the string of a bow which hangs over its back. The bird in the frame is far too important an object to have been overlooked by an eyewitness. It is remarkable too, that although the writer speaks of having *himself* seen the Sesostris monuments in Palestine, he alters the form of his expression in describing these Ionian reliefs. If we suppose that in passing along the road his attention was caught by the remarkable appearance of the rock, and that his informant as to the details was a fellow-traveller, or one of the country-people at the next halting-place, we shall have no occasion either to question his accuracy or to fetter our judgment as to the origin of the existing monument by what he says respecting it. Taking into account all circumstances connected with it, the costume, the rudeness of workmanship, and the similarity to some rock reliefs found near the ruins of an ancient town east of the Halys, which are undoubtedly neither Persian, Lydian, Phrygian, Egyptian, nor Hellenic, the most plausible hypothesis

ments by  
the road-  
side in Asia  
Minor.

ἐκ τῆς Ἐφεσίδης ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔρχονται, καὶ τῇ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σμύρνην ἑκατέρωθι δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐγγέγλυπται, μέγαθος πέμπτης σπιθαμῆς<sup>300</sup>, τῇ μὲν δεξιῇ χερὶ ἔχων αἰχμὴν τῇ δὲ ἀριστερῇ τόξα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σκευὴν ὡσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ Αἰγυπτίην καὶ Αἰθιοπίδα ἔχει· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὤμου ἐς τὸν ἕτερον ὤμον διὰ τῶν στηθῶν γράμματα ἱρὰ Αἰγύπτια διήκει ἐγκεκολαμμένα, λέγοντα τάδε ΕΓΩ ΤΗΝΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΧΩΡΗΝ ΩΜΟΙΣΙ ΤΟΙΣΙ ΕΜΟΙΣΙ ΕΚΤΗΣΑΜΗΝ. ὅστις δὲ καὶ ὁκόθεν ἐστὶ, ἐνθαῦτα μὲν οὐ δηλοῖ, ἐτέρωθι δὲ δεδήλωκε· τὰ δὲ καὶ μετεξέτεροι τῶν θεσησμένων Μέμνονος εἰκόνα εἰκάζουσί μιν εἶναι, πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείης ἀπολαλεμμένοι.

107

On the  
return of  
Sesostris  
he narrowly  
escapes  
death by  
fire at the  
hands of  
his brother  
at Daphnæ,  
near Pelu-  
sium.

Τούτου δὲ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Σέσωστριν ἀναχωρέοντα καὶ ἀνάγοντα πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, ἔλεγον οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένετο ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐν Δάφνησι τῆσι Πηλουσίησι, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἐωυτοῦ τῷ ἐπέτρεψε Σέσωστρις τὴν Αἴγυπτον, τούτου ἐπὶ ξελνία αὐτὸν καλέσαστα καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τοὺς παῖδας, περινηῆσαι ἔξωθεν τὴν οἰκίην ὕλη περινηήσαστα δὲ ὑποπρήσαι· τὸν δὲ, ὡς μαθεῖν τούτο, αὐτίκα συμβουλευέσθαι τῇ γυναικί· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτὸν ἅμα ἄγεσθαι· τὴν δέ οἱ συμβουλευέσαι, τῶν παιδῶν ἐόντων ἕξ, τοὺς δύο ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν ἐκτείναντα<sup>301</sup> γεφυρῶσαι τὸ καίόμενον, αὐτοὺς δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνων ἐπιβαίνοντας ἐκσώζεσθαι· ταῦτα ποιῆσαι τὸν Σέσωστριν, καὶ δύο μὲν τῶν παιδῶν κατακαῆναι τρόφῳ τοιούτῳ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀποσωθῆναι ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ. Νοστήσας δὲ ὁ Σέσωστρις ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τισάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν, τῷ μὲν ὁμίλῳ τὸν ἐπηγάγετο, τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, τοῦτῳ μὲν τάδε ἐχρήσατο· τοὺς τέ οἱ λίθους, τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως κομισθέντας ἐς τοῦ Ἐφαιέστου τὸ

108

After pu-  
nishing his  
brother, he  
employs the

seems to be that the monument described in the text comes down from the time of some Cimmerian or Scythian conquest, and was the work of a barbarous race.

<sup>300</sup> μέγαθος πέμπτης σπιθαμῆς, "of the size of four cubits and a half," the σπιθαμή, or "span," being considered equal to half the cubit. The idiom therefore is in fact the same as ἐννατον ἡμιτάλαντον (i. 51), a well-known form of expression.

<sup>301</sup> τοὺς δύο ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν ἐκτείναντα. Wesseling calls this narrative "an old wives' tale," and praises DIODORUS, who tells the same story in a way which strips it of its marvellous features. According

to him (i. 57) Sesostris, after offering up a prayer to Hephestus, dashes through the fire and escapes. He also accounts for the fire not being extinguished by the king's retinue. They were unable to exert themselves effectually from the quantity of wine they had drunk at the banquet! But this toning down of the story to make it harmonize with ordinary history really destroys the historical value which it intrinsically possesses, viz. as an indication of the Moloch-worship (in which parents "made their children pass through the fire") having formerly existed at Daphnæ. See note on iii. 11, ἐς δὲ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς.

ἱρὸν, ὄντας μεγάβει περιμήκεας, οὔτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐλεύσαντες· καὶ τὰς διώρυχας τὰς νῦν ἐούσας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάσας οδοὶ ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὠρυσσὸν ἐπόλευν τε οὐκ ἐκόντες Αἰγυπτίῳ τὸ πρὶν ἐούσαν ἐκπασίμην καὶ ἀμαξευομένην πᾶσαν ἐνδεᾶ τούτων<sup>302</sup>. ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου Αἰγυπτίος, ἐούσα πεδιάς πᾶσα, ἀνιππος καὶ ἀναμάζευτος γέγονε· αἷται δὲ τούτων αἱ διώρυχες γεγόνασιν, ἐούσαι πολλαὶ καὶ παντοίους τρόπους ἔχουσαι. κατέταμνε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τὴν χώραν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅσοι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ἔστηντο τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλ' ἀναμέσους, οὔτοι, ὅπως τε ἀπλοὶ ὁ ποταμὸς, σπανίζοντες ὑδάτων πλατυτέροις<sup>303</sup> ἐχρέοντο τοῖσι πόμασι, ἐκ φρεάτων χρεόμενοι· τούτων μὲν δὴ εἵνεκα κατετμήθη ἡ Αἰγυπτὸς. Κατανείμαι δὲ τὴν χώραν<sup>304</sup> Αἰγυπτίοισι ἅπασιν τούτου ἔλεγον τὸν βασιλέα, κλήρον ἴσον ἐκάστῳ τετράγωνον διδόντα· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὰς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν<sup>305</sup> ἐπιτελέειν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. εἰ δέ τις τοῦ κλήρου ὁ ποταμὸς τι παρέλοιτο, ἔλθων ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐσήμεναι τὸ γεγενημένον ὃ δὲ ἔπεμπε τοὺς ἐπισκεφομένους καὶ ἀναμετρήσοντας ὅσῳ ἐλάσσων ὁ χώρος γέγονε, ὅπως τοῦ λοιποῦ κατὰ λόγον τῆς τεταγμένης ἀποφορῆς τελεί.

captives brought with him in drawing the blocks for the Heracleum at Memphis, and forming the canal system of Egypt.

109

He assigns the land of Egypt in square plots, for which a rent is paid, equitably assessed by commissioners.

<sup>302</sup> τούτων, i.e. τοῦ ἰσπεύεσθαι καὶ ἀμαξεύεσθαι.

<sup>303</sup> πλατυτέροις. HESYCHIUS explains the word πλάτος by ἄλμυρον, and it is used in that sense by ARISTOTLE (*Meteorologica*, ii. p. 358, A, line 28). It is not, however, easy to trace any connexion between the meanings. That the water obtained by sinking wells in Egypt should be brackish is not unlikely. The rock of which the desert is composed and on which the alluvium from the river rests is considerably impregnated with salt, and the water in the wells would really be the Nile water filtered through this stratum. THEOPHRASTUS, in his treatise περὶ ὕδατων, spoke of the Nile water itself as being a gentle laxative from holding salts in solution (*op. Athen.* ii. p. 42).

<sup>304</sup> κατανείμαι τὴν χώραν. This appears to be a description of the settlement of the land on a principle which commonly prevails in the East. The theory of the system is that the sovereign is regarded as the actual owner of the soil, and only the usufruct is granted by him to the occupier, he himself retaining the power of resuming this grant at pleasure. The

land-tax, which usually consists of a certain proportion of the produce, is considered to be the acknowledgment of this right. The narrative in *Genesis* (c. xlviii.) gives the circumstances under which it was acquired in Egypt. According to the account followed by Herodotus, Sesostris is represented as parcelling out the land, and as exercising a discretionary power in exacting the tax under peculiar circumstances. But there is nothing to indicate an actual census of the available property, to serve as a basis for the commutation of the produce-rents; something like which seems afterwards to have been effected by Amasis. See note on § 177, below.

<sup>305</sup> ἀποφορὴν. This is explained by the Herodotean glossographer as τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπηκόων τοῖς ἔρχουσιν ὑποτελούμενον. This is true if by the ἐπηκοὶ are meant the subjects of an absolute prince; but it would be inapplicable to the tribute rendered by foreign states, for which the term φόρος is the appropriate one. The ἀποφορὰ is a rent paid out of the fruits of the holding.



110  
Ethiopia was under his dominion. He erected six colossal figures in front of the Hephaestæum, which occasion a rebuke of Darius by the priest of the deity.

δοκέει δέ μοι ἐνθεύτην γεωμετρίην εὐρεθείσα, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπανελθεῖν. πόλον μὲν γὰρ καὶ γνώμονα, καὶ τὰ δυνάδεκα μέρεια τῆς ἡμέρης, παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον<sup>306</sup> οἱ Ἕλληνες. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ οὗτος μόνος Αἰγύπτιος Αἰθιοπίας ἤρξε. μνημόσυνα δὲ ἔλιπετο πρὸ τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἀνδριάντας λιθίνους, δύο μὲν τριήκοντα πήχεων, ἑωυτόν τε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἑόντας τέσσαρας, εἴκοσι πήχεων ἕκαστον. τῶν δὲ ὁ ἱεὺς τοῦ Ἡφαιστοῦ χρόνῳ μετέπειτα πολλῶ Δαρεῖον τὸν Πέρσῃν οὐ περιεΐδε ἰστάντα ἔμπροσθεν ἀνδριάντα, φὰς "οὐ οἱ πεποιήσθαι ἔργα οἷά περ Σεσώστρι τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ. Σέσωστριν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τε καταστρέψασθαι ἔθνεα οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἐκείνου, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύθας<sup>307</sup>. Δαρεῖον δὲ οὐ δυνασθῆναι Σκύθας ἐλεῖν<sup>308</sup>. οὐκὼν δίκαιον εἶναι ἰστάναι ἔμπροσθε

<sup>306</sup> παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον. It does not seem necessary so to press these words as to make them mean that the Hellenic race got this knowledge *direct* from Babylon, but only that it was from that quarter, and not from Egypt, that it was originally derived. Still it is far from impossible that it came with the worship of the *Sun-god* from Babylon to Patara in Lycia, and from thence to the coast of Asia Minor and Delos. See I. 182.

As for the instrument which is here described, it is an error to suppose that Herodotus meant the *πόλος* and the *γνώμων* to be regarded as different instruments. They were originally parts of the same instrument, which was, in fact, a kind of model of the path of the sun in the heavens, by which not only his daily, but his annual motions might be explained. The *πόλος* was a hemispherical basin of any material (but most naturally of brass), from the centre of which a vertical pin (the *γνώμων*) was carried up to a level with the rim of the basin. It is obvious that the extremity of the gnomon would trace, by the shadow falling upon the side of the basin, the variation of the sun's position in the heavens, and thus serve as a dial. Then if the locus of the extremity of the shadow were marked (by a piece of chalk for instance) upon the *πόλος*, and the instrument *reversed*, the mark remaining would show the *actual path* of the sun in the heavens (on the hypothesis of the declination being constant through the day), and the basin in fact become a re-

presentative of the hemisphere. This was the cause of both being called by the same name. Both the term and the instrument were probably introduced at Athens in the time of Pericles's administration, when every branch of art and science received so strong an impulse. At the time the *Birds* of ARISTOPHANES was acted, the nomenclature had become sufficiently familiar to the public to furnish material for comedy. Peisthetærus gives the Kkops a lesson on the use of the celestial sphere (175—183), as Meton in the sequel lectures *him* on civil engineering:—

ΠΕΙΣ. βλέψον κάτω; ΕΠ. καὶ δὴ βλέπω. ΠΕΙΣ. βλέπε νῦν ἄνω.

ΕΠ. βλέπω. ΠΕΙΣ. περίλαγε τὸν τράχηλον. ΕΠ. νῆ Δία,

ἀπολαύσομαι τί δ', εἰ διαστραφῆσομαι;

ΠΕΙΣ. εἶδες τι. ΕΠ. τὰς νεφέλας γε καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν.

ΠΕΙΣ. οὐχ οὗτος οὖν δῆπου 'στὶν ἐρρίθων πόλος;

ΕΠ. πόλος; τίνα τρόπον; ΠΕΙΣ. ὅσπερ εἴποι τις τόπος.

ὅτι δὲ πολεῖται τοῦτο καὶ διέρχεται ἅπαντα, διὰ τοῦτό γε καλεῖται νῦν πόλος.

<sup>307</sup> καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύθας. The manuscripts S and V add the word ἐλεῖν, leaving out the words Δαρεῖον δὲ οὐ δυνασθῆναι.

<sup>308</sup> οὐ δυνασθῆναι Σκύθας ἐλεῖν. This feature in the anecdote occasions some difficulty, if the anecdote itself belongs to the same historical cycle which Herodotus follows in the continuous narrative

τῶν ἐκεῖνου ἀναθημάτων, μὴ οὐκ ὑπερβαλλόμενον τοῖσι ἔργοισι.”  
 Δαρεῖον μὲν νυν λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνώμην ποιήσασθαι<sup>300</sup>.

Σεσώστριος δὲ τελευτήσαντος, ἐκδέξασθαι ἔλεγον τὴν βασιλιήν 111  
 τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Φερῶν<sup>310</sup>. τὸν ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν οὐδεμίαν στρα-  
 τηήν, συνενειχθῆναι δὲ οἱ τυφλὸν γενέσθαι διὰ τοιόνδε πρήγμα·  
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελθόντος μέγιστα δὴ τότε ἐπ’ ὀκτωκαίδεκα πῆ-  
 χεας, ὡς ὑπερέβαλε τὰς ἀρούρας, πνεύματος ἐμπεσόντος, κυματῆς  
 ὁ ποταμὸς ἐγένετο· τὸν δὲ βασιλέα λέγουσι τοῦτον ἀτασθαλίῃ  
 χρησάμενον, λαβόντα αἰχμὴν βαλέειν ἐς μέσας τὰς δῖνας τοῦ  
 ποταμοῦ μετὰ δὲ, αὐτίκα καμόντα αὐτὸν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλω-  
 θῆναι· δέκα μὲν δὴ ἔτεα εἶναι μιν τυφλόν· ἑνδεκάτῃ δὲ ἔτει  
 ἀπικέσθαι οἱ μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος<sup>311</sup>, ὡς “ἐξήκει τέ οἱ ὁ  
 χρόνος τῆς ζημῆς, καὶ ἀναβλέψει, γυναικὸς οὖρφ νιφάμενος τοὺς  
 ὀφθαλμοὺς ἦτις παρὰ τὸν ἑωυτῆς ἄνδρα μούνον πεφοίτηκε, ἄλλων  
 ἀνδρῶν ἐούσα ἄπειρος” καὶ τὸν πρώτης τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὸς  
 πειρᾶσθαι· μετὰ δὲ, ὡς οὐκ ἀνέβλεπε, ἐπεξῆς πασέων πειρᾶσθαι·  
 ἀναβλέψαντα δὲ συναγαγεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπειρήθη, πλὴν ἥ  
 τῆς τῷ οὖρφ νιφάμενος ἀνέβλεψε, ἐς μίαν πόλιν ἣ νῦν καλεῖται  
 Ἐρυθρὴ βῶλος· ἐς ταύτην συναλίσσαντα, ὑποπρήσαι πάσας σὺν  
 αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει· τῆς δὲ νιφάμενος τῷ οὖρφ ἀνέβλεψε, ταύτην δὲ  
 εἶχε αὐτὸς γυναῖκα. ἀναθήματα δὲ, ἀποφυγὼν τὴν πάθην τῶν  
 ὀφθαλμῶν, ἄλλα τε ἀνὰ τὰ ἱρὰ πάντα τὰ λόγισμα ἀνέθηκε, καὶ,  
 τοῦ γε λόγον μάλιστα ἀξιὸν ἐστὶ ἔχειν, ἐς τοῦ Ἥλιου τὸ ἱρὸν  
 ἀξιοθέητα ἀνέθηκε ἔργα ὀβελούς δύο λιθίνους, ἐξ ἐνὸς ἕντα ἐκάτε-

He was suc-  
 ceeded by  
 his son  
*Pheros*, who  
 brought a  
 judgment of  
 blindness  
 upon him-  
 self by an  
 act of blas-  
 phemous  
 arrogance.  
 After ten  
 years he  
 recovered,  
 by following  
 the advice  
 of the oracle  
 at Buto;  
 which leads  
 to his  
 making a  
 holocaust  
 of unfaith-  
 ful wives.

After reco-  
 very, he set  
 up, among  
 other offer-  
 ings, two  
 monolith  
 obelisks at

of Darius; for there is no time subse-  
 quent to the return from Scythia in that  
 narrative in which he can be supposed to  
 have visited Egypt. He seems to have  
 intended to go in person to quell the re-  
 volt which broke out there in the fourth  
 year after the battle of Marathon, but his  
 intentions were defeated by death (see  
 vii. 1—3). ARISTOTLE, however, fol-  
 lowed an account which made Darius  
 conquer Egypt antecedently to the ex-  
 pedition being sent against Hellas (*Rhet.*  
 ii. 20, p. 1393). This would not be the  
 only instance of heterogeneous materials  
 being made use of by Herodotus. See  
 note 517 on i. 153.

<sup>300</sup> συγγνώμην ποιήσασθαι. By the  
 time of Diodorus some additional fea-  
 tures appeared in this narrative. The

wish of Darius to set up his statue is dis-  
 cussed in a sanhedrim of the priests, and  
 their decision is that “he has not yet  
 equalled the feats of Sesostris.” Darius  
 replies, that by the time he has lived as  
 long as Sesostris did he trusts he shall  
 have done so, and he requests the priests  
 to compare him with Sesostris at the  
 same age (i. 58). This view of the pro-  
 ceeding seems to regard Darius as a  
 young man.

<sup>310</sup> Φερῶν. It is scarcely possible to  
 doubt that here Herodotus (or his au-  
 thority) mistook an appellative for a  
 proper name, the word Pharaoh denoting  
 merely “king.” See note 243 on i. 72.

<sup>311</sup> ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος. See § 155,  
 below.

the temple of the sun.

## 112

He was succeeded by *Proteus*, a Memphite, who now possesses a sanctuary south of the Hephæstæum, in which stands a temple of Aphrodite *Xeïne*, a deity probably identical with

## 113

tical with Helen. Round about the sanctuary is the Tyrian quarter, and the whole district is called "the Tyrians' camp."

ρον λίθου, μήκος μὲν ἐκάτερον πηχέων ἑκατὸν εὖρος δὲ ὀκτὼ πηχέων.

Τούτου δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλὴν ἔλεγον ἄνδρα Μεμφίτην, τῷ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσῃ οὖνομα Πρωτέα εἶναι· τοῦ νῦν τέμενός ἐστι ἐν Μέμφι κάρτα καλὸν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένον, τοῦ Ἑφαιστήϊου πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον κείμενον (περιοικέουσιν δὲ τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο Φοίνικες Τύριοι, καλέσται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ὁ σὺν ἅπας Τυρῶν στρατόπεδον) ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Πρωτέος ἱρὸν τὸ καλέσται Ξεΐνης Ἀφροδίτης· συμβάλλομαι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν εἶναι Ἑλένης τῆς Τυνδάρου<sup>212</sup>, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀκηκοὺς ὡς διαιτήθη Ἑλένη παρὰ Πρωτεί, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι Ξεΐνης Ἀφροδίτης<sup>213</sup> ἐπωνυμίῳν ἐστὶ· ὅσα γὰρ ἄλλα Ἀφροδίτης ἱρά ἐστι, οὐδαμῶς Ξεΐνης ἐπικαλέσται. Ἔλεγον δὲ μοι οἱ ἱρᾶς ἱστορέοντι τὰ περὶ Ἑλένην, γενέσθαι ὧδε Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρπάσαντα Ἑλένην ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν θωντοῦ καὶ μιν, ὡς ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ, ἐξῶσται ἄνεμοι<sup>214</sup> ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος· ἐνθευτεν δὲ (οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει<sup>215</sup> τὰ πνεύματα) ἀπικρέσται ἐς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἐς τὸ νῦν Κανωβικὸν καλούμενον στόμα τοῦ Νεῖλου, καὶ ἐς Ταριχεῖας<sup>216</sup>. ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος (ὅ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ) Ἡρακλέος ἱρὸν<sup>217</sup>, ἐς τὸ ἦν καταφυγὼν οἰκέτης σθεφ ἀνθρώπων<sup>218</sup> ἐπι-

<sup>212</sup> συμβάλλομαι δὲ . . . . Ἑλένης τῆς Τυνδάρου. In the same way in which the author here identifies the Tyrio-Egyptian deity with the *Helen* of the Hellenic mythology, he had before identified the Lydian *Candaules* with the Hellenic *Mynthus* (i. 7).

<sup>213</sup> Ἀφροδίτης. This word is omitted in F. For ἐπωνυμίῳν, S, V, δ, and c have ἐπώνυμον. The form ἐπώνυμος is used for ἐπώνυμος by PINDAR (*Olymp.* x. 96, ἐπώνυμιαν χάριν νίκας ἀγαρχέου, and *Pyth.* i. 58, τοῦ μὲν ἐπώνυμιαν κλεινὸς οἰκιστὴρ ἐκόθων πόλιν γείτονα).

<sup>214</sup> ἐξῶσται ἄνεμοι. An apparently technical phrase for gales which force a vessel out of the course on which she has been laid. Compare EURIPIDES, *Ocyrops*. 278:

πνεύμασιν θαλασσίοις  
σὴν γαῖαν ἐξωσθέντες ἤκομεν, Κόκλωφ.

<sup>215</sup> ἀνίει. See note on iv. 125.

<sup>216</sup> Ταριχεῖας. See note 54, above.

<sup>217</sup> Ἡρακλέος ἱρὸν. In the time of

TACITUS, the city Canobus was said to have been founded by the Spartans returning from Troy with Menelaus, and so called after his pilot, who was there buried (*Annal.* ii. 60). This is a precise parallel to Virgil's story of Palinurus.

<sup>218</sup> οἰκέτης σθεφ ἀνθρώπων, "a slave belonging to any man whatever." The preference of the dative to the more common genitive does not, in my opinion, arise from any connexion of ἐπιβάλλω with σθεφ ἀνθρώπων, but rather from the fact that the master's interests are affected by the loss of the slave. Thus, if the form of the sentence be changed, the sense would be adequately given by the English, "If any man whatever should have a slave take sanctuary," &c. The genitive σθεφ ἀνθρώπων would merely express that the rank of the slave's master did not affect the question, but would not imply (as the dative does) that the rights of property were affected. The so-called pleonastic use of the dative case of the personal pronouns is derived

βάληται στίγματα ἱρά<sup>319</sup> ἑωυτὸν διδοὺς τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἔξεστι τούτου  
 ἀψασθαι. (ὁ νόμος οὗτος διατελέει ἕως ὁμοίους μέχρι ἐμεῦ τῷ ἀπ' Memphitic  
form of the  
story of  
Helen's  
arrival in  
Egypt.  
 ἀρχῆς.) τοῦ ὧν δὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπιστεύεται θεράποντες πυθόμενοι  
 τὸν περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἔχοντα νόμον, ἰκέται δὲ ἱζόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ, κατηγό-  
 ρουν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου βουλόμενοι βλάπτειν αὐτὸν, πάντα λόγον  
 ἐξηγεύμενοι ὡς εἶχε περὶ τὴν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὴν ἐς Μενέλεωι  
 ἀδικίην κατηγόρεον δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τε τοὺς ἱρέας καὶ τὸν τοῦ στό-  
 ματος τούτου φύλακον, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Θῶνις<sup>320</sup>. Ἀκούσας δὲ τού-  
 των ὁ Θῶνις πέμπει τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Μέμφιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἀγγε-  
 λήν, λέγουσαν τάδε "ἦκει ξείνος, γένος μὲν Τευκρὸς, ἔργον δὲ  
 ἀνόσιον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐξεργασμένος· ξείνου γὰρ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἔξα-  
 πατήσας τὴν γυναῖκα, αὐτὴν τε ταύτην ἄγων ἦκει καὶ πολλὰ κάρτα  
 χρήματα, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἐς γῆν τὴν σὴν ἀπενειχθεὶς. κότερα δῆτα  
 τοῦτον ἐῷμεν ἀσινέα ἐκπλέειν, ἢ ἀφελώμεθα<sup>321</sup> τὰ ἔχων ἦλθε;"  
 ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Πρωτεύς λέγοντα τάδε: "ἄνδρα τοῦτον,  
 ὅστις κοτὲ ἐστὶ ἀνόσια ἐργασμένος ξείνων τὸν ἑωυτοῦ, συλλαβόντες  
 ἀπάγετε παρ' ἐμέ, ἵνα εἰδῶ ὃ τι κοτὲ καὶ λέξει." Ἀκούσας δὲ  
 ταῦτα ὁ Θῶνις συλλαμβάνει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ  
 κατίσχει· μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν τε τοῦτον ἀνήγαγε ἐς Μέμφιν καὶ τὴν  
 Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰκέτας· ἀνακομισθέν-

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115

from a similar usage. See note 120 on i. 34, and that on iv. 162, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ὁ δὲ Ζαλαμῶν ἔφυγε. No doubt this delicate shade of meaning continually disappeared, and the pronouns became strictly pleonastic. Where *Peiruchio* says,

"Knock me at this gate,  
 And rep me well, or I'll knock your  
 knave's pate,"

the original use of the pronoun is plain. It is less so, when he bids the tailor,

"Go hop me over every kennel home:  
 For you shall hop without my custom,  
 Sir;"

and the merely pleonastic usage appears in *Shylock's* account of Jacob's artifice:

"The skilful shepherd peeled me certain  
 wands."

<sup>319</sup> στίγματα ἱρά, "sacred tattoo-marks." See below, vii. 233, τοὺς πλεῦ-  
 ρας αὐτῶν ἐστιζόν στίγματα βασιλῆα.

This practice of escaping from the oppression of a master by means of a religious dedication, is beautifully applied by St. PAUL to his own escape from the bondage of the law to that service which was perfect freedom: τοῦ λοιποῦ κόπους μοι μηδεὶς παρεχέτω· ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω (*Gal.* vi. 17).

<sup>320</sup> τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Θῶνις. In the *Odyssy* (iv. 238) *Thon* is the husband of Polydamna, from whom Helen is represented as receiving a present of drugs. Herodotus does not, any more than Homer, mention the city *Thonis* on the Canobic branch of the Nile, or the place called *Heleneus*, then existing in the same region. (*HERODOTUS*, *op. Steph. Byzant.* *sub v.*)

<sup>321</sup> κότερα . . . ἐῷμεν, ἢ ἀφελώμεθα; "Which must we do, let him sail away unharmed, or strip him of the wealth he brought with him?" This is the direct form, corresponding to the oblique εἰ with the subjunctive. See note 170 on i. 53.

των δὲ πάντων, εἰρώτα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὁ Πρωτεύς τις εἶη καὶ ὁκόθεν πλέοι ; ὁ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὸ γένος κατέλεξε καὶ τῆς πάτρης εἶπε τὸ οὐνομα· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν πλόον ἀπηγγέσατο ὁκόθεν πλέοι· μετὰ δὲ, ὁ Πρωτεύς εἰρώτα αὐτὸν ὁκόθεν τὴν Ἑλένην λάβει ; πλανωμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ οὐ λέγοντος τὴν ἀληθινήν, ἤλεγχον οἱ γενόμενοι ἱκέται ἐξηγεύμενοι πάντα λόγον τοῦ ἀδικήματος· τέλος δὲ δὴ σφί λόγον τόνδε ἐκφαίνει ὁ Πρωτεύς, λέγων ὅτι “ ἐγὼ εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγεύμην μηδένα ξείνων κτείνειν ”<sup>323</sup>, ὅσοι ὑπ’ ἀνέμων ἤδη ἀπολαμφθέντες ἦλθον ἐς χώραν τὴν ἐμὴν, ἐγὼ ἂν σε ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἑλλήνος ἐτισάμην ὅς, ὦ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ξεινῶν τυχὼν ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον ἐργάσαιο, παρὰ τοῦ σεωυτοῦ ξείνου τὴν γυναῖκα ἦλθες ”<sup>324</sup>. καὶ μάλα ταῦτά τοι οὐκ ἤρκεσε, ἀλλὰ ἀναπτερώσας αὐτήν<sup>325</sup> οἴχεται ἔχων ἐκκλέψας· καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτά τοι μούνα ἤρκεσε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ οἰκία τοῦ ξείνου κερατῶσας ἤκει. νῦν ὦν, ἐπειδὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἦγῃμαι μὴ ξεινοκτονέειν, γυναῖκα μὲν ταύτην καὶ τὰ χρήματα οὐ τοι προήσω ἀπάγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ αὐτὰ ἐγὼ τῷ Ἑλλήνι ξείνῳ φυλάξω, ἐς δ’ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἐκεῖνος ἀπαγαγέσθαι ἐθέλῃ· αὐτὸν δὲ σὲ καὶ τοὺς σοὺς συμπλόους τριῶν ἡμερέων προαγορεύω ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς γῆς ἐς ἄλλην τινα μετορμίζεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἅτε πολεμίους περιέψεσθαι.”

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This legend Herodotus believes to have been

Ἑλένης μὲν ταύτην ἄπιξιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες γενέσθαι· δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρος τὸν λόγον τοῦτον πυθέσθαι· ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐς τὴν ἐποποιίην εὐπρεπῆς ἦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῷ περ

<sup>323</sup> εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγεύμην μηδένα ξείνων κτείνειν. In the narrative of the Egyptians the charge of human sacrifices is made against the Greeks. See § 119. In the Hellenic legends the blame was shifted on to the other side. “ Quis illaudati nescit Busiridis aras ? ” (VIRGIL, Georg. iii. 6.) It can scarcely be doubted that at one time the practice prevailed with both.

<sup>324</sup> παρὰ τοῦ σεωυτοῦ ξείνου τὴν γυναῖκα ἦλθες. Compare above, § 66, φοιτέουσι παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας. § 111, παρὰ τὸν ἐωυτῆς ἄνδρα μούνον πεφοίτηκε.

<sup>325</sup> ἀναπτερώσας αὐτήν. The use of the word in this passage where the seducer is represented as turning the head of his victim so as to make her forgetful of all the bonds which held her, is excellently illustrated by ARISTOPHANES in the dia-

logue between Peisthetærus and the Informer, who had wanted a pair of actual wings for his own purposes (Av. 1436) :

ΣΤΚ. ὦ δαμόνιε, μὴ νουθέει μ’ ἄλλὰ πτέρων.

ΠΕΙΣ. νῦν τοι λέγων πτερῶ σε. ΣΤΚ. καὶ πῶς ἂν λόγοις

ἄνδρα πτερώσειας σὺ ; ΠΕΙΣ. πάντες τοῖς λόγοις

ἀναπτεροῦνται. ΣΤΚ. πάντες ; ΠΕΙΣ. οὐκ ἀκήκοας ;

ὅταν λέγωσιν οἱ πατέρες ἐκάστοτε τοῖς μειρακίοις ἐν τοῖσι κούρειοις ταδί· δεινῶς γέ μου τὸ μειράκιον Διυτρέφης λόγων ἀνεπτέρωκεν ὥσθ’ ἐπὶ πηλατεῖν.

ὅπῃ γὰρ λόγων ὁ νοῦς τε μεταωρίζεται ἐπαίρεται τ’ ἄνθρωπος.

ἐχρήσατο, ἐς δ' <sup>325</sup> μετήκε αὐτὸν δηλώσας ὡς καὶ τοῦτον ἐπίστατο τὸν λόγον. δῆλον δὲ κατὰ γὰρ ἐποίησε ἐν Ἰλιάδι (καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ ἀνεπόδισε ἑωυτὸν) πλάνην τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου <sup>326</sup>, ὡς ἀπνηλεΐχθῃ ἄγων Ἑλένην τῇ τε δὴ ἄλλῃ πλαζόμενος καὶ ὡς ἐς Σιδῶνα τῆς Φοινίκης ἀπύκετο <sup>327</sup>.

known to Homer, but to have been rejected by him, as being ill adapted for the epic. Traces of it in *Iliad* vi. 289, and *Odys.* iv. 227. 351.

Ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν Διομήδεος ἀριστείῃ <sup>328</sup>. λέγει δὲ τὰ ἔπεα οὕτω

Ἔνθ' ἦσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμπούκιλοι, ἔργα γυναικῶν  
Σιδωνίων, τὰς αὐτὰς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδὴς  
ἤγαγε Σιδονίθεν, ἐπιπλὺς εὐρέα πόντον,  
τὴν δὲδον ἦν Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγεν εὐπατέρειαν.

<sup>325</sup> ἐς δ. These words are included between brackets by Bekker, and they certainly appear entirely superfluous. But no conceivable cause seems assignable for their introduction; and therefore the corruption probably lies deeper, and would not be removed by simply striking them out, although by this means a good sense would result.

<sup>326</sup> κατὰ γὰρ ἐποίησε . . . πλάνην τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου. The word *κατὰ* is not the Ionic form of *καθὰ*, as has been supposed, but is the preposition separated from the last part of the compound verb *καταποιεῖν*. It is very true that this compound is never found; but it is regularly formed, and the reason of its not elsewhere appearing is that the simple verb very rarely has a sense admitting of that modification which results from the prefixing the preposition *κατὰ*. But in this passage the original meaning of "create" (from which the word *ποιεῖν* is derived) is entirely lost sight of in the secondary sense "to embody in language;" and the preposition *κατὰ* admits of composition with a word denoting this, just as appropriately as one signifying "to speak" or "to write." *καταποιεῖν* therefore would mean "to notice in the course of making a poem," as *καταλέγειν* is "to notice in an oral narrative," *καταγράφειν* "to set down in a draught." Hence the expression *κατὰ γὰρ ἐποίησε ἐν Ἰλιάδι* is to be rendered "for he notices in his poem, the *Iliad*." But, as the passage alluded to is somewhat vague, it was natural that a reader should look for some other in which the poet might return to the subject,—in which case something might be said to modify the inference that otherwise would be drawn from the mention made of Alexandrus, viz. that the poet recognised the account which took

him to Egypt. But this, Herodotus observes, is not the case; in no other passage does Homer return to the subject (*ἀνεπόδισε ἑωυτὸν*, "bring himself back on his own track:" see note on v. 92). Hence, Herodotus argues, as Homer alludes to Alexandrus in a way which seems to point to the Egyptian legend, and, as he nowhere else qualifies this allusion, we may presume that the Egyptian legend was known to him, and that he only rejected it because it was less manageable for his purpose.

<sup>327</sup> καὶ ἐς ἐς Σιδῶνα τῆς Φοινίκης ἀπύκετο. The normal structure of the sentence would require *καὶ ἐς Σιδῶνα ἀπύκετο*. But if Herodotus had terminated it in this manner he would have connected the clause with *ἀπνηλεΐχθῃ*, and thus have implied that the arrival of Alexandrus at Sidon was an involuntary act, he being carried thither, as Odysseus was to Phæacia, by the winds and waves. This, however, would be a glaring misrepresentation of the Homeric passage, and accordingly he modifies the form of his sentence as in the text.

<sup>328</sup> ἐν Διομήδεος ἀριστείῃ. This name is given by the Alexandrine grammarians to the fifth book of the *Iliad*, whereas the passage quoted in the text is in vi. 289, *seqq.* In defence of the accuracy of the citation it has been rightly observed that there is no reason to suppose the present division into twenty-four books to be so ancient as the time of Herodotus; and it has been argued, that under these circumstances the *Διομήδεος ἀριστείῃ* may have included this passage. But it seems scarcely possible to believe that, if that subject extended into Book VI., which is far from improbable, it went beyond v. 226. After this the scene changes to the interior of Troy, and Diomedes is no more mentioned.

[ἐπιμέμνηται<sup>320</sup> δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσεῒ, ἐν τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι·

Τοῖα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μητιόεντα,  
ἑσθλά, τὰ οἱ Παλθᾶμνα πόρεν, Θῶνος παρ᾿Ακοῖτις  
Αἰγυπτίῃ τῇ πλείστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα  
φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἑσθλά μεμγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά.

καὶ τότε ἔτερα πρὸς Τηλέμαχον Μενέλεως λέγει·

Αἰγύπτῃ μ' ἔτι δεῦρο θεοὶ μαμαῶτα νέεσθαι  
ἔσχον, ἐπεὶ οὐ σφιν ἔρεξα τελεήσας ἐκατόμβας.]

ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι ἔπεσι δηλοῖ ὅτι ἡπίστατο τὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον  
'Αλεξάνδρου πλάνην ὁμοῦρῃ γὰρ ἡ Συρίῃ Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ δὲ Φοί-  
νικες, τῶν ἐστὶ ἡ Σιδῶν, ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ οἰκέουσι. Κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὰ  
ἔπεα καὶ τότε τὸ χωρίον<sup>320</sup> οὐκ ἤκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα, δηλοῖ ὅτι  
οὐκ Ὀμήρου τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεά ἐστι ἀλλ' ἄλλου τινός. ἐν μὲν γὰρ  
τοῖσι Κυπρίοις εἴρηται, ὡς τριταῖος ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀλέξανδρος  
ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἄγων τὴν Ἑλένην, εὐαῖ τε πνεύματι χρυσά-  
μενος καὶ θαλάσῃ λείῃ· ἐν δὲ Ἰλιάδι λέγει ὡς ἐπλάζετο ἄγων  
αὐτήν<sup>321</sup>. Ὀμηρος μὲν νυν καὶ τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα χαιρέτω.

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Hence it is  
plain that  
the Cypria  
are not  
Homer's.

118 Εἰρομένου δὲ μεν τοὺς ἱρέας, εἰ μάταιον λόγον λέγουσι οἱ  
Ἕλληνες τὰ περὶ Ἴλιον γενέσθαι, ἢ οὐ; ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα  
τάδε, ἱστορίῃσι φάμενοι εἰδέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ Μενέλεω· ἐλθεῖν μὲν  
γὰρ μετὰ τὴν Ἑλένης ἀρπαγὴν ἐς τὴν Τευκρίδα γῆν<sup>322</sup> Ἑλλήνων

Egyptian  
view of the  
circum-  
stances at-  
tending the  
siege of  
Troy.

<sup>320</sup> ἐπιμέμνηται. Schaefer includes the text from this word to the end of the second quotation from the Odyssey between brackets as a later addition. The quotations certainly do not bear on the question at issue, for they relate to Menelaus's return from Troy.

<sup>320</sup> τότε τὸ χωρίον. This expression for "a passage" in a writing is unparalleled, and has excited great suspicion of the whole section, which is, however, found in all the MSS.

<sup>321</sup> ἐν δὲ Ἰλιάδι λέγει ὡς ἐπλάζετο ἄγων αὐτήν. The present text has not this phrase. Perhaps all that the writer means is that such a description of the transit of Alexandrus may be inferred from what is said in the *Iliad*: ἐκπλῶς εὐρέα πόντον. But such a deduction is scarcely warranted. In the description of the passage from the *Κύπρια* the poetical phraseology of the original can hardly be

missed, and an attempt has been made to restore the actual lines:

Σπάρτηθεν δὲ τριταῖος Ἀλέξανδρος [θεοει-  
δής]

"Ἴλιον εἰσαφίκανε ἄγων Ἑλένην [Ἀρ-  
γεῖν]

Εὐαῖ τ' ἀνέμων προῖξ λείῃ τε θαλάσῃ.

But it may be remarked that, if Ptolemy (quoted by Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, i. p. 353, note 2) is to be depended upon, this passage does not give a true account of the way in which Alexandrus was, in the *Cypria*, made to come from Sparta to Ilium; for he is said to have captured Tyre on his voyage thither.

<sup>322</sup> ἐς τὴν Τευκρίδα γῆν. This is obviously, in the view of the writer, the same as the Troad of the Homeric poems. But the first poet who brought the *Teucri* to Asia was CALLINUS (*ap. Strabon*. xiii. p. 117). He made them come from Crete,

στρατιὴν πολλήν, βοηθεύσαν Μενέλεω· ἐκβάσαν δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ἰδρυθεύσαν τὴν στρατιὴν πέμπειν ἐς τὸ "Ἴλιον ἀγγέλου· σὺν δὲ σφί ἵεναι καὶ αὐτὸν Μενέλεω· τοὺς δ' ἐπεὶ τε ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπαιτέειν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ οἱ οἶχετο κλέψας Ἀλέξανδρος, τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων δίκας αἰτέειν τοὺς δὲ Τευκροὺς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον λέγειν τότε καὶ μετέπειτα, καὶ ὁμνύντας καὶ ἀνωμοτὶ, μὴ μὲν ἔχειν Ἑλένην<sup>333</sup> μηδὲ τὰ ἐπικαλούμενα χρήματα, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτὰ πάντα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· καὶ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὶ δίκας ὑπέχειν<sup>334</sup> ἃ Πρωτεύς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος βασιλεὺς ἔχει· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες καταγελάσθαι δοκούντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οὕτω δὴ<sup>335</sup> ἐπολιόρκειον ἐς τὸ ἐξεῖλον· ἐλοῦσι δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ὥς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ἡ Ἑλένη, ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπυνθάνοντο, οὕτω δὴ πιστεύσαντες τῷ λόγῳ τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ Ἕλληνες αὐτὸν Μενέλεω ἀποστέλλουσι παρὰ Πρωτέα. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Μενέλεως ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀναπλώσας ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, εἶπας τὴν ἀληθεῖν τῶν πρηγμάτων, καὶ ξεινίων ἦρτησε μεγάλων καὶ Ἑλένην ἀπαθεία κακῶν ἀπέλαβε, πρὸς δὲ, καὶ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ χρήματα πάντα. τυχὼν μέντοι τούτων, ἐγένετο Μενέλεως ἀνὴρ ἄδικος ἐς Αἰγυπτίους· ἀποπλέειν γὰρ ὠρμημένοι αὐτὸν ἴσχον ἄπλοιοι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλὸν τοιοῦτο ἦν, ἐπιτεχνᾶται πρῆγμα οὐκ ὅσιον λαβὼν γὰρ δύο παῖδια ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἔντομά σφεα ἐποίησε· μετὰ δὲ, ὥς ἐπάϊστος ἐγένετο τοῦτο ἐργασμένος, μισθηθεὶς τε καὶ διωκόμενος, οἶχετο φεύγων τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐπὶ Διβύης<sup>336</sup>. τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὅκου ἐτράπετο,

119

Menelaus was hospitably received in Egypt, and recovered his wife and property, but afterwards incurred hatred by sacrificing two children of the country, and was forced to

and made them call Ida by that name after the Cretan mountain. Strabo says that, though the first who adopted this tradition, he was followed by many. If Callinus really did originate the legend, it follows that his time furnishes the superior limit (chronologically) to all stories in which the Teucri appear as located in Mysia; for instance to that in the text, and to the expedition into Europe spoken of in vii. 20, notwithstanding that is assigned to a time before the Trojan war.

<sup>333</sup> μὴ μὲν ἔχειν Ἑλένην. This passage is quoted by GREGORIUS, *De dialecticis*, as an example of the rule he lays down, that where the common dialect employs μὴν the Ionic has μέν. But in the case of Herodotus the MSS vary so arbitrarily between ἢ μὴν and ἡ μὲν, οὐ μὴν and οὐ μέν, that it is impossible to lay down any

such definite rule for his usage from existing data.

<sup>334</sup> δίκας ὑπέχειν, "to be sued." The accusative ἃ which follows is governed by these words, which are nearly equivalent to ἀπατεῖσθαι, and therefore used in the same regimen.

<sup>335</sup> οὕτω δὴ. See note 22 on i. 5.

<sup>336</sup> ἐπὶ Διβύης. This is the reading of all the MSS. PLUTARCH, who quotes the passage (*De Malign. Herod.* p. 857), seems to have found ἰθὺ ἐπὶ Διβύης. This would probably be a combination of two readings, ἰθὺ Διβύης and ἐπὶ Διβύης, and some of the editors have wished to substitute the former of these in the text here. But there seems no reason for setting aside the testimony of the MSS. As for the particular direction of the course which Menelaus was stated to



fly towards  
Libya.

οὐκέτι εἶχον εἰπεῖν Αἰγύπτῳ· τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἱστορίῃσι ἔφασσαν ἐπίστασθαι, τὰ δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖσι γενόμενα ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγειν.

120

Herodotus  
agrees with  
the Egypt-  
ian legend  
of Helen,  
and gives  
his reasons.

Ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον· ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ Ἑλένης λεχθέντι καὶ αὐτὸς προστίθεμαι, τὰδε ἐπιλεγόμενος· εἰ ἦν Ἑλένη ἐν Ἰλίῳ, ἀποδοθῆναι ἂν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἥτοι ἐκόντος γε ἢ ἄκοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου· οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὕτω γε φρενοβλαβῆς ἦν ὁ Πρίαμος, οὐδὲ οἱ ἄλλοι προσήκοντες αὐτῷ, ὥστε τοῖσι σφετέροισι σώμασι καὶ τοῖσι τέκνοισι καὶ τῇ πόλει κινδυνεύειν ἐβούλοντο<sup>227</sup>, ὅκως Ἀλέξανδρος Ἑλένη συνοικέῃ· εἰ δέ τοι καὶ ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι χρόνοις ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων ὁκότε συμμίσγοιεν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἀπώλλυντο, αὐτοῦ δὲ Πριάμου οὐκ ἔστι ὅτε οὐ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ καὶ ἔτι πλείους τῶν παίδων μάχης γινομένης ἀπῆνθησκον, (εἰ χροῖ τι τοῖσι ἐπισποιοῖσι χρεώμενον λέγειν,) τούτων δὲ τοιούτων συμβαινόντων, ἐγὼ μὲν ἔλπομαι, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς Πρίαμος συνοικέεε Ἑλένη, ἀποδοῦναι ἂν

have taken, it seems to have been determined by the existence of the *Μερελίδας λιμὴν* very near the site of the first settlement of the colonists of Cyrena. See iv. 169.

<sup>227</sup> ἐβούλοντο. This use of the word ἐβούλοντο after ὥστε is not a mere substitution of the indicative for the infinitive, which the normal form of construction would require. It implies more than would be meant by the infinitive, viz. that Priam and the rest of Alexander's relatives *did* choose to risk their lives. It is, in fact, a compression of two clauses (each involving a distinct proposition) into one. The sense is the same as if Herodotus, instead of ἐβούλοντο, had written βούλεσθαι (ὃ καὶ εὐρίσκειν). Very analogous to it is an expression in *Iliad* x. 244:

ἵνα εἰδομεν εἰ κεν Ἀχιλλεύς  
νῶϊ κατακτείνας, ἔναρα βροτόεντα φέρηται  
νῆας ἐπὶ γλαφυρὰ, ἥ κεν σφ' εὖροι δα-  
μείη,

where the optative δαμείη is not an arbitrary substitution for the normal subjunctive, but contains the wish of the speaker for the contemplated result, *over and above* the sense which would follow from the subjunctive; "or fall (as the gods grant he may!) under

thy spear." This peculiar idiom is one remarkably common in *Τίμοκритος*. Thus:

Ἄδιον, ὃ ποιμᾶν, τὸ τεὸν μέλος ἢ τὸ  
καταχῆς  
τήν' ἀπὸ τὰς τετραῖς καταλείβεται  
ὀφθαλμοῖσιν.

(*Idyll*. i. 8.)

See also *Idyll*. ii. 45; iii. 54; vii. 154. In the same way *Æschylus* makes Clytemnestra say of her husband on his return:

καὶ τραυμάτων μὲν εἰ τόσσων ἐτόγγαυον  
ἀνὴρ ὅς, ὡς πρὸς οἶκον ὥχετο εὐετό  
φάτις, τέτραται δικτύου πλέω λέγειν  
(*Agam.* 866),

where the sense is ὡς ἔφερε φάτις πρὸς οἶκον ὥχετο, *εὐετό*. And on the same principle may be explained a passage in *Sophocles* which has given a great deal of trouble to commentators:

τί δ' ἐνθάλαττα τῆς ἀμερίας [scil. ἔρας]  
νῦξ ἦδε βάρος;

(*Aj.* 207.)

This expression is, in fact, equivalent to τί δὲ βάρος ἦεν ἡ νύξ ἢ ἐνθάλαττα τῆς ἀμερίας ἔρας, the two idioms being implied in the compressed proposition.

αὐτὴν τοῖσι Ἀχαιοῖσι μέλλοντά γε δὴ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡ βασιλητὴ ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον περι-  
 ῆε<sup>328</sup>, ὥστε γέροντος Πριάμου ἑόντος, ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ πρήγματα  
 εἶναι· ἀλλὰ Ἐκτωρ, καὶ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀνὴρ ἐκείνου μᾶλλον  
 ἔων, ἔμελλε αὐτὴν Πριάμου ἀποθανόντος παραλάμψεσθαι· τὸν οὐ  
 προσήκε ἀδικεῖν τῷ ἀδελφεῷ ἐπιτρέπειν, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλων  
 κακῶν δι' αὐτὸν συμβαινόντων ἰδίῃ τε καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις  
 πᾶσι Τρωσὶ. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ εἶχον Ἑλένην ἀποδοῦναι, οὐδὲ λέγουσι  
 αὐτοῖσι τὴν ἀληθινήν ἐπίστευον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ γινώμην  
 ἀποφαίνομαι, τοῦ δαϊμονίου παρασκευάζοντος<sup>329</sup> ὅκως πανωλεθρίῃ  
 ἀπολλόμενοι καταφανὲς τοῦτο τοῖσι ἀνθρώποις ποιήσωσι, ὥς τῶν  
 μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαι εἰσὶ καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν.  
 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, τῇ ἔμοι δοκέει, εἰρηται.

Πρωτεύς δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλητὴν Ῥαμψίνιτον ἔλεγον· δς **121**  
 μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ προπύλαια τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέρην τετραμμένα  
 τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου, ἀντίους δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων ἔστησε ἀνδριάντας  
 δύο ἑόντας τὸ μέγαθος πέντε καὶ ἑξέκοσι πηχέων τῶν Αἰγύπτιοι  
 τὸν μὲν πρὸς βορέω ἑσπεῶτα καλέουσι θέρος, τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον  
 χειμῶνα· καὶ τὸν μὲν καλέουσι θέρος<sup>330</sup>, τοῦτον μὲν προσκυνέουσί  
 τε καὶ εὖ ποικεύουσιν τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα<sup>331</sup> καλεῦμενον τὰ ἔμπαλιν  
 τούτων ἔρδουσι· πλοῦτον δὲ τούτῳ τῷ βασιλείῃ γενέσθαι ἀργύρου  
 μέγαν, τὸν οὐδένα τῶν ὑστερον ἐπιτραφέντων βασιλέων δύνασθαι  
 ὑπερβαλέσθαι, οὐδ' ἐγγὺς ἐλθεῖν βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἀσφα-  
 λῇ τὰ χρήματα θησαυρίζειν, οἰκοδομέεσθαι οἰκημα λίθινον τοῦ

Proteus is  
 succeeded  
 by *Rampei-*  
*nitis*, who  
 built the  
 western pro-  
 pylaea of the  
 Hephæ-  
 stæum, and  
 set up two  
 colossal sta-  
 tuës oppo-  
 site to it.  
 His enor-  
 mous  
 wealth.  
 His trea-  
 sury is art-  
 fully robbed

<sup>328</sup> περιῆε. This expression is equiva-  
 lent to ἔμελλε περιελθεῖσθαι, which  
 shows that it must be considered as  
 having the force of an imperfect. It is  
 conjoined with the imperfect ἀπελευθερε  
 in iii. 51.

<sup>329</sup> τοῦ δαϊμονίου παρασκευάζοντος. By  
 the way in which Herodotus argues in  
 this section, it would appear that he was  
 not disposed to recognize the legend  
 (ΣΤΡΑΞΙΟΝΟΥΣ, *ap. Plat. Repub.* ix.  
 p. 586) in which Paris was made to carry  
 off a phantasm of Helen and take her to  
 Troy with him in mistake for the real  
 queen of Lacedæmon, who in the mean-  
 time was detained in Egypt. This legend  
 is the foundation of the play of ΕΥΚΛΙ-  
 ΠΙΔΗΣ. It is itself a poetic fiction to re-  
 concile two independent accounts (that of

the Homeric poems and that of the  
 Egyptian traditions) with one another.  
 Herodotus connects them in a more  
 matter-of-fact manner, by the scepticism of  
 the Hellenic army as to the protestations  
 of the Trojans.

<sup>330</sup> τὸν δὲ . . . θέρος. These words  
 are omitted in the manuscripts *a* and *c*.  
 Also *S* and *V*, which contain them, con-  
 tinue the text τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον χειμῶνα  
 καλεῦμενον, leaving out a line and a half,  
 obviously from an error of the eye.

<sup>331</sup> τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα. The manuscripts  
 which omit τὸν δὲ . . . θέρος, just above,  
 here have τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον χειμῶνα,  
 which shows that the omission did not  
 arise from an error of the eye, like the  
 variation of *S* and *V*, mentioned in the  
 last note.

by a most  
cunning  
chief,

τῶν τοίχων ἓνα ἐς τὸ ἔξω μέρος τῆς οἰκίας ἔχειν<sup>342</sup>. τὸν δὲ ἐργαζόμενον, ἐπιβουλεύοντα, τάδε μηχανᾶσθαι τῶν λίθων παρασκευάσασθαι ἓνα ἐξαιρετὸν εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου ῥηϊδίως καὶ ὑπὸ δύο ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ενός· ὡς δὲ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ οἶκημα, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα θησαυρίσαι τὰ χρήματα ἐν αὐτῷ χρόνῳ δὲ περιόντος, τὸν οἰκοδόμον περὶ τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου εὐντα ἀνακαλέσασθαι τοὺς παῖδας, (εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ δύο,) τοῦτοισι δὲ ἀπηγγέσθαι ὡς ἐκείνων προρέων ὅπως βίον ἄφθονον ἔχωσι, τεχνάσαιτο οἰκοδομῶν τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ βασιλέως<sup>343</sup>. σαφῶς δὲ αὐτοῖσι πάντα ἐξηγησάμενον τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐξαίρεσιν τοῦ λίθου, δοῦναι τὰ μέτρα αὐτοῦ, λέγοντα ὡς ταῦτα διαφυλάσσοντες ταμίαι τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων ἔσονται. καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν<sup>344</sup> ἔργου ἔχασθαι, ἐπελθόντας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλῆα νυκτός

<sup>342</sup> τοῦ τῶν τοίχων ἓνα . . . ἔχειν, "one of the walls of which communicated with the outside of the house." For the use of the word *ἰστέχειν*, see note on § 138.

<sup>343</sup> τεχνάσαιτο οἰκοδομῶν τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ βασιλέως. MÜLLER (*Orchomenus*, pp. 96, seqq.) endeavours to show that the story of the two brothers robbing the treasury of the king, and the escape of one of the two by the bold expedient of decapitating the other who was caught, is an ancient Minyean tradition, which was carried (he conceives) like many others to Egypt, and afterwards reproduced by the *ἐξηγηται* as a native Egyptian story. The grounds of this opinion consist mainly in the existence of a story, almost identical in its circumstances, in which the two brothers are Agamedes and Trophonius. PAUSANIAS found it current at *Orchomenus* in Boeotia, where Hyrieus (the eponymous founder of Hyrea) was made the owner of the robbed treasure-house (ix. 37. 3). CHARAX of Pergamus related a similar adventure in the treasure-house of Augeas at *Elis*. He made Agamedes king of Stymphalus in Arcadia, and Trophonius his son; and the victim who lost his head *Cercyon*, another son of Agamedes; and he added the further circumstance that Dædalus, who happened to be at the court of Augeas, both devised the snare in which Cercyon was taken and put Augeas on the track of the fugitives (ap. *Schol. ad Aristoph. Nub.* 508). But, although an ethnical connexion between the Minyceans and the Epeans (Augeas's subjects) may be al-

lowed, and the names of the masonic brothers may well have been familiar in any locality where there were remarkable domical buildings like those at Orchomenus, it can hardly be doubted that the tradition found by Pausanias at that place was formed upon the model of this very story in the text. His mention just before of the pyramids, and the undue interest attached by writers of reputation to foreign wonders, seems pointedly directed against Herodotus. The work of Charax, too, appears to have been constructed on the same principles as that of Apollodorus. Its object was to collect and arrange in a connected story the several local myths, so that it is no authority whatever for the genuineness of any given story in the form related. The mention of Augeas as king of "Elis" is a modern feature, for *Elis* did not exist before the Persian war (see note on viii. 73, below), and the introduction of Dædalus into the story is another. Dædalus was said at Lebedæa to be the sculptor of an idol there, which was usually concealed, but exhibited to the votary of Trophonius for worship just before he descended into the cave (PAUSAN. ix. 39. 8). Charax is certainly not earlier than the time of Nero, and belongs to the class of mere book-makers. See note 162 on i. 51.

<sup>344</sup> ἐς μακρὴν. The manuscripts M, P, K, F have *ἐς μακρόν*. But in a similar expression, οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν βουλευόμενοι (v. 108), all, with the exception of L, have the feminine form. The ellipse is of *ἀσπην*.

καὶ τὸν λίθον ἐπὶ τῷ οἰκοδομήματι ἀνευρόντας, ῥηιδίως μεταχει-  
 ρίσασθαι, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων πολλὰ ἐξενεῖκασθαι· ὥς δὲ τυχεῖν  
 τὸν βασιλέα ἀνοίξαντα τὸ οἶκημα, θουμάσαι ἰδόντα τῶν χρημάτων  
 καταδεῖν τὰ ἀγγηγία· οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ὅν τινα ἐπαιτιᾶται, τῶν τε  
 σημάτων ἑόντων σώων καὶ τοῦ οἰκήματος κεκλειμένου ὥς δὲ  
 αὐτῷ καὶ δις καὶ τρίς ἀνοίξαντι αἰεὶ ἐλάσσω φαίνεσθαι τὰ χρή-  
 ματα, (τοὺς γὰρ κλέπτας οὐκ ἀνίεναι κερατίζοντας,) ποιῆσαι μιν  
 τάδε· πάγας προστάξαι ἐργάσασθαι, καὶ ταύτας περὶ τὰ ἀγγηγία  
 ἐν τοῖσι τὰ χρήματα ἐῆν στήσαι· τῶν δὲ φωρῶν ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ πρὸ  
 τοῦ χρόνῳ ἐλθόντων, καὶ ἐνδύτος<sup>315</sup> τοῦ ἐτέρου αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς  
 τὸ ἄγγος προσῆλθε, ἰθέως τῇ πάγῃ ἐνέχεσθαι· ὥς δὲ γινῶναι αὐτὸν  
 ἐν οἷῳ κακῷ ἦν, ἰθέως καλέειν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν καὶ δηλοῦν αὐτῷ τὰ  
 παρόντα, καὶ κελεύειν τὴν τυχίστην ἐσδύντα ἀποτάμναι αὐτοῦ  
 τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὅπως μὴ αὐτὸς ὀφθεῖς καὶ γνωρισθεῖς ὅς εἴη προσ-  
 απολέσει καὶ ἐκείνῳ τῷ δὲ δόξαι εὖ λέγειν, καὶ ποιῆσαι μιν  
 πεισθέντα ταῦτα· καὶ καταρμόσαντα τὸν λίθον ἀπέναι ἐπ' οἴκου,  
 φέροντα τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ. ὥς δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο, ἐσ-  
 ελθόντα τὸν βασιλέα ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἐκπεπλήχθαι, ὀρέοντα τὸ σῶμα  
 τοῦ φωρὸς ἐν τῇ πάγῃ ἄνευ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔδν, τὸ δὲ οἶκημα ἄσινες,  
 καὶ οὔτε ἔσδοον οὔτε ἔκδυον οὐδεμίαν ἔχον ἀπορεύμενον δὲ μιν  
 τάδε ποιῆσαι· τοῦ φωρὸς τὸν νέκυν κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κατακρεμάσαι  
 φυλάκους δὲ αὐτοῦ καταστήσαντα, ἐντεῖλασθαι σφί τοὺς ἂν ἰδωνται  
 ἀποκλαύσαντα ἢ κατοικτιζάμενον συλλαβόντας ἄγειν πρὸς ἐωυτόν  
 ἀνακρεμαμένον δὲ τοῦ νέκυσ, τὴν μητέρα δεινῶς φέρειν, λόγους δὲ  
 πρὸς τὸν περιέοντα παῖδα ποιευμένην, προστάσσειν αὐτῷ ὅτε  
 τρόπῳ δύναται μηχανᾶσθαι ὅπως τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ κατα-  
 λύσας κομῇ· εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀμελήσει, διαπειλέειν αὐτήν, ὥς ἐλθοῦσα  
 πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μηνύσει αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τὰ χρήματα· ὥς δὲ χαλε-  
 πῶς ἐλαμβάνετο ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ περιέοντος παιδός, καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς  
 αὐτὴν λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε, ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι τοιάδε μιν ὄνους κατα-  
 σκευασάμενον καὶ ἄσκους πλήσαντα οἴνου, ἐπιθῆναι ἐπὶ τῶν ὄνων  
 καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλαύνειν αὐτούς· ὥς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας<sup>316</sup> ἦν  
 τὸν κρεμάμενον νέκυν, ἐπισπάσαντα τῶν ἄσκων δύο ἢ τρεῖς πο-

who frus-  
trates all  
attempts  
to detect  
him,

<sup>315</sup> ἐνδύτος. S has ἐσδύτος.

<sup>316</sup> κατὰ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας. See note on iii. 14, κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας.

δεῶνας αὐτὸν λύνει ἀπαμμένους· ὥς δὲ ἔρρει ὁ οἶνος, τὴν κεφαλὴν μιν κόπτεσθαι μεγάλη βοῶντα, ὥς οὐκ ἔχοντα πρὸς ὁκοῖον τῶν ὄνων πρῶτον τράπηται· τοὺς δὲ φυλάκους ὥς ἰδεῖν πολλὴν ῥέοντα τὸν οἶνον, συντρέχειν ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν ἀγγηρία ἔχοντας καὶ τὸν ἐκκεχυμένον οἶνον συγκομίζειν ἐν κέρδει ποιευμένους, τὰν δὲ διαλοιδορεῖσθαι πᾶσι, ὀργὴν προσποιεῦμενον παραμυθευμένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν φυλάκων, χρόνῳ πρηγνέσθαι προσποιέεσθαι καὶ ἵπλεσθαι τῆς ὀργῆς· τέλος δὲ, ἐξέλασαι αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄνους ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ κατασκευάζειν ὥς δὲ λόγους τε πλείους ἐγγίνεσθαι, καὶ τινα καὶ σκῶφαί μιν καὶ ἐς γέλωτα προαγαγέσθαι<sup>347</sup>, ἐπιδούναι αὐτοῖσι τῶν ἀσκῶν ἕνα· τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ εἶχον, κατακλιθέντας πίνειν διανοέεσθαι, καὶ ἐκείνον παραλαμβάνειν καὶ κελεύειν μετ' ἐσωτῶν μέινοντα συμπίνειν· τὸν δὲ πεισθῆναι τε δὴ καὶ καταμείναι· ὥς δὲ μιν παρὰ τὴν πόσιν φιλαφρόνως ἡσπάζοντο, ἐπιδούναι αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἄλλον τῶν ἀσκῶν δαφιλίῃ δὲ τῇ ποτῇ χρησαμένους τοὺς φυλάκους ὑπερμεθυσθῆναι, καὶ κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου αὐτοῦ ἐνθάπερ ἔπινον κατακοιμηθῆναι· τὸν δὲ, ὥς πρόσω ἦν τῆς νυκτός, τό τε σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ καταλύσαι καὶ τῶν φυλάκων ἐπὶ λύμῃ πάντων ξυρῆσαι τὰς δεξιὰς παρηγῆδας<sup>348</sup>. ἐπιθέντα δὲ τὸν νέκυν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνειν ἐπ' οἴκου, ἐπιτελέσαντα τῇ μητρὶ τὰ προσταχθέντα· τὸν δὲ βασιλέα, ὥς αὐτῷ ἀπηγγέλθη τοῦ φαρὸς ὁ νέκυσ ἐκκεκλεμμένος, δεινὰ ποιεῖν πάντως δὲ βουλόμενον εὐρεθῆναι ὅστις κοτὲ εἴη ὁ ταῦτα μηχανώμενος, ποιῆσαί μιν τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά· τὴν [δὲ]<sup>349</sup> θυγατέρα τὴν ἐαυτοῦ κατίσαι ἐπ' οἰκῆματος<sup>350</sup>, ἐντειλάμενον πάντας τε ὁμοίως προσδέκεσθαι καὶ

although  
the king  
prostitutes  
his own  
daughter in  
the vain  
attempt.

<sup>347</sup> καὶ ἐς γέλωτα προαγαγέσθαι. This is not an instance of the use of the middle voice for the active, or indeed of the middle voice at all. The subject of the verb includes the brother, who feigned himself to be overcome by the sense of the ridiculous, stimulated by the jokes of some of the soldiers. Translate: "and as more talk sprang up and some went on to joke him, and they were brought into a merry mood."

<sup>348</sup> ξυρῆσαι τὰς δεξιὰς παρηγῆδας. The same insult was put upon the envoys of David by Hannu the prince of Ammon (2 Sam. x. 4), and was the occasion of a war; and NIEBUHR the traveller (quoted by Rosenmüller, *Das alte u. neue Mor-*

*genland*, iii. p. 136) says that an exactly similar affront caused an important expedition to be made in the year 1765 by Kerim Khan against Mir Mahenna, an independent chief of Benderrigh, a small principality on the Persian gulf. So constant are the habits and feelings of Orientals.

<sup>349</sup> [δέ.] This word is found in all the MSS but 8. Bekker omits it.

<sup>350</sup> ἐπ' οἰκῆματος. This expression recurs below, § 126, and in both cases what is meant is a "public brothel." The word had become almost appropriated to this use at Athens in the time of Socrates. XENOPHON (*Memorab.* ii. 2. 4) says: ἐπεὶ τοῦτου γε [τοῦ τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἐπιθυμῶν]

πρὶν συγγενέσθαι ἀναγκάζειν λέγειν αὐτῇ ὃ τι δὴ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἔργασται αὐτῇ σοφώτατον καὶ ἀνασιώτατον ; ὃς δ' ἂν ἀπηγγήσῃται τὰ περὶ τὸν φῶρα γεγενημένα, τοῦτον συλλαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ ἀπιέναι ἔξω ὡς δὲ τὴν παῖδα ποιεῖν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς προσταχθέντα, τὸν φῶρα πυθόμενον τῶν εἵνεκα ταῦτα ἐπρήσσετο, βουλευθέντα πολυτροπῇ τοῦ βασιλέως περυγενέσθαι, ποιεῖν τάδε νεκροῦ προσφάτου ἀποταμόντα ἐν τῷ ὥμῳ τὴν χεῖρα<sup>351</sup>, ἵεναι αὐτὸν ἔχοντα αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἱματίῳ ἐσελθόντα δὲ ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα<sup>352</sup> καὶ εἰρωτώμενον τάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀπηγγέσασθαι ὡς ἀνοσιώτατον μὲν εἶη ἐργασμένος, ὅτε τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὸ πάγης ἀλόντος ἀποτάμοι τὴν κεφαλὴν σοφώτατον δὲ, ὅτι τοὺς φυλάκους καταμεθύσας καταλύσει τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ κρεμáμενον τὸν νέκυν τὴν δὲ, ὡς ἤκουσε, ἀπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ τὸν δὲ φῶρα ἐν τῷ σκότει προτεῖναι αὐτῇ τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν χεῖρα, τὴν δὲ ἐπιλαβομένην ἔχειν, νομίζουσιν αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τῆς χειρὸς ἀντέχεσθαι, τὸν δὲ φῶρα προέμενον αὐτῇ οἴχεσθαι διὰ θυρέων φεύγοντα ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ἀνευέιχθαι, ἅτε ἐκπεπλήχθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πολυφροσύνῃ τε καὶ τόλμῃ τὰνθρώπων τέλος δὲ, διαπέμποντα ἐς πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, ἄδειάν τε διδόντα καὶ μεγάλα ὑποδεκόμενον ἐλθόντι ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ τὸν δὲ φῶρα πιστεύσαντα ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν 'Ραμφίνιτον δὲ μεγάλως θωυμάσαι, καὶ οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην συνοικίσαι ὡς

At last he is offered a free pardon to discover himself, and rewarded by the hand of the king's daughter for his talents.

τῶν ἀπολυόντων μιστοὶ μὲν αἱ ὀδοί, μετὰ δὲ τὰ οἰκήματα, and ΠΛΑΤΟ (*Char. mid.* § 23) uses the expression ἐπ' οἰκήματος καθῆσθαι as equivalent to "corpore questum facere." In later times, says Valcknaer, the terms στέγος or τέγος were specially applied to the same thing. This allowed the bitter sarcasm (ascribed by Diogenes Laertius to Diogenes the Cynic, but probably of much later origin) to be passed upon a person of infamous character, on the enquiry being made "of what country was he?" Τεγεάτης ἐστὶ.

<sup>351</sup> ἀποταμόντα ἐν τῷ ὥμῳ τὴν χεῖρα. The word χεῖρ is used for the whole of the arm from the shoulder to the tips of the fingers, as well as for the mere hand. This last HIPPOCRATES terms ἄκρα χεῖρ when distinguishing it from the βραχίον and πῆχυς, as being the last of the three parts which make up the arm. The term

χειρονομεῖν, applied to the pantomimic gestures of a dancer, must have been coined while the word χεῖρ suggested the notion of the whole member. Hence Herodotus says of the feat of Hippocleides (vi. 129), τοῖσι σκέλεσι [not ποσὶ] ἐχειρονόμησε. See too the note on iv. 62, σὺν τῇσι χερσὶ. Translate, "having cut off the arm at the shoulder."

<sup>352</sup> ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα. This is the reading of Gaisford, following M, P, S, V, and K. Schweighäuser reads ἐς for ὡς, with R, F, a, and c. But there are no data for determining which form was used by the author, nothing being more inconstant than the practice of the transcribers. See notes on § 135, ἐς Μυτιλήνην, on § 147, ἐς γὰρ δὴ . . . συνελθόντες, and on iii. 140, τοῦτων τὸν ἄνδρα.

πλείστα ἐπισταμένῳ ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίους μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων προκεκρίσθαι, ἐκείνων δὲ Αἰγυπτίων.

122

A subsequent descent of Rampsinitus into Hades, and return therefrom, is commemorated by a festival.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγον τοῦτον τὸν βασιλεῖα ζῶν καταβήναι κάτω ἐς τὸν οἶον Ἕλληνες αἰδοῦν νομίζουσι εἶναι, καὶ κείθι συγκυβέειν τῇ Δήμητρι<sup>333</sup>. καὶ τὰ μὲν νυκτὴν αὐτήν, τὰ δὲ ἑσπέρουσαν ὑπὸ αὐτῆς· καὶ μιν πάλιν ἄνω ἀπικέσθαι δῶρον ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτῆς χειρόμακτρον χρύσειον. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥαμψινίτου καταβάσιος, ὡς πάλιν ἀπικέτο, ὁρτὴν δὴ ἀνάγειν Αἰγυπτίους ἔφασαν τὴν καὶ ἐγὼ οἶδα ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐπιτελείοντας αὐτοὺς, οὐ μέντοι εἶτε δι' ἄλλο τι εἶτε διὰ ταῦτα ὁρτάζουσι ἔχω λέγειν φᾶρος δὲ αὐτημερὸν ἐξυφηναντες οἱ ἱερεῖς, κατ' ὧν ἔδησαν ἐνὸς αὐτῶν μήτρῃ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀγαγόντες δὲ μιν ἔχοντα τὸ φᾶρος ἐς ὁδὸν φέρουσιν ἐς ἱὸν Δήμητρος, αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλάσσονται ὀπίσω· τὸν δὲ ἱερεῖα τοῦτον καταδεμένον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς λέγουσι ὑπὸ δύο λύκων<sup>334</sup> ἄγεσθαι ἐς τὸ ἱὸν τῆς Δήμητρος, ἀπέχον τῆς πόλιν ἑξήκοσι σταδίων, καὶ αὐτὴς ὀπίσω ἐκ τοῦ ἱοῦ ἀπάγει μιν τοὺς λύκους ἐς τὸν αὐτὸ χωρίον.

123

The Egyptians consider that Dionysus and Demeter are the rulers of Hades.

Τοῖσι μὲν νυν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγομένοις χράσθω ὅτεφ τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανά ἐστι· ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον<sup>335</sup> ὑπόκειται, ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὲρ ἐκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω. ἀρχηγετεύειν δὲ τῶν κάτω Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι Δήμητρα καὶ Διώνυσον<sup>336</sup>. πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τότε τὸν λόγον<sup>337</sup> Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσι οἱ εἰπόντες· ὡς ἀνθρώπων

<sup>333</sup> Rampsinitus has been supposed to be a word made up of the two names *Rameses* and *Neit*, in which case it would intimate the union of a deity of each sex. From the story in the text, we may suppose that this pair was a Poseidon and Demeter, or a Hades and Cora.

<sup>334</sup> *ὡς δύο λύκων*. The wolf is a conspicuous object in Egyptian representations of Amneth, the Egyptian Hades. See the last note.

<sup>335</sup> *παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον*. It does not seem at all necessary to confine the application of these words to the author's account of Egypt. He appears to have had no special standard of belief in one part of his work differing from that in another. Where he expressly declares that he rests upon a distinct authority (as, for example, in § 99, and the beginning of § 142), the assertion seems called forth mainly by a sense of the impossibility of harmonizing the account with the commonly received legends of the Greeks.

See note 339, above.

<sup>336</sup> *Δήμητρα καὶ Διώνυσον*. The meaning of the writer doubtless is that those deities whom the Greeks understood by Dionysus and Demeter held sway, according to 'the Egyptians,' over the lower world. This is the religion of the Eleusinian mysteries. See the *Frogs* of ARISTOPHANES, vv. 316—413, and notes 128, 134, above. It must be remembered that the Dionysus here meant is not the rural deity, the god of the vine-dressers. Neither is the Demeter the Roman Ceres. See below, note 429.

<sup>337</sup> *πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τότε τὸν λόγον*. The meaning of the author appears to be, not that the Egyptians were the first who maintained the immortality of the soul, and added to that belief the theory of metempsychosis, but that they were the first who propounded the doctrine of the soul's immortality in the form of a theory of metempsychosis.

ψυχὴ ἀθάνατός ἐστι, τοῦ σώματος δὲ καταφθίνοντος ἐς ἄλλο ζῶον Dogma of metempsychosis, and cycle of 3000 years.  
 αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσδύεται· ἐπεὶ δὲ περιέλθῃ πάντα τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ  
 τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ, αὐτὶς ἐς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον  
 ἐσδύνειν τὴν περιήλυσιν δὲ αὐτῇ γίνεσθαι ἐν τρισχιλίοις ἔτεσι.  
 τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ εἰσὶ οἱ Ἕλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, οἱ μὲν πρότερον οἱ δὲ  
 ὕστερον, ὡς ἰδίῳ ἑωυτῶν ἔοντι· τῶν ἐγὼ εἰδὼς τὰ οὐνόματα οὐ  
 γράφω.

Μέχρι μὲν νυν Ῥαμφινίτου βασιλέως εἶναι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πᾶσαν 124  
 εὐνομίην ἔλεγον, καὶ εὐθηνέειν Αἴγυπτον μεγάλως μετὰ δὲ The good times for Egypt end with Rampsinitus, who is succeeded by Cheops, an atheist and tyrant.  
 τοῦτον, βασιλεύσαντά σφεν Χέοπα ἐς πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐλάσαι.  
 κατακληῖσαντα γάρ μιν πάντα τὰ ἱρὰ, πρῶτα μὲν σφεν θυσιῶν  
 ἀπέρξαι μετὰ δὲ, ἐργάζεσθαι ἑωυτῷ κελεύειν πάντας Αἰγυπτίους·  
 τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἀποδεδέχθαι, ἐκ τῶν λιθοτομέων τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ  
 οὐρεὶ <sup>350</sup>, ἐκ τουτέων ἔλκειν λίθους μέχρι τοῦ Νείλου διαπεραιω-  
 θέντας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν πλοίοις τοὺς λίθους ἐτέροις ἔταξε ἐκ-  
 δέκεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλούμενον ὄρος <sup>351</sup>, πρὸς τοῦτο  
 ἔλκειν ἐργάζοντο δὲ κατὰ δέκα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων <sup>352</sup> αἰεὶ τὴν  
 τρίμηνον ἐκάστην· χρόνον δὲ ἐγγενέσθαι τριβομένῳ τῷ ἄλλῳ  
 λαῷ <sup>353</sup>, δέκα μὲν ἔτεα τῆς ὁδοῦ κατ' ἣν εἰλκον τοὺς λίθους, τὴν  
 ἔδειμαν, ἔργον ἐὼν οὐ πολλῷ τέῳ ἔλασσον τῆς πυραμίδος, ὡς ἐμοὶ  
 δοκέειν (τῆς γὰρ μήκος μὲν εἰσι πέντε στάδιοι, εὖρος δὲ δέκα  
 ὀργυιαί, ὕψος δὲ, τῇ ὑψηλοτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὕτη ἑωυτῆς, ὅκτω ὀργυιαί <sup>354</sup>,

<sup>350</sup> ἐκ τῶν λιθοτομέων τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ οὐρεὶ, "from the quarries in the Arabian hill." These are the stone-works mentioned above, § 8, in the range forming the eastern boundary of the valley of the Nile, "a calcareous formation." WILKINSON, *Modern Egyptians*, i. p. 300.

<sup>351</sup> τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλούμενον ὄρος. This is the low range on the western side of the Nile. The pyramids are built on a spur of this ὄρεινῃ ὄρεϊ, as STRABO calls it.

<sup>352</sup> κατὰ δέκα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων, "by gangs of 100,000 men."

<sup>353</sup> τῷ ἄλλῳ λαῷ. This is the reading of the manuscripts P, M, C, K, F. But Gaisford, following S, V, and the rest, leaves out the word ἄλλῳ. The retention of the word implies some distinction between the labourers; and this, from the

nature of the case, is not improbable. The building up of the pyramids would be a more difficult task than the quarrying and removal of the stones and the erection of the causeway. It is conceivable that the services of the whole population were pressed in turn for the one, although they might be unavailable for the other.

<sup>354</sup> ὅκτω ὀργυιαί. WILKINSON (i. p. 360) remarks that the numbers here must be at fault, as Herodotus himself (§ 127) makes the hill on which the pyramids stand 100 feet high. He describes a causeway which runs from the third pyramid for the length of about 1000 yards, and which is 85 feet high and 32 broad; but as the outer faces have fallen it must have been originally more. This causeway was used by the caliphs for carrying the stones, quarried from the pyramid, back to the



λίθου τε ξεστοῦ καὶ ζώων ἐγγεγλυμμένων) ταύτη τε δὴ<sup>353</sup> τὰ δέκα ἕτεα γενέσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου, ἐπ' οὐ ἐστᾶσι αἱ πυραμίδες, τῶν ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκημάτων, τὰς ἐποίετο θήκας ἑαυτῷ ἐν νήσῳ διώρυχα τοῦ Νείλου ἐσαγαγών<sup>354</sup>. τῇ δὲ πυραμίδι αὐτῇ χρόνον γενέσθαι ἑέικοσι ἕτεα ποιευμένη· τῆς ἐστὶ πανταχῇ<sup>355</sup> μέτωπον ἕκαστον ὁκτὼ πλῆθρα εἰσῆς τετραγώνου, καὶ ὕψος ἴσον λίθου δὲ ξεστοῦ τε καὶ ἀρμωσμένου τὰ μάλιστα· οὐδεὶς τῶν λίθων τριήκοντα ποδῶν ἐλάσ-  
 125 σων<sup>356</sup>. Ἐποικίθη δὲ ὧδε αὐτῇ ἡ πυραμίς, ἀναβαθμῶν τρόπον τὰς

Arabian shore, where they were employed in constructing some of the finest buildings of Cairo.

<sup>353</sup> ταύτη τε δὴ. The MSS vary between ταύτη τε, ταύτη δὲ, ταύτη δὲ δὴ, and ταύτη τε δὴ. Bekker conjectures ταύτης τε δὴ, which certainly gives a more symmetrical construction. But the meaning of the author seems to be slightly different from what would be given by ταύτης. Ταύτη is "in this part of the operation," which is probably meant to include the preparation of the site for the base of the pyramid as well as the mere building of the causeway, and therefore is a correction of the τῆς ὁδοῦ used just before. When the rough miscellaneous preparations were completed the regular work began,—the raising of the pyramid and the construction of the subterraneous chambers.

<sup>354</sup> διώρυχα τοῦ Νείλου ἐσαγαγόν. It seems quite certain that this statement as it stands cannot be true. The base of the pyramid stands even now 100 feet above the level of the highest inundation; and, from the raising of the alluvium since the time of Herodotus, the difference of level must then have been even greater. But by digging to a considerable depth into the limestone rock which forms the nucleus of the pyramid—rising up in it, according to Colonel Vyse, to a height of 22 feet—water might possibly be found: for the Libyan mountain is said to rest upon a clay stratum, which would retain the percolating fluid. (WILKINSON, i. p. 338.) Now it appears that the rock has really been perforated diagonally, and a chamber in it exists 105 feet below the base of the pyramid, and on about the same level as the plain under the rock on which the pyramid stands. In the floor of this chamber is "a pit placed diagonally with regard to the walls, which was excavated by Colonel Vyse to the depth of 36 feet, without leading to any

result." (WILKINSON, i. p. 335.) It seems not impossible that further excavations may discover a termination of these passages in some chamber presenting an appearance like the pool and shrine described by Herodotus at Buto (§ 156). The water in such a pool (if it existed) would partially be Nile water filtered through from the river, rising as in a well, but the level would be far below the base of the pyramid. The error which the use of an interpreter naturally involves, might very well out of these facts produce such a statement as that in the text, and in § 127, below. And even if such a chamber should not be found to exist, yet, if it was contemplated, the description might be given. It may be added that such an arrangement would be in accordance with the theory that the pyramids are temples, and belong to the same religious system as the Belus of Babylon (see Strabo's expression Βήλου τῆρος in note 607 on i. 181) the Apollo of Delos and Patara (i. 182), the Mithras of Bactria, Media, and Persia, and the Osiris of Egypt in Herodotus's time.

<sup>355</sup> πανταχῇ. So Gaisford reads with B, V, K, F. The others have πανταχῇ. In v. 78 all have πανταχῇ.

<sup>356</sup> οὐδεὶς τῶν λίθων . . . ἐλάσων. He means, no doubt, the outer tier: the inner stones are much less. The dimensions of the pyramid, when perfect, were the following, taking the mean between Colonel Vyse's and Sir G. Wilkinson's estimates. Length of side 760 feet; perpendicular height 481 feet. Vyse makes its former area 13 acres, 1 rood, 22 poles. Wilkinson's estimate would make it stand on nearly half an acre more of ground than the area of Lincoln's Inn Fields. Herodotus does not mention what is the fact, that its sides, as well as those of the other pyramids, exactly face the cardinal points.

μετεξέτεροι κρόσσας οἱ δὲ βαμίδας ὀνομάζουσι· τοιαύτην τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεὶ τε ἐποίησαν αὐτήν, ἤειρον τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους λίθους<sup>367</sup> μηχανῇσι ξύλων βραχέων πεποιημένησι, χαμάθεν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον στοίχον τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν ἀείροντες, ὅπως δὲ ἀνίαι ὁ λίθος ἐπ' αὐτὸν, εἰς ἐτέρην μηχανὴν ἐτίθετο ἐστεῶσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου στοίχου ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον ἔλκετο στοίχον ἐπ' ἄλλης μηχανῆς· ὅσοι γὰρ δὴ στοῖχοι ἦσαν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν τοσαῦται καὶ αἱ μηχαναὶ ἦσαν· εἰ τε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μηχανὴν εὐσαν μίαν τε καὶ εὐβάστακτον μετεφόρεον ἐπὶ στοίχον ἕκαστον, ὅπως τὸν λίθον ἐξέλοιεν· λελέχθω γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα, κατὰπερ λέγεται. ἐξεποιήθη<sup>368</sup> δ' ὡν τὰ ἀνώτατα αὐτῆς πρῶτα· μετὰ δὲ, τὰ ἐπόμενα τούτων ἐξεποίηεν τελευταία δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπὶ γαῖα καὶ τὰ κατωτάτω ἐξεποίησαν. σεσήμανται δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων Αἰγυπτίων ἐν τῇ πυραμίδι<sup>369</sup>, ὅσα ἔς τε συρμαίνην καὶ κρόμμνα καὶ σκόροδα<sup>370</sup> ἀναισιμώθη τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι· καὶ ὡς ἐμὲ εὖ μεμνήσθαι τὰ ὁ ἑρμηνεύς μοι ἐπιλεγόμενος<sup>371</sup> τὰ γράμματα ἔφη, ἐξακόσια καὶ

Mode in which the pyramid was built.

<sup>367</sup> τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους λίθους. These would be the stones intended for the outside tier. See the last note.

<sup>368</sup> ἐξεποιήθη, "were shaped off," i. e. by smoothing down the stones to the angle which the face of the pyramid was intended to make with the horizon. This is ascertained to be, in the great pyramid, 52°. (WILKINSON, i. p. 336.)

<sup>369</sup> ἐν τῇ πυραμίδι. This has been generally interpreted to mean "on the face of the pyramid;" and unless the violence of Cambyzes led him to open the pyramids while in the country, it does not seem likely that access to the interior would have been allowed. But may not Herodotus have been shown something in the Hephæsteum at Memphis professing to be a copy of an inscription that had been hid in the recesses of the pyramid, just as we deposit medals in the foundations of our buildings? WILKINSON, who interprets ἐν τῇ πυραμίδι as above, finds much difficulty in it. "From the manner in which Herodotus speaks of the inscription, we might suppose it to have been in Hieratic or Enchorial hieroglyphics. But the latter was then [i. e. when the pyramid was built?] unknown, and the Hieratic was not used on monuments." (i. p. 333.) VYSE found hieroglyphics containing the king's name (*Shafu* = *Saphis* =

*Cheops*) in a chamber inside. On the other hand an Arabian historian, *Abd-el-Azeez*, is said by Wilkinson to confirm Herodotus's statement as he understands it.

<sup>370</sup> συρμαίνην καὶ κρόμμνα καὶ σκόροδα. The *συρμαίνη* is said by WILKINSON to be the *figl*, now commonly eaten in Egypt by the lower classes. (i. p. 328.)

<sup>371</sup> μοι ἐπιλεγόμενος τὰ γρ., "while reading the inscription for me." The use of the phrase is such as to indicate an action like that of Cyrus (i. 126). The dragoman professed to read the inscription *off* to Herodotus; and nothing is more likely than that he gave the sum estimated in terms of *talents* without any sense of the incongruity. In estimating the value of the interpretation it should not be overlooked that the articles in question did not constitute the workmen's food, as has been erroneously assumed, but only the *dyon*, or *condiment* to the *soria*, or food. That persons who described the wonders of the country should be thought, or even profess, to "read off" the substance of the tradition they related, is very natural. When Germanicus visited Thebes, among the ruins there remained "*structis molibus hieræ Egyptiæ priorem opulentiam complexæ, jussusque e senioribus sacerdotum*

χίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελέσθαι. εἰ δ' ἔστι οὕτως ἔχοντα ταῦτα, κόσα εἰκὸς ἄλλα δεδαπανῆσθαι ἔστι ἐξ τε σιδηρον τῷ ἐργάζοντο, καὶ σιτία καὶ ἐσθῆτα τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι; ὁκοτε χρόνον μὲν οἰκοδόμεον τὰ ἔργα τὸν εἰρημένον, ἄλλον δὲ, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἐν τῷ τοὺς λίθους ἔταμνον καὶ ἄγον, καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν ὄρυγμα ἐργάζοντο, οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον. Ἐς τοῦτο δὲ ἐλθεῖν Χέσπα κακότητος,

126

Cheops's expedient to procure money. His daughter raises a small pyramid with the profits of her prostitution.

ὥστε χρημάτων δεόμενον, τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἐωντοῦ κατίσαντα ἐπ' οἰκῆματος προστάξαι πρῆσσεσθαι ἀργύριον ὁκόσον δὴ τι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε ἔλεγον· τὴν δὲ τὰ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ταχθέντα πρῆσσεσθαι, ἰδίῃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν διανοηθῆναι μνημήϊον καταλιπέσθαι, καὶ τοῦ ἐσιόντος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκάστου δέεσθαι ὅκως ἂν αὐτῇ ἓνα λίθον ἐν τοῖσι ἔργοις δωρέοιτο<sup>372</sup>. ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν λίθων ἔφασαν τὴν πυραμίδα οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ἐστηκυῖαν<sup>373</sup>, ἔμπροσθε τῆς μεγάλης πυραμίδος· τῆς ἐστὶ τὸ κῶλον ἕκαστον ὄλου καὶ ἡμίσεος πλέθρου<sup>374</sup>. Βασιλεύσαι δὲ τὸν Χέσπα τοῦτον Αἰγύπτιοι ἔλεγον πεντήκοντα ἔτεα· τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου, ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλῆτῃν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Χεφρήνα· καὶ τοῦτον δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ διαχρᾶσθαι τῷ ἑτέρῳ, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ πυραμίδα ποιῆσαι ἐς μὲν τὰ ἐκεῖνου μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν ταῦτα γὰρ ὦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμετρήσαμεν<sup>375</sup>. (οὔτε γὰρ ὑπεστί οἰκῆματα ὑπὸ γῆν, οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυξ ἦκει ἐς αὐτὴν ὥσπερ ἐς τὴν ἑτέραν ῥέουσα· διὰ οἰκοδομημένου δὲ αὐλῶνος ἔσω νῆσον περιρρέει, ἐν τῇ αὐτὸν λέγουσι κεῖσθαι Χέσπα<sup>376</sup>.) ὑποδείμας δὲ τὸν πρῶτον δόμον λίθου Αἰθιο-

127

Cheops, after reigning fifty years, is succeeded by his brother Chephren, who builds a pyramid somewhat smaller, and reigns fifty-six years.

*patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat* 'habitasse quondam septinginta millia setate militari; atque eo cum exercitu regem Rhamsen Libyā, Æthiopiā, Medisque et Persis, et Bactriano ac Scythā potitum; quasque terras Syri Armeniique et contigui Cappadoces colunt inde Bithynum hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse.' (TACITUS, *Annal.* ii. 60.) No one will suppose that this is a translation of what was really inscribed in hieroglyphics.

<sup>372</sup> τὴν δὲ τὰ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς . . . δωρέοιτο. It seems quite clear that this story as well as that of Rhodopis belong to the same type as the Sardinian legend commented upon above (note 329 on i. 92). The fact furnishing the foundation would be the union of two religions,—a Belus-worship and a Mylitta-worship.

The smaller pyramid was regarded as peculiar to the goddess.

<sup>373</sup> τὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ἐστηκυῖαν, "standing in the middle of the three." There are three small pyramids opposite to the eastern face of the great pyramid. They are rather less than three others which are opposite to the southern face of Mycerinus's. (WILKINSON, i. p. 361.)

<sup>374</sup> ὄλου καὶ ἡμίσεος πλέθρου. WILKINSON says that this edifice is only 122 feet square, but considers that the difference may be accounted for by its ruined condition. (i. p. 361.)

<sup>375</sup> ταῦτα γὰρ ὦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμετρήσαμεν. VYSE gives as the dimensions of this pyramid when complete: length of side 708 feet; perpendicular height 464·3; area 11 acres, 1 rood, 38 poles.

<sup>376</sup> οὔτε γὰρ . . . κεῖσθαι Χέσπα. I sus-

πικου ποικίλου<sup>377</sup>, τεσσεράκοντα πόδας ὑποβάς τῆς ἐτέρης τώντῳ μέγαθος<sup>378</sup>, ἐχομένην τῆς μεγάλης οἰκοδόμησε. ἐστᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ λόφου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφότεραι, μάλιστα ἐς ἑκατὸν πόδας<sup>379</sup> ὑψηλοῦ. βασιλεῦσαι δὲ ἔλεγον Χεφρήνα ἕξ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα. Ταῦτα 128 ἕξ τε καὶ ἑκατὸν λογιζονται ἔτεα, ἐν τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι τε πᾶσαν εἶναι κακότητα καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ χρόνου τοσούτου κατακληθίσθοντα οὐκ ἀνοιχθῆναι. τούτους ὑπὸ μίσεος οὐ κάρτα θέλουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας καλέουσι ποιμένος Φιλι- The shep- τίωνος<sup>380</sup>, ὃς τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔνεμε κτήνεα κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ λition. χωρία<sup>381</sup>.

pect that this sentence is of the nature of a note, whether appended by the author or not. It is not called for by the expression *ἐς τὰ ἐκείνου μέτρα οὐκ ἀνέκουνσαν*, but it is suggested by it, as another point in which the second pyramid fell short of the first. For the subject-matter see note 364, above.

<sup>377</sup> λίθου Αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου. This is the Syenite granite, the *lapis gyrrhoracicus* of PLINY (xxvi. 8). Blocks of this lie scattered about the base of the pyramid. (WILKINSON, i. p. 343.)

<sup>378</sup> τεσσεράκοντα . . . μέγαθος, "having taken forty feet short of the other in the same dimension," i. e. the length of the side. This would not be quite accurate; but the difference (760—708) or 52 might be less in Herodotus's measurement, exact determination being extremely difficult.

<sup>379</sup> ἐς ἑκατὸν πόδας. DAVISON found the height of the base of the great pyramid of Cheops above the river to be 163 feet. This was in October, 1764. Since that time three steps under the apparent lowest step have been uncovered, and these add 11 feet to the perpendicular height of the pyramid, and of course have to be deducted from the elevation of its base (ap. *Walpole's Turkey*, pp. 345. 349). Making this allowance, we may suppose that, at the time Herodotus visited the site, the base on the brow would be about 150 feet above the level of the Nile in the month of October.

<sup>380</sup> ποιμένος Φιλιτῖωνος. This was doubtless the popular belief of the Egyptian boors, among whom the vague tradition of the country having been once overrun by nomad shepherds, "an abomination to the Egyptians," was united with another of the stupendous edifices they saw having been built by task-work. It is not likely

that these poor people should be versed in the genealogies, which constituted a branch of the learning of the priests. The condition of the mass of the country-people at the time Herodotus visited the country—sixty or seventy years after the ruin brought upon it by Cambyses—may be perhaps understood by comparing it with that of the modern Greek peasantry at the present time. Of these a traveller in Crete, in 1834, says: "Out of a party of half a dozen Greeks not one knows the year, or has any idea of an era. They reckon neither from Christ nor Mohammed, but tell me that they believe in Christ. On my asking who he was, they answer, 'How should we know? we are ignorant peasants, and only know how to cultivate our fields and vineyards.' Scarcely any Cretan Greeks, except some of the Patéres in the monasteries, have ever heard of the Christian era; but they all date events one by another. Thus in Crete, the year of the great earthquake; the time when Khadji Osmán-pashá was governor of Khania; the outbreaking of the Greek revolution; the peace of Khusein-bey, &c., are the principal epochs to which all the events of the last twenty-five years are referred." (PASHLEY, *Travels in Crete*, i. p. 273.) In the eighth century of the Christian era, FIDELIS, a French monk, while proceeding up the Nile, was struck with astonishment at the sight of "the seven barns built by Joseph, which looked at a distance like mountains, four in one place and three in another" (ap. *Dicuil. De mensurâ orbis*, vi. 3). The tradition which Herodotus received has probably as little claim to authority as that of Fidelis. In both cases the tradition is shaped by the ideas prevalent among the people who transmit it; and a

129

*Mycerinus, son of Cheops, succeeds to Chephren.*

*He is a mild, pious, and just prince.*

*Legend respecting his daughter.*

130

*Her body entombed in the figure of a cow in the palace at Sais.*

131

*Another explanation of the figures in the palace at Sais.*

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον, βασιλεύσαι Αἰγύπτου Μυκερίνον ἔλεγον Χέοπος παῖδα· τῷ τὰ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργα ἀπαδεῖν τὸν δὲ τὰ τε ἱρὰ ἀνοῦξαι<sup>323</sup> καὶ τὸν λεὼν τετρυμένον ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀνεῖναι πρὸς ἔργα τε καὶ θυσίας· δίκας δὲ σφί πάντων βασιλέων δικαιοτάτας κρίνειν. κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν νυν τὸ ἔργον, ἀπάντων ὅσοι ἦδη βασιλέες ἐγένοντο Αἰγυπτίων, αἰνέουσι μάλιστα τοῦτον τὰ τε ἄλλα γάρ μιν κρίνειν εὖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ ἐπιμεμφομένῳ ἐκ τῆς δίκης παρ' ἐωντοῦ διδόντα ἄλλα, ἀποσιμπλάναι αὐτοῦ τὸν θυμόν. ἐόντι δὲ ἥλιω τῷ Μυκερίνῳ κατὰ τοὺς πολήτας καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύοντι πρῶτον κακῶν ἄρξαι τὴν θυγατέρα ἀποθανοῦσαν αὐτοῦ, τὴν μούνον οἱ εἶναι ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι τέκνον· τὸν δὲ ὑπεραλγῆσαντά τε τῷ περιεπεπτῶκεε πρήγματι, καὶ βουλόμενον περισσώτερόν τι τῶν ἄλλων θάψαι τὴν θυγατέρα, ποιήσασθαι βούν ξυλινὴν κοίλην καὶ ἔπειτα καταχρυσώσαντά μιν ταύτην, ἔσω ἐν αὐτῇ θάψαι ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν θυγατέρα<sup>324</sup>. Αὕτη ὦν ἡ βοῦς γῇ οὐκ ἐκρύφθη, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν φανερὴ, ἐν Σαί μὲν πόλι ἐοῦσα κειμένη δὲ ἐν τοῖσι βασιλῆτοισι, ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἡσκημένῳ· θυμῆματα δὲ παρ' αὐτῇ παντοῖα καταγίζουσι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην· νύκτα δὲ ἐκάστην πάννυχος λύχνος παρακαλεῖται. ὡγχοῦ δὲ τῆς βοῦς ταύτης ἐν ἄλλῃ οἰκίᾳ εἰκόνες τῶν παλλακῶν τῶν Μυκερίνου ἐστᾶσι, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ ἐν Σαί πόλι ἱρέες· ἐστᾶσι μὲν γὰρ ξύλινοι κολοσσοί, ἐοῦσαι ἀριθμὸν ὡς ἑλέκοσι μάλιστα κη, γυμναὶ ἐργασμέναι αἵ τινες μέντοι εἰσὶ οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πλὴν ἡ τὰ λεγόμενα. Οἱ δὲ τινες λέγουσι περὶ τῆς βοῦς ταύτης καὶ τῶν κολοσσῶν τόνδε τὸν λόγον· ὡς Μυκερίνος ἐράσθη τῆς ἐωντοῦ θυγατρὸς, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐμίγη οἱ ἀκούσῃ· μετὰ δὲ, λέγουσι ὡς ἡ παῖς ἀπῆγγατο ὑπὸ ἄλχεος, ὃ δὲ μιν ἔθαψε ἐν τῇ βοῇ ταύτῃ· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῆς τῶν ἀμφιπόλων τῶν προδουσέων τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ πατρὶ ἀπέταμε τὰς χεῖρας· καὶ νῦν τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτέων εἶναι πεποθυίας τάπερ αἱ ζῶαι ἔπαθον. ταῦτα

due estimate of its value would save much trouble in the fruitless attempt to reconcile it with more authentic data. See note on vii. 129.

<sup>323</sup> τοῦτους ἐπὶ μίσους . . . τὰ χωρία. This sentence appears to be of the nature of a note, although very possibly from the hand of the author. The antecedent of the word τοῦτους may be easily discovered by inference; but nothing can be harsher

than the construction grammatically, if the clause be regarded as forming part of a continuous text.

<sup>324</sup> τὰ τε ἱρὰ ἀνοῦξαι. See note on § 133.

<sup>325</sup> ποιήσασθαι . . . θυγατέρα. These two lines are left out in F, obviously from the homoioteleuton deceiving the eye of the transcriber.

δὲ λέγουσι φληνρέοντες, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν κολοσσῶν ταῦτα γὰρ ὦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὠρόμεν, ὅτι ὑπὸ χρόνου τὰς χεῖρας ἀποβεβλήκασι, αἱ ἐν ποσὶ αὐτέων φαίνονται εἶναι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμέ. Ἡ δὲ βοῦς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατα- 132  
κέκρυπται φοινικῷ εἵματι, τὸν αὐχένα δὲ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φαίνει  
κεχρυσωμένα παχῇ κάρτα χρυσῷ μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν κερέων, ὁ τοῦ  
ἡλίου κύκλος μεμνημένος ἔπεστι χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ ἡ βοῦς οὐκ  
ὀρθή, ἀλλ' ἐν γούνασι κειμένη, μέγας δὲ ὅσηπερ μεγάλη βοῦς  
ζωή· ἐκφέρεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἀνὰ πάντα τὰ ἔτεα, ἐπεὰν  
τύπτωνται οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενον θεὸν ὑπ' ἐμεῦ ἐπὶ  
τοιούτῳ πρήγματι<sup>383</sup>. τότε ὦν καὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκφέρουσι ἐς τὸ φῶς·  
φασὶ γὰρ δὴ αὐτὴν δεσθῆναι τοῦ πατρὸς Μυκερίνου ἀποθνήσκου-  
σαν, ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἅπαξ μιν τὸν ἥλιον κατιδεῖν<sup>384</sup>.

Μετὰ δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸ πάθος, δεύτερα τοῦτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ 133  
τάδε γενέσθαι· ἐλθεῖν οἱ μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος<sup>385</sup>, ὡς “μέλ-  
λοι ἔξ ἔτεα μῶνον βιοῦς τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τελευτήσῃ” τὸν δὲ, δεινὸν

Description  
of the sacred  
cow carried  
every year  
in proces-  
sion.

Mycerinus  
receives an  
oracle from  
Buto pro-

<sup>383</sup> τὸν οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενον θεὸν ὑπ' ἐμεῦ  
ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι, “the deity whom  
in such a matter is not named by me.”  
The deity in question was *Osiris*, and He-  
rodotus's objection was not to naming him,  
for that he does elsewhere (§§ 42. 144),  
but to naming him in conjunction with a  
ceremony indicating woe. In the mystical  
ritual in question *Osiris* was the Egyptian  
Adonis, represented as dead: ὁ τριφίλατος  
Ἀδωνίς ὃ κῆν Ἀχέροντι φιλεῖται. (THEO-  
CRITUS, xv. 86.) See note 123, above.  
It was this circumstance which excited  
the religious feelings of a Dorian Greek.  
He shrank from associating the name of a  
deity in many respects analogous to the  
Apollo of his own traditions, a deity of the  
upper regions, with a word (κόπτονται)  
implying the lamentation for death. On  
the same principle he preserves a religious  
silence in speaking of the same thing in  
§ 171, his feeling being that of Xeno-  
phanes, who bade the Egyptians in refer-  
ence to these rituals of sorrow: εἰ θεοὺς  
νομίζουσι, μὴ θρηνεῖν· εἰ δὲ θρηνοῦσι,  
θεοὺς μὴ νομίζειν.

<sup>384</sup> φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν . . . κατιδεῖν. In  
the time of PLUTARCH a consistent phy-  
sical explanation was given to this ritual.  
The exposition of the golden cow, covered  
at that time with a black robe, took place  
on four days, from the seventh to the

tenth of the Egyptian month *Aithyr*. It  
was at the time when the overflow of the  
Nile began visibly to subside, and the  
land to appear. Hence the lamentation  
for the death of *Osiris* (in this proceeding  
identified with the rising Nile) and the  
appearance of *Isis* (the fertile earth); in a  
robe of black however, as lamenting the  
departure of her husband the Nile, whose  
society has left her in a condition to become  
a mother, and produce the crops which  
grow upon the saturated plain. But  
*Osiris* was also to be lamented if con-  
sidered as the Sun; for at this time the  
nights began to be longer than the days.  
It is to be observed that *Isis* was, according  
to Plutarch, not the whole Earth, but only  
that portion of it which was overflowed  
by the river,—the *alluvium*. So likewise  
*Osiris* was not absolutely identical with  
the river, but was regarded as developing  
himself in its inundation. (Νεῖλον Ὀσί-  
ριδος ἀπορροὴν νομίζουσι: *De Iside et*  
*Osiride*, p. 366.) This view is easily con-  
nected with the notion of *Osiris* being the  
Sun by the adoption of such a *modus*  
*operandi* as Herodotus contemplates in  
§ 25.

<sup>385</sup> μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος. The  
site of the oracle is described in § 155.  
See also note 213, above.

phesying  
his death  
after six  
years.

ποιησάμενον, πέμψαι ἐς τὸ μαντήιον τῷ θεῷ<sup>336</sup> ὀνειδισμα, ἀντι-  
μεμφόμενον ὅτι "ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦ πατὴρ καὶ πάτριος, ἀποκληῖσάντες  
τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ θεῶν οὐ μαμνημένοι ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φθείρου-  
τες, ἐβίωσαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, αὐτὸς δ' εὐσεβῆς ἐὼν μέλλοι  
ταχέως οὕτω τελευτήσῃν" ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χρηστηρίου αὐτῷ δεύτερα  
ἐλθεῖν λέγοντα "τούτων ἕνεκα καὶ συνταχύνειν αὐτῷ τὸν βίον οὐ  
γὰρ ποιησαί μιν τὸ χρεὼν ἦν ποιεῖν δέω γὰρ Αἴγυπτον κακοῦσθαι  
ἐπ' ἔτεα πεντήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατόν καὶ τοὺς μὲν δύο τοὺς πρὸ  
ἐκείνου γενομένους βασιλέας μαθεῖν τοῦτο, κείνον δὲ οὗ" ταῦτα  
ἀκούσαντα τὸν Μυκερίνον, ὡς κατακεκρμένον ἤδη σὶ τούτων,  
λύχνα ποιησάμενον πολλὰ, ὅπως γίνοιτο νύξ, ἀνάψαντα αὐτὰ,  
πίνειν τε καὶ εὐπαθέειν οὔτε ἡμέρης οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀκέντα, ἔς τε τὰ  
ἔλεα καὶ τὰ ἄλσεα πλανώμενον καὶ ἵνα πυνθάνοιτο εἶναι γῆς<sup>337</sup>  
ἐνηβητήρια<sup>338</sup> ἐπιτηδεώτατα. ταῦτα δὲ ἐμνηχανάτο θέλων τὸ μαν-  
τήιον ψευδόμενον ἀποδέξαι, ἵνα οἱ δυώδεκα ἔτεα ἀπὲρ ἑξ ἑτέων  
γένηται αἱ νύκτες ἡμέραι ποιούμεναι.

134

Pyramid of  
Mycerinus.

Πυραμίδα δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀπελίπετο πολλὸν ἐλάσσω τοῦ πατρὸς,  
(ἐλείκοσι ποδῶν καταδέουσιν κῶλον ἕκαστον<sup>339</sup> τριῶν πλέθρων,

<sup>336</sup> τῷ θεῷ. The oracle appears to have belonged to Leto, or at least to some deity who in the time of the writer had become analogous to the Hellenic Leto; and therefore it has been proposed to read τῇ θεῇ. But all the MSS have the masculine article; and it seems far from unlikely that the primeval ritual of this Egyptian deity was not one in which the distinction of sex was an important point. CKEUZEN (*Symbolik*, iii. pp. 240, seqq.) has shown her substantial identity with the goddess in the Heraeum at Mycenae, of which some circumstances suggest the belief that the original was an androgynous deity. See note on viii. 104.

<sup>337</sup> γῆς. This word (which does not exist in any of the MSS) is restored by Valcknaer from a citation by Gregorius. *De dialecto Ionicā*.

<sup>338</sup> ἐνηβητήρια. This word is explained by the grammarians as ἐνενηχητήρια. The character of the places alluded to may be easily understood by remembering the attractions which the "fornix et uncta popina" possessed for Horace's slave. SALLUST represents the army of Sylla as corrupted by the "loca amoenae voluptaria" which they found in Asia. (*Catil.* § 11.)

These were no doubt abundant in a place situated as Buto was, in the highway of maritime traffic. It may be remarked that the habits ascribed to Mycerinus, combined with the form of his daughter's shrine, imply a return to the service of deities whose ritual was analogous to that into which the Israelites fell (*Exod.* xxx. 4-6); for it should be remembered that the revelry in question was regarded as a species of religious service.

<sup>339</sup> κῶλον ἕκαστον, "in each side." These words are governed in the same way as τῶντὸ μέγεθος in § 127. But the passage is probably corrupt, as it seems impossible to bring the numbers into accordance with known facts. The present base of the pyramid is 333 feet by measurement, and the former length is estimated by VRSZ as 354.6 feet. The confusion appears to me to lie in the words which I have included in a parenthesis. In this parenthesis I conceive the writer, whether Herodotus himself, or, as I believe, a later hand - intended to state the amount of difference between the dimensions of Mycerinus's pyramid and his father's; but how the present text grew out of this statement I cannot suggest.

εὐσης τετραγώνου,) λίθον δὲ ἐς τὸ ἡμισυ Αἰθιοπικοῦ<sup>390</sup>. τὴν δὲ μετεξέτεροί φασι Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδάπιος ἐταίρης γυναικὸς<sup>391</sup> εἶναι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες· οὐδὲ ἂν οὐδὲ εἰδότες μοι φαίνονται λέγειν οὗτοι ἦτις ἦν ἡ Ῥοδάπις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οἱ πυραμίδα ἀνέθεσαν ποιήσασθαι τοιαύτην, ἐς τὴν ταλάντων χελιάδες ἀναρίθμητοι, ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, ἀνασιμῶνται· πρὸς δέ, ὅτι κατὰ Ἀμασιν βασιλεύοντα ἦν ἀκμάζουσα<sup>392</sup> Ῥοδάπις ἄλλ' οὐ κατὰ τοῦτον ἔτεσι γὰρ κάρτα πολλοῖσι ὕστερον τούτων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τὰς πυραμίδας ταύτας ἦν λιπομένων, [Ῥοδάπις] γενεὴν μὲν ἀπὸ Θρητικής· δούλη δὲ ἦν Ἰάδμονος τοῦ Ἐφαιστιοπόλιος ἀνδρὸς Σαμίον, σύνδουλος δὲ Αἰσώπου τοῦ λογοποιοῦ<sup>393</sup>. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο, ὡς διέδεξε τῇδε οὐκ ἥκιστα· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ πολλάκις κηρυσσόντων Δελφῶν<sup>394</sup> ἐκ θεοπροπίου “ὅς βούλοιο ποιῆν τῆς Αἰσώπου ψυχῆς ἀνελέσθαι,” ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐφάνη, Ἰάδμονος δὲ παιδὸς παῖς, ἄλλος Ἰάδμων, ἀνέλετο· οὕτω καὶ Αἰσώπος Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο. Ῥοδάπις δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆκετο, Ξάνθεω τοῦ Σαμίου κομισαντος· ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ' ἐργασίην<sup>395</sup>, ἐλύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου, τοῦ Σκαμανδρωνύμου παιδὸς ἀδελφεοῦ δὲ Σαπφούς τῆς μουσικοποιοῦ· οὕτω δὲ ἡ Ῥοδάπις ἐλευθερώθη, καὶ κατέμεινέ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ κάρτα ἐπαφρόδιτος γενομένη μεγάλη ἐκτίησατο χρήματα, ὡς ἂν εἶναι Ῥοδάπιν, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ὥς γε ἐς πυραμίδα τοιαύτην ἐξέκισθαι<sup>396</sup>. τῆς γὰρ τὴν δεκάτην τῶν χρημάτων ἰδέσθαι ἐστὶ ἔτι

Story of Rhodopis examined, and its groundlessness shown.

135

Authentic record of

<sup>390</sup> λίθον Αἰθιοπικοῦ. Wilkinson censures STRABO (xvii. p. 448) for calling this substance ‘black stone,’ which he supposes to be ‘a bad translation of the λίθος Αἰθιοπ. of Herodotus.’ But Strabo uses the expression merely in contradistinction to the white stone of the calcareous formation, and by no mistake; as is obvious by his qualifying it as meaning “that stone out of which they make the θνῖαι, bringing it from the confines of Ethiopia, far away.”

<sup>391</sup> ἐταίρης γυναικός. See note 372, above.

<sup>392</sup> κατὰ Ἀμασιν βασιλεύοντα ἦν ἀκμάζουσα. See note 380, above.

<sup>393</sup> Αἰσώπου τοῦ λογοποιοῦ. See note on v. 36.

<sup>394</sup> κηρυσσόντων Δελφῶν. PLUTARCH (*De serd. N. vindictâ*, p. 556) relates that Æop was sent by Croesus to sacrifice at the oracle of Apollo, and to present each of the Delphians with four minæ; but that,

some dispute arising between them, he sent the money back to Croesus, and the Delphians in anger, under a false charge of sacrilege, threw him down a precipice. After this a curse fell upon the land, and it was for the removal of this they were desirous of making a propitiation. It is strange that Herodotus should not mention the connexion of Æop with Croesus, if that feature in the narrative had existed in his time. See note 173 on i. 54.

<sup>395</sup> κατ' ἐργασίην. He uses a similar expression, αἱ ἀνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι, i. 93.

<sup>396</sup> οὐκ ὥς γε ἐς πυραμίδα τοιαύτην ἐξέκισθαι. In the time of STRABO a popular fiction had arisen to get over this difficulty. Rhodopis (or, as Strabo calls her, Rhodope), it was said, was bathing, when an eagle picked up one of her sandals and dropt it into the vest of “the king” at Memphis as he sat administering justice



the wealth  
of Rhodopis  
in an offer-  
ing at  
Delphi.

Naucratis  
celebrated  
for *heptera*.

## 136

Mycerinus  
is succeeded  
by *Sasychis*,  
who built  
the eastern  
propylaea  
to the Heph-  
aestum,

καὶ ἐς τότε παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ, οὐδὲν δεῖ μεγάλα οἱ χρήματα ἀναθεῖναι· ἐπεθύμησε γὰρ Ῥοδῶπις μνημῆιον ἑωυτῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταλιπέσθαι, ποιήμα ποιησαμένη τοῦτο τὸ μὴ τυγχάνει ἄλλῳ ἐξευρημένον καὶ ἀνακείμενον ἐν ἱρῷ, τοῦτο ἀναθεῖναι ἐς Δελφούς μνημόσυνον ἑωυτῆς· τῆς ὡν δεκάτης τῶν χρημάτων ποιησαμένη ὀβελοὺς βουπόρους πολλοὺς σιδηρέους, ὅσον ἐνεχώρει ἡ δεκάτη οἱ, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφούς· οἱ καὶ νῦν ἔτι συννεύεται ὅπισθε μὲν τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸν Χίοι ἀνέθεσαν, ἀντίον δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νηοῦ. φιλέουσι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ναυκράτι ἐπαφρόδιτοι γίνεσθαι αἱ ἐταῖραι· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὕτη, τῆς περὶ λέγεται ὁδε ὁ λόγος, οὕτω δὴ τι κλεινὴ ἐγένετο ὥς καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες Ῥοδῶπιος τὸ οὖνομα ἐξέμαθον τοῦτο δὲ ὕστερον ταύτης, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀρχιδίκη αἰδοῖμος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐγένετο, ἥσσαν δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας περιλεσχήμεντος<sup>397</sup>. Χάραξος δὲ ὥς λυσάμενος Ῥοδῶπιον ἀπενόστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην<sup>398</sup>, ἐν μέλει Σαπφῶ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησέ μιν. Ῥοδῶπιος μὲν νυν περὶ πέπauμαι.

Μετὰ δὲ Μυκερίων γενέσθαι Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες Σάσυχιν<sup>399</sup>, τὸν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ποιῆσαι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια, ἔοντα πολλῶ τε κάλλιστα καὶ πολλῶ μέγιστα. ἔχει μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ πάντα προπύλαια<sup>400</sup> τύπους τε ἐγγεγλυμμένους καὶ ἄλλην ὄψιν οἰκοδομημάτων μυρίην<sup>401</sup>, ἐκείνα δὲ καὶ μακρῷ μάλιστα. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος, ἔλεγον, ἀμιξίης ἐούσης πολλῆς χρημάτων<sup>402</sup>, γενέσθαι νόμον Αἰγυπτίοισι, ἀποδεκνύντα ἐνέχυρον τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν νέκυν οὕτω λαμβάνειν τὸ χρέος· προστεθῆναι δὲ

in the open air. A search, like that for Cinderella, was made and terminated by her being found at *Naucratis*, becoming the queen of "the king;" and finally being buried in the pyramid in question (xvii. c. i. p. 450). See note 329, on i. 93, and note 372, on ii. 128. Strabo says that Sappho called this female by the name of *Doriche*.

<sup>397</sup> *περιλεσχήμεντος*, "matter of anecdote." See notes on i. 153; ix. 71.

<sup>398</sup> ἐς Μυτιλήνην. The manuscripts S, V, K, and R have this reading, while M, P, F have ὡς M. See above, note 352.

<sup>399</sup> Σάσυχιν. The MSS have Ἄσυχιν. But *Sasychis* is a name which is equivalent to one appearing on the hieroglyphics (see note 404, below); and the omission of the initial σ is easily accounted for by an ordinary practice in uncial manuscripts.

See note 25, on i. 5.

<sup>400</sup> τὰ πάντα προπύλαια. From § 101 it appears that there were *propylaea* on the northern side of the Hephæstæum at Memphis, attributed to the king Moeris.

<sup>401</sup> ἄλλην ὄψιν οἰκοδομημάτων μυρίην. It is not easy to say exactly what the meaning of these words is. I am inclined to think that Herodotus means by them the ornaments appropriate to architectural decoration, other than the colossal figures cut in the surface of the stone, which he expresses by *τύποι ἐγγεγλύμμενοι*. Translate: "for while all the propylaea have both figures cut in and other things seen in buildings to an infinite extent, those even far exceed the others."

<sup>402</sup> ἀμιξίης χρημάτων, "a want of circulation of money."

ἔτι τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ τόνδε, τὸν δίδοντα τὸ χρέος καὶ ἀπάσης κρατέ-  
 ειν τῆς τοῦ λαμβάνοντος θήκης<sup>403</sup>. τῷ δὲ ὑποτιθέντι τοῦτο τὸ ἐνέ-  
 χυρον τήνδε ἐπείναι ζημίην μὴ βουλομένην ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρέος, framed a  
law with  
regard to  
family  
vaults,  
 μήτ' αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ τελευτήσαντι εἶναι ταφῆς κυρῆσαι μήτ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ  
 τῷ πατρίῳ τάφῳ μήτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί, μήτε ἄλλον μηδένα τῶν  
 ἑωυτοῦ ἀπογενόμενον θάψαι. ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ βουλόμενον τοῦτον and built  
a brick  
pyramid  
claiming  
to be very  
superior to  
the stone  
ones.  
 τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς πρότερον ἑωυτοῦ βασιλέας γενομένους Αἰγύπτου,  
 μνημόσυνον πυραμίδα λιπέσθαι ἐκ πλίνθων ποιήσαντα· ἐν τῇ<sup>404</sup>  
 γράμματα ἐν λίθῳ ἐγκεκολαμμένα τάδε λέγοντά ἐστι ΜΗ ΜΕ  
 ΚΑΤΟΝΟΣΘΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΛΙΘΙΝΑΣ ΠΥΡΑΜΙΔΑΣ.  
 ΠΡΟΕΧΩ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΕΛΩΝ ΤΟΣΟΤΤΟΝ, ὍΣΟΝ Ὁ ΖΕΥΣ  
 ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ. ΚΟΝΤΩ ΓΑΡ ὙΠΟΚΤΗΤΟΝ-  
 ΤΕΣ<sup>405</sup> ΕΣ ΑΙΜΝΗΝ, Ὁ ΤΙ ΠΡΟΣΧΟΙΤΟ ΤΟΤ ΠΗ-  
 ΛΟΤ ΤΩ ΚΟΝΤΩ ΤΟΤΤΟ ΣΤΑΛΛΕΓΟΝΤΕΣ, ΠΑΙΝ-  
 ΘΟΤΣ ΕΙΡΤΣΑΝ<sup>406</sup>, ΚΑΙ ΜΕ ΤΡΟΠΩ ΤΟΙΟΤΤΩ ΕΞ-  
 ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ. τοῦτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον, βασιλεύσαι ἄνδρα τυφλὸν ἐξ Ἀνύσιος πόλιος, 137

<sup>403</sup> τῆς τοῦ λαμβάνοντος θήκης, "the tomb belonging to the borrower." The original power seems to have been to mortgage the sepulchre; the subsequent law rather to have been passed to prevent the scandal which might arise if the practice had become common, and the habit of not redeeming the pledge had weakened the religious feelings of the people.

<sup>404</sup> ἐν τῇ. See note 369, above. It seems most probable that the pyramid here spoken of is the northern brick one of those at Dashur, the former three being those at Giseh. BUNSEN (*Aegyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, ii. p. 89) very plausibly conjectures that Herodotus had this pyramid described to him while he was at Giseh looking at the three he has already mentioned. The pyramid at Dashur is most admirably built of brick, and according to PERRING (*quoted by Bunsen*, l. c.) does possess a pre-eminence among all the others—with the exception of the three at Giseh—equal to that claimed for it in the text. Bunsen's notion is that it was built *before* the three Giseh pyramids, and that the inscription does not refer to them but to the other Dashur edifices. He believes Herodotus to have misplaced Sasychis's reign from a misconception of this point. Bunsen

himself places him immediately before Cheops at the close of Manetho's third dynasty. In the Dashur pyramid half a block was discovered, which appears when complete to have borne the name *Seserkera*. (BUNSEN, p. 114.) Perring gives the side of the pyramid at the base as 350 feet, and estimates its height when complete at 215·6. It is in ruins, and was apparently so in the time of the Egyptian kings, as mummies and later hieratic inscriptions are found in erections among the ruins. (BUNSEN, pp. 91, *seqq.*) According to Bunsen's view of the case, the only substantial truth in the inscription (said to exist) would be the relative superiority of the pyramid to those antecedently built. This Bunsen and Perring make to consist in the *regularity* of its brick masonry as compared with the *irregular* stonework of its two neighbours, the stone pyramids of Dashur, although in point of size it is much inferior, one of them being estimated at 719 feet square when complete. (VYSE *ap. Wilkinson*, i. p. 370.)

<sup>405</sup> ὑποκίπτοντες. Gaisford and all the MSS have ὑποτίπτοντες. But see the note on vi. 119.

<sup>406</sup> πλίνθους εἰρυσαν. Compare ἐλκύσαντες πλίνθους, i. 179.

Next *Any-  
sis*, a blind  
man, reign-  
ed.  
He takes  
refuge in  
the marshes  
upon the  
invasion of  
*Sabacos* the  
Ethiopian,  
who reigns  
fifty years.

τῷ ὄνῳμα "Ανυσιν εἶναι· ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἐλάσαι ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον χειρὶ πολλῇ Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ Σαβακῶν τὸν Αἰθιοπικὸν βασιλέα· τὸν μὲν δὴ τυφλὸν τούτου οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα ἐς τὰ ἔλσα· τὸν δὲ Αἰθιοπία βασιλεύειν Αἰγύπτου ἐπ' ἔτεα πεντήκοντα· ἐν τοῖσι αὐτὸν τάδε ἀποδέξασθαι ὅπως τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἀμάρτοι τι, κτείνειν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδένα ἐθέλειν· τὸν δὲ κατὰ μέγαθος τοῦ ἀδικήματος ἐκάστῳ διακάζειν, ἐπιτάσσοντα χρώματα χοῦν πρὸς τῇ ἐωυτῶν πόλι· ὅθεν ἄκαστος ἦν τῶν ἀδικούντων· καὶ οὕτω ἔτι αἱ πόλεις ἐγένοντο ὑψηλότεραι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐχώσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν τὰς διώρυχας ὀρυζάντων ἐπὶ Σεσωστριος βασιλέος, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αἰθιοπικῶς καὶ κάρτα ὑψηλαί ἐγένοντο.

Elevation of  
the dykes,  
especially  
at the fane  
of Bubastis.

138

Description  
of this.

Ἵψηλῶν δὲ καὶ ἐτέρων τασσομένων ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ πολίων, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μάλιστα μὲν Βουβάστι πόλις<sup>407</sup> ἐξεχώσθη, ἐν τῇ καὶ ἱρὸν ἐστὶ Βουβάστιος ἀξιαπηγητότατον μέζω μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ πολυδαπανιώτερά ἐστι ἱρὰ, ἥδονῃ δὲ ἰδέσθαι οὐδὲν τούτου μᾶλλον ἢ δὲ Βούβαστις κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμῖς<sup>408</sup>. Τὸ δὲ ἱρὸν αὐτῆς ὧδε ἔχει· πλὴν τῆς ἐσόδου, τὸ ἄλλο νήσος ἐστὶ ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχες ἐσέχουσι<sup>409</sup>, οὐ συμμιλογουσαι ἀλλήλησι, ἀλλ' ἄχρι τῆς ἐσόδου τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐκατέρῃ ἐσέχει, ἡ μὲν τῇ περιμέουσα, ἡ δὲ τῇ, εὖρος ἐούσα ἐκατέρῃ ἐκατὸν ποδῶν δένδρεσι κατὰ σκιος· τὰ δὲ προπύλαια ὕψος μὲν δέκα ὀργυίων ἐστὶ, τύποισι δὲ ἐξαπτήχεσι ἐσκευάδαται ἀξίοισι λόγου· ἐὼν δ' ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλι· τὸ ἱρὸν κατορᾶται πάντοθεν περιύοντι<sup>410</sup>. ἄτε γὰρ τῆς πόλιος μὲν

<sup>407</sup> μάλιστα μὲν Βουβάστι πόλις. Several MSS, among which are S and V, have μάλιστα ἢ ἐν Βουβάστι πόλις. The mention of Bubastis here and the description of the site of the temple appears to me like a subsequent insertion into the text. Bubastis was in an entirely different locality. See note on § 158, below.

<sup>408</sup> ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμῖς. He repeats this below (§ 158), where see the note, and implies it above (§ 59). In point of fact Bubastis is *Pi-beeth*, where the first syllable is the Egyptian article *pe*, as in the word *πέρωμις*, and *Baeth* or *Bast* is the name of the Egyptian *Artemis*.

<sup>409</sup> ἐσέχουσι. This word is used in a very peculiar sense, for Herodotus goes on particularly to remark that the canals do not run *into* any thing, but approach one another within a certain distance and

then stop. It seems possible that in a locality full of canals, like the delta of the Nile, the word originally used to denote direction for the purpose of communication came to be provincially applied in all cases where the appearance occurred of a channel cut for the admission of water. See ii. 11: κόλπος θαλάσσης ἐσέχων ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης, and κόλπον ἐσέχοντα ἐπὶ Αἰθιοπίας, and the note 42, above. In § 121 the word seems used of the communication allowed by a party-wall. See note 342, above.

<sup>410</sup> κατορᾶται πάντοθεν περιύοντι. WILKINSON, who describes the ruins of *Tel Basta*, the site of Bubastis, mentions this notice as being strikingly confirmed by the great height of the mounds. (*Modern Egyptians*, i. p. 427.)

ἐκκεχωσμένης ὑψοῦ τοῦ δ' ἱεροῦ οὐ κεκνημένου, ὡς ἀρχήθεν ἐποιήθη  
 ἔσοπτόν ἐστι· περιθέει δ' αὐτὸ αἵμασι καὶ ἐγγεγλυμμένη τύποισι·  
 ἔστι δὲ ἔσωθεν ἄλσος δενδρέων μεγίστων πεφυτευμένον περὶ νηὸν  
 μέγαν, ἐν τῷ δὴ τῷγαλμα ἐν· εὖρος δὲ καὶ μῆκος τοῦ ἱεροῦ πάντα  
 σταδίον ἐστί<sup>111</sup>. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἔσοδον, ἐστρωμένη ἐστὶ ὁδὸς  
 λίθου ἐπὶ σταδίους τρεῖς<sup>112</sup>· μάλιστα καὶ, διὰ τῆς ἀγορῆς φέρουσα  
 ἐς τὸ πρὸς ἡῶν· εὖρος δὲ ὡς τεσσέρων πλέθρων· τῇ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῆς  
 ὁδοῦ δένδρεα οὐρανομήκεα πέφυκε· φέρει δ' ἐς Ἑρμῆον ἱόν. τὸ  
 μὲν δὴ ἱόν τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχει.

Τέλος δὲ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς<sup>113</sup> τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ὧδε ἔλεγον γενέσθαι·  
 ὅψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοιήνδε ἰδόντα αὐτὸν οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα· ἐδόκεέ  
 οἱ ἄνδρα ἐπιστάντα συμβουλευεῖν, τοὺς ἱρέας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ  
 συλλέξαντα πάντας μέσους διαταμέειν ἰδόντα δὲ τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην  
 λέγειν αὐτὸν, ὡς πρόφασιν οἱ δοκέοι ταύτην τοὺς θεοὺς προδεικνύ-  
 ναι, ἵνα ἀσεβήσας περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ κακόν τι πρὸς θεῶν ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώ-  
 πων λάβοι· οὐκ ὡς ποιήσῃ ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν  
 χρόνον ὁκόσου κεχρησθαι ἄρξαντα Αἰγύπτου ἐκχωρήσῃ<sup>114</sup>. ἐν  
 γὰρ τῇ Αἰθιοπίᾳ ἔοντι αὐτῷ τὰ μαντήια τοῖσι χρέωνται Αἰθίοπες  
 ἀνείλε, ὡς δέοι αὐτὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσαι ἔτεα πεντήκοντα<sup>115</sup>.

139

Sabacos ter-  
 rified by a  
 dream.

<sup>111</sup> πᾶντα σταδίον ἐστί. WILKINSON (p. 428) makes the sacred enclosure about 600 feet square. The length of the temple (which was built of the finest red granite) he estimates at about 500.

<sup>112</sup> ἐπὶ σταδίοις τρεῖς. WILKINSON (l. c.) found the distance from the outer circuit of the one temple to the other 2250 feet. The *agora* is about 900 feet from the temple of Bubastis. He could not ascertain the breadth of the road from the quantity of ruins which cover it. From the under-estimate of the length of the *dromos* and the mention of the Hermæum merely as its termination, one may conjecture that the writer did not go beyond the temple of Bubastis.

<sup>113</sup> τέλος δὲ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς. Valcknaer endeavours to explain this strange expression as being equivalent to ἀπαλλαγῆναι, just as θάνατον τέλος and φόνου τέλος are used where θάνατος and φόνος only are meant. This does not appear to me satisfactory, but I can offer nothing better.

<sup>114</sup> ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι . . ἐκχωρήσειν. The whole of this sentence is to

be taken as the *prolepsis* in the construction; then follows its explanation in an account of what the oracle in Ethiopia had said; and at last comes the *apodosis*, ἐς ἃν ὁ χρόνος, &c. But this last, owing to the length of the parenthesis and its character—it being not the words of the king, but a statement of a fact—changes into an account of what *he did*, instead of the sentence ending in its original form. Translate: “‘he would not do this though; no, as the time had run out which he had been allowed by prophecy for ruling over Egypt and going,’—for while in Ethiopia the oracles which the Ethiopians consult declared to him that it was his destiny to reign over Egypt for fifty years,—as then this time was run out, and the appearance of the vision came upon the back of it, disturbing his mind, this Sabacos took himself off voluntarily out of Egypt.”

<sup>115</sup> ἔτεα πεντήκοντα. BUNSEN (vol. iii. p. 138) considers that, instead of the single king Sabaco, it is distinctly proved that an Ethiopian *dynasty* of three kings reigned in Egypt for fifty years (their names being SCHEBEK, SHEBEK, and THEK, i. e.

ὡς ὢν ὁ χρόνος οὗτος ἐξήϊε καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐπετά-  
ρασε, ἐκὼν ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὁ Σαβακῶς.

140

The blind king returns after fifty years' exile in the marshes.

His retreat (first discovered 700 years afterwards) was in the island *Elbo*.

141

He is succeeded by *Sethos*, priest of *Hephaestus*, who offends the military caste, and is deserted by them on an invasion

Ἵως δ' ἄρα οἰχέσθαι τὸν Αἰθίοπα ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, αὐτὶς τὸν τυφλὸν ἄρχειν ἐκ τῶν ἐλέων ἀπικόμενον, ἔνθα πενήκοντα ἔτεα, νῆσον χάσας σποδῶ τε καὶ γῇ, οἴκεε· ὅκως γάρ οἱ φοιτᾶν σίτον ἀγοντας Αἰγυπτίων ὡς ἐκάστοισι προστετάχθαι συγῇ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος, ἐς τὴν ὠρεὴν κελεύειν σφέας καὶ σποδὸν κομίζειν. ταύτην τὴν νῆσον οὐδεὶς πρότερον ἐδυνάσθη Ἀμυρταίου ἐξευρεῖν· ἀλλὰ ἔτεα ἐπὶ πλέω ἢ ἑπτακόσια οὐκ οἶοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὴν ἀνευρεῖν οἱ πρότεροι γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς Ἀμυρταίου<sup>116</sup>. οὖνομα δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ Ἑλβῶ· μέγαθος δ' ἐστὶ πάντῃ δέκα σταδίων.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον, βασιλεύσαι τὸν ἱέρα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Σεθῶν τὸν ἐν ἀλογίῃσι ἔχειν παραχρησάμενον τῶν μαχίμων<sup>117</sup> Αἰγυπτίων, ὡς οὐδὲν δεησόμενον αὐτῶν ἄλλα τε δὴ ἄτιμα ποιούντα ἐς αὐτοὺς, καὶ σφας ἀπελῆσθαι τὰς ἀρούρας, τοῖσι ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων δεδοσθαι ἐξαιρέτους ἐκάστῳ δυνάδεκα ἀρούρας· μετὰ δὲ, ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐλαύνειν στρατὸν μέγαν Σαναχάριβον βασιλέα Ἀραβίων<sup>118</sup> [τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων]· οὐκὼν δὴ ἐθέλειν

Sabacos, Sebichus, and Tirhakah). The error of Herodotus he ascribes to the fact of an oral communication being the source of his information. This dynasty he makes the 25th of the Egyptians. It is succeeded by the 26th or Saitan, consisting of the Egyptian princes Stepinates, Nechepous, Necho, Psammitichus, Necho II., another Psammitichus or Psammuthis, Vaphres, and Amosis. During the first 12 (or 18) years of this Bunsen conceives Ameris (an Ethiopian) to have maintained his ground against the Saitan dynasty. If Herodotus is to be judged by the standard of other authorities, we must suppose a thorough confusion spreading over several centuries, between the Anysis and Sethos of his account. But this is inconceivable upon any hypothesis short of the one that the narrative he received at the Hephaestum at Memphis differed enormously from those which were current at other temples, and upon which the diverse traditions which have come down to us through the Alexandrine chronographers were founded. A mechanical arrangement of these, while the law of their growth remains undiscovered, seems to furnish a most uncertain basis for historical conclusions.

<sup>116</sup> οὐκ οἶοί τε ἦσαν . . . Ἀμυρταίου. This statement seems to prove satisfactorily that one part at least of the story of the blind king is of very late date. (See CLINTON's *Fasti Hellenici*, s. 455 B.C.) The chronology of the passage would throw the time of the Ethiopian invasion back to the middle of the twelfth century B.C., 300 years at least too early to be manageable by any chronographer. Accordingly it has been proposed to alter the numbers. But they are defended by the authority of *all* the MSS without exception. WILKINSON (i. p. 418) fixes the site of Elbo as "in the s.e. corner of the lake of Buto, now lake Boorlos." He does not say on what authority, and it is difficult to suppose that such a site would be secure. One would rather have supposed a refugee hiding some where in the Sebennytic branch (see note 61. above).

<sup>117</sup> τῶν μαχίμων. It has been proposed to read τὸ μάχιμον. But we may suppose that it was some individuals only of the military caste which were slighted by Sethos, although the whole body took the quarrel up, knowing his dislike of them.

<sup>118</sup> Ἀραβίων. The words which follow:

τοὺς μαχίμους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βοηθέειν, τὸν δὲ ἱερά ἐς ἀπορίην of the coun-  
 ἀπειλημένον, ἐσελθόντα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον πρὸς τῷγαλμα ἀποδύρεσθαι try by Sa-  
 οἶα κενδυνεύει παθέειν ὀλοφυρόμενον δ' ἄρα μιν ἐπελθεῖν ὕπνον, nacharib.  
 καὶ οἱ δόξαι ἐν τῇ ὄψι ἐπιστάντα τὸν θεὸν θαρσύνειν, ὥς οὐδὲν  
 πείσεται ἄχαρι ἀντιάων τὸν Ἀραβίων στρατὸν αὐτὸς γάρ οἱ  
 πέμψει τιμωροὺς· τοῖτοισι δὴ μιν πῖσυνον τοῖσι ἐνυπνίοισι,  
 παραλαβόντα Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς βουλομένους οἱ ἔπεσθαι στρατο-  
 πεδεύσασθαι ἐν Πηλουσίῳ· ταύτῃ γάρ εἰσι αἱ ἐσβολαί.<sup>419</sup> ἔπεσθαι  
 δέ οἱ τῶν μαχίμων μὲν οὐδένα ἀνδρῶν, καπήλους δὲ καὶ χειρώ-  
 νακτας καὶ ἀγοραίους ἀνθρώπους· ἐνθαῦτα ἀπικομένους τοῖσι Hephæstus  
 ἐναντίοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐπιχυθέντας νυκτὸς μῦς ἀρουραίους<sup>420</sup> κατὰ μὲν destroys the  
 φαγέειν τοὺς φαρετρεῶνας αὐτῶν, κατὰ δὲ τὰ τόξα, πρὸς δὲ, τῶν invading  
 ἀσπίδων τὰ ὄχανα, ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίῃ φευγόντων σφέων γυμνῶν army at  
 [ὕπλων<sup>421</sup>] πεσέειν πολλοὺς. καὶ νῦν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔστηκε ἐν Pelusium.  
 τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου λίθινος ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μῦν<sup>422</sup>, λέγων  
 διὰ γραμμάτων τάδε ΕΣ ΕΜΕ ΤΙΣ ὈΡΕΩΝ ΕΤΣΕΒΗΣ  
 ΕΣΤΩ.

τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων did not exist in the copies of Herodotus used by JOSEPHUS (*Archæol.* x. 1. 4). They are found however in all the modern MSS, as, even if they be not genuine, was to be expected as soon as the desire began to prevail among the Christians to bring the various pagan traditions into harmony with the Old Testament history; a desire which they inherited from the Egyptian Jews of the Ptolemaic times, Aristobulus and his followers.

<sup>419</sup> ταύτῃ γάρ εἰσι αἱ ἐσβολαί. See note on iii. 10.

<sup>420</sup> μῦς ἀρουραίους. These are probably the same animal (the *shrew-mouse*) called *μυγᾶλη* above (§ 67). The story perhaps may be, as some have thought, an Egyptian version of the destruction of Sennacherib (2 *Kings* xix.). But all the details are undoubtedly a mere fiction to explain the human figure with the mouse. In the temple of Apollo Smintheus at Chryse the tradition ran that the Teucrians who came from Crete to the Troad had received an oracle that they should settle in the place where Titans (*γυγενοῖς*) should attack them. At a place called *Amazitus* an enormous number of field mice in the course of the night devoured all the leather straps of their armour and every thing else which could be eaten. They recognized in this the fulfilment of the oracle,—

and the incident was commemorated by a statue by Scopas, representing the deity with a mouse at his foot. (STRABO, xiii. p. 117.) It is impossible to doubt the similar origin of two such similar stories. But that relating to the Teucrians was certainly not older than the time of *Callinus* (see note 332, above).

<sup>421</sup> [ὕπλων]. Gaisford retains this word, but it appears to me to be a gloss of the preceding γυμνῶν. Several MSS have ἀνόπλων, which is obviously so.

<sup>422</sup> ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μῦν. The shrew-mouse entered as a symbol into the Osiris cycle of the Egyptian mythology, perhaps originally as an emblem of fecundity, being apparently produced from the earth in myriads. In later times another explanation was given of the matter (see note 179, above). It may be observed that the Hephæstus of Memphis was regarded in the time of CICERO as the father of the Sun, i. e. that he was identified with Osiris (*De Naturâ Deorum*, iii. 21); so that such a symbol as that of the *mouse*, whatever the meaning of it was, would not be out of place in his temple. The animal passed over from Egypt to Europe and the coast of Asia, as a device of Apollo, under the name of *Smintheus*, *σμυνθός* meaning 'a mouse' in Crete and on the coast of the Troad. (POLEMON, *ap.*

142  
The number of kings and priests from Menes to Sethos 341 generations, or 13340 years.

Ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε τοῦ λόγου Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἔλεγον, ἀποδεικνύντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸν ἱερέα τοῦτον τὸν τελευταῖον βασιλεύσαντα μίαν τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας ἀνθρώπων γενεὰς γενομένας, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃσι ἀρχιρέας καὶ βασιλέας ἑκατέρους τοσοῦτους<sup>423</sup> γενομένους. καὶ τοι τριηκοσῖαι μὲν ἀνδρῶν γενεαὶ δυνέονται μύρια ἕτεα<sup>424</sup>. γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἕτεά ἐστι· μῆς δὲ καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιλοιπῶν γενεῶν, αἱ ἐπῆσαν τῇσι τριηκοσίῃσι, ἔστι τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσῖα καὶ χίλια ἕτεα. οὕτω ἐν μυρίοισι τε ἕτεσι καὶ χιλίοισι καὶ πρὸς τριηκοσίοισι τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔλεγον θεὸν ἀνθρωποειδέα οὐδένα γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ πρότερον, οὐδὲ ὕστερον ἐν τοῖσι ὑπολοίποισι Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσι γενομένοισι, ἔλεγον τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. ἐν τοίνυν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετράκις ἔλεγον ἐξ ἡθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι (ἐνθα τε νῦν καταδύεται ἐνθεύτην δις ἐπαντεῖλαι, καὶ ἐνθεν νῦν ἀνατέλλει ἐνθαῦτα δις καταδύναι) καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ὑπὸ ταῦτα ἑτεροιωθῆναι, οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ σφί γνωόμενα οὔτε

143 τὰ ἀμφὶ νόουσους οὔτε τὰ κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους<sup>425</sup>. Πρότερον δὲ

Villoison Schol. ad II. i. 39.) Apollo also appears with a mouse on his right hand on a coin of Alexandria;—and of his worship under this name the whole coast of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands was full. (See STRABO, xiii. p. 118, and note 506 on i. 151.) That the title is an ancient one is plain from its appearing in *Iliad* i. 39:

—Τενέβοί τε ἱπὶ ἀνέσσει  
Σμινθεῦ,

and that the mouse is an ancient symbol on a part of the coast of Greece which had early communication with Egypt, appears from its being found on the oldest coins of Argos. (PAYNE KNIGHT, *Inquiry into the Symbolical Language of Ancient Art*, § 128, note 3.) As a priapic animal, the mouse would be appropriate to the Achaean or ante-dorian Herē of Mycenae, a θεὸς γαμήλιος. (See notes on vi. 81 and 83; see also note 121 on ii. 41.)

<sup>423</sup> ἑκατέρους τοσοῦτους, "so many of each sort," i. e. 341 kings and 341 priests.

<sup>424</sup> καὶ τοι τριηκοσῖαι μὲν . . . μύρια ἕτεα. It will be observed that this is an average estimate on the part of the writer. He no where says that the priests gave this

as the actual number of years which had elapsed between Menes and Sethos; and it is probable that they really did imagine a different and much smaller number to have passed.

<sup>425</sup> ἐν τοίνυν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ . . . τοὺς θανάτους. That this clause rests upon an entire misunderstanding of what the priests really intended there can be no doubt; but it is not easy to say exactly what the statement was of which it is the perversion. Herodotus obviously took it to mean that there had been four sudden jumps in the course of the sun, entirely reversing his path in the heavens from what it was before; so that thus during two distinct periods he had risen in the west and set in the east. It seems not impossible that what the priests meant was that two so-called *Sothiac periods* or *canicular years* had elapsed, which would give a time of  $2 \times 1461 (= 2922)$  years. The Egyptian year at the commencement of their era seems to have begun when the first rising of Sirius as a morning star (see note 13, above) synchronized with the beginning of the rise of the Nile. Supposing this to take place on the 1st day of the month *Thoth*, the similar rising would next year

Ἐκαταίῳ τῷ λογοποιῷ<sup>426</sup> ἐν Θήβησι γενεηλογήσαντί τε ἑωυτὸν The priests of Zeus at Thebes showed  
καὶ ἀναδήσαντι τὴν πατρὴν ἐς ἑκκαίδεκατον θεὸν, ἐποίησαν οἱ Hecataeus a  
ἱρέες τοῦ Διὸς οἷόν τι καὶ ἔμοι οὐ γενεηλογήσαντι ἑμεωυτὸν<sup>427</sup>. pedigree of  
ἐσαγαγόντες ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἔσω, ἐὼν μέγα, ἐξηριθμεῖον δεικνύντες 345 priests  
κολοσσούς ξυλίνους τοσοῦτους ὅσους περ εἶπον ἄρχιρεὺς γὰρ lineally de-  
ἕκαστος αὐτόθι ἴσταται ἐπὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ζῆς εἰκόνα ἑωυτοῦ ἀρι-  
θμέοντες ὧν καὶ δεικνύντες οἱ ἱερεῖς ἔμοι, ἀπεδείκνυσαν παῖδα πατρὸς  
ἑωυτῶν ἕκαστον ἑόντα, ἐκ τοῦ ἄγχιστα ἀποθανόντος τῆς εἰκόνης  
διεξιόντες διὰ πασέων ἕως οὐ ἀπέδεξαν ἀπάσας αὐτάς· Ἐκαταίῳ  
δὲ γενεηλογήσαντι ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἀναδήσαντι ἐς ἑκκαίδεκατον θεὸν,  
ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριθμήσει οὐ δεκόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ  
θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν δὲ ὧδε, φάμενοι  
ἕκαστον τῶν κολοσσῶν Πίρωμιν ἐκ Πιρώμιος γεγονέναι, ἔς δ' τοὺς  
πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίους ἀπέδεξαν κολοσσούς Πί-  
ρωμιν ἐκ Πιρώμιος γενόμενον, καὶ οὔτε ἐς θεὸν οὔτε ἐς ἥρωα ἀνέδησαν  
αὐτούς· Πίρωμις δέ ἐστι κατ' Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν καλὸς κάγαθός<sup>428</sup>. 144  
Ἦδη ὧν, τῶν αἱ εἰκόνες ἦσαν τοιοῦτους ἀπεδείκνυσάν σφας πάντας Before  
these, the

not take place till the 2nd day, the Egyptian year being 365 days only, about six hours too short. This alteration would steadily increase until in 1461 years of 365 days (= 1460 Julian years) the cycle would be complete, and the heliacal rising of Sirius would again take place on the 1st day of *Thoth*. This it will be remembered is the space of time which was, according to some accounts, supposed to intervene between two appearances of the *phœnix*, "a bird sacred to the sun" in Egypt. (TACITUS, *Annal.* vi. 28.) This cyclical variation would be spoken of as a motion of the sun in the heavens, and would easily be misunderstood by a Greek who was no astronomer (see note 12, above), and not aware that the expression had a special reference to *Sirius*, not to the Earth. Possibly too the dragoman was not careful to avoid a paradoxical way of putting the matter. The Egyptian calendar is excellently described by IDLER, *Handbuch der Chronologie*, who explains this passage differently (i. p. 138).

<sup>426</sup> Ἐκαταίῳ τῷ λογοποιῷ. See note on v. 36.

<sup>427</sup> ἔμοι οὐ γενεηλογήσαντι ἑμεωυτὸν. It is very singular that Herodotus should give no description of *Thebes*, famous as it was from even the Homeric poems, and

expressly as he here states that he was a witness of the colossi contained within the very sanctuary. Indeed that a Greek should enter the sanctuary at all shows the extent to which a religious *syncretism* must have been carried in this case of the Theban Zeus. Cleomenes ventured into the temple of Athene Polias at Athens, only from confidence in his Achæan blood (v. 72). Compare too the case of *Miltiades* (vi. 135). Is it possible that the reason of the writer's silence with regard to the rest of Thebes is to be looked for in the greater degree of exclusiveness prevailing in the other temples? See note 10, above.

<sup>428</sup> Πίρωμις . . . καλὸς κάγαθός. The word '*piromi*' is said to mean in Coptic "the man," being the word signifying *man* with the article prefixed to it (JABLONSKY, *Proleg. ad Panth. Egypt.* § 18). It seems therefore plain that Herodotus did not understand the language of the country. See note 296*a*, above. Jablonsky (l.c.) suggests a clue to his error in the circumstance, that '*piremi*' in the same language means *ὁ δίκαιος*. But it seems more likely that the word signifying "man," in the old Egyptian language, like the *baro* or *miles* of the middle ages, should have become in course of time a title of honour.



gods govern-  
ed Egypt,  
of which  
Osiris, son  
of Osiris,  
was the  
last.

έοντας, θεῶν δὲ πολλὸν ἀπαλλαγμένους· τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀν-  
δρῶν τούτων θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἄρχοντας, οἰκούντας ἅμα  
τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι· καὶ τούτων αἰεὶ ἓνα τὸν κρατέοντα εἶναι· ὕστα-  
τον δὲ αὐτῆς βασιλεύσαι· Ὡρον τὸν Ὀσίριος παῖδα, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα  
Ἕλληνας ὀνομάζουσι· τοῦτον, καταπαύσαντα Τυφῶνα βασιλεύσαι  
ὑστατον Αἰγύπτου. Ὀσίρις δὲ ἐστὶ Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα  
γλῶσσαν <sup>430</sup>.

145

Order of  
the gods,  
according  
to the  
Egyptians,  
very dif-  
ferent from  
the Hellenic  
view.

Ἐν Ἑλλήσει μὲν νυν νεώτατοι τῶν θεῶν νομίζονται εἶναι Ἡρα-  
κλῆς τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ Πάν· παρ' Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ Πάν μὲν  
ἀρχαιότατος, καὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ τῶν πρώτων λεγομένων θεῶν Ἡρα-  
κλῆς δὲ τῶν δευτέρων, τῶν δώδεκα λεγομένων εἶναι· Διόνυσος δὲ,  
τῶν τρίτων, οἱ ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ἐγένοντο. Ἡρακλεῖ μὲν δὴ  
ὅσα αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ εἶναι ἔτεα ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλέα, δεδήλω-  
ταί μοι πρόσθε <sup>430</sup>. Πανὶ δὲ ἔτι τούτων πλέονα λέγεται εἶναι, Διο-  
νύσῳ δ' ἐλάχιστα τούτων· καὶ τούτῳ πεντακισχίλια καὶ μύρια  
λογίζονται εἶναι ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλέα. καὶ ταῦτα Αἰγύπτιοι ἀτρε-  
κέως φασὶ ἐπίστασθαι, αἰεὶ τε λογιζόμενοι καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι  
τὰ ἔτεα <sup>431</sup>. Διονύσῳ μὲν νυν τῷ ἐκ Σεμέλης τῆς Κάδμου λεγο-  
μένῳ γενέσθαι, κατὰ ἑξακόσια ἔτεα καὶ χίλια <sup>432</sup> μάλιστα ἐστὶ ἐς

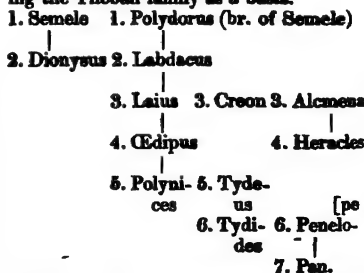
<sup>430</sup> ἐστὶ Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσ-  
σαν. The Dionysus which was identical  
with Osiris was not the deity of the vine-  
dressers, but the wandering deity symbol-  
ized by the Sun. See above, note 356.  
DIODORUS (i. 11) and PLUTARCH (*De  
Iside et Osiride*) give πολυόφθαλμος as the  
etymological meaning of the word ὀσ-  
ιρί. If ἰρί be really an old Egyptian word, sig-  
nifying ὀφθαλμός, it is probably the root  
of the word Σείριος (the dog-star), which  
name, according to *Hesychius* (v. Σειρίου  
κυνὸς δακύν) ARCHILOCHUS applied to the  
Sun.

<sup>430</sup> δεδήλωται μοι πρόσθε. See § 43.

<sup>431</sup> αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτεα. This  
pretension, it will be observed, extends  
at least to the earliest date mentioned,  
viz. that of *Heracles*, 17,000 years before.  
But the actual reckoning is *backward*,  
and that from no more ancient date  
than the time of Amasis. There is no  
hint of an era existing before that time;  
but the phrase is quite consistent with  
the notion of an era *formed in the time  
of Amasis by backward calculation*, and  
having its epoch placed far back after  
being formed. The phrase αἰεὶ λογιζό-

μενοι betrays the real state of the case in  
the alleged "registration of the years as  
they arrived."

<sup>432</sup> κατὰ ἑξακόσια ἔτεα καὶ χίλια. Several  
of the MSS omit the word ἔτεα, and  
one (B) has κατὰ ἑννακόσια καὶ χίλια. It  
seems impossible to reconcile this number  
with any known mythological genealogy,  
and the emendation κατὰ ἑξήκοντα ἔτεα  
καὶ χίλια has been proposed. But this  
does not exhaust the difficulties. The pedi-  
grees current in the time of Herodotus  
would give the generations as follows, tak-  
ing the Theban family as a basis.



For Creon is in the Hellenic legends asso-

ἐμέ 'Ηρακλεί δὲ τῷ 'Αλκμήνης κατὰ εἰνακόςια ἕταρ Πανὶ δὲ τῷ  
 ἐκ Πηνελόπης, (ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ καὶ Ἑρμέω λέγεται γενέσθαι ὑπὸ  
 'Ελλήνων ὁ Πάν) ἐλάσσω ἕταρ ἐστὶ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, κατὰ τὰ ὀκτα- 146  
 κόσια μάλιστα ἐς ἐμέ. Τούτων ὧν ἀμφοτέρων πάρεστι χρᾶσθαι  
 τοῖσί τις πείσεται λεγόμενοισι μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ δ' ὧν ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν  
 γνώμη ἀποδέδεται. εἰ μὲν γὰρ φανεροὶ τε ἐγένοντο καὶ κατεγή-  
 ρασαν καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, κατὰπερ' Ἡρακλῆς ὁ ἐξ Ἀμφι-  
 τρύωνος γενόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ Διόνυσος ὁ ἐκ Σεμέλης, καὶ Πάν ὁ  
 ἐκ Πηνελόπης γενόμενος, ἔφη ἂν τις καὶ τούτους ἄλλους, ἀνδρας  
 γενομένους, ἔχειν τὰ ἐκείων οὐνόματα τῶν προγεγονότων θεῶν  
 νῦν δὲ Διόνυσόν τε λέγουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὡς αὐτίκα γενόμενον ἐς  
 τὸν μηρὸν ἐνεργράψατο Ζεὺς καὶ ἤνευκε ἐς Νύσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύ-  
 πτου εἶδον ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ· καὶ Πανὸς γε περὶ οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν  
 ὅκη ἐτράπετο γενόμενος. δὴλὰ μοι ὧν γέγονε, ὅτι ὕστερον ἐπύ-  
 θοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τούτων τὰ οὐνόματα ἢ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ἀπ' 147  
 οὗ δὲ ἐπύθοντο χρόνου ἀπὸ τούτου γενεηλογέουσι αὐτῶν τὴν  
 γένεσιν.

Probable  
cause of the  
difference.

Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι· ὅσα δὲ οἷ τε ἄλλοι

ciated with Amphitryon (the husband of Alcmena) in the attempt to revenge her brothers; and as he is the brother of Jocasta (the wife of Laius), Alcmena may be put in the same generation with him. So again Tydeus and Polynices, marrying two sisters, belong to the same generation; and finally Penelope, being the wife of Odysseus, the associate of Tydides, belongs to the sixth parallel. This arrangement would give, reckoning a century to three generations, 100 years from Pan to Heracles, but less than a century from Heracles to Dionysus. If conjecture is to be allowed, I should be disposed to change καὶ into § in the reading of the Sancroft MS (S), and read κατὰ ἐννηκόςια § χίλια, the difference between Dionysus and Heracles being less than a century, and the author perhaps not choosing in such a matter to break up his centuries, lest he should imply a greater accuracy in the chronology than was possible. This alteration brings the three dates into tolerable harmony with each other; but it will be observed that *all* of them are two centuries too high according to the received chronology. NIEBUHR (*Kleine Schriften*, i. p. 196) proposes an extremely ingenious explanation, with reference exclusively

however to the date of *Heracles*. Identifying him with the *Alcaeus*, who was the progenitor of the Lydian dynasty (Herod. i. 7), he assigns a century from him to Agron; and from Agron to the end of Croesus's reign he takes the numbers given by Herodotus, i.e. 505 + 107 years. Hence we should get 775 years from Heracles to 546 a.c., or 900 to 421 a.c., a remarkable coincidence with the text. But, although to controvert Niebuhr on a philological point is little less rash than an opposition to Newton in a question of physics, I cannot acquiesce in his solution. His argument proceeds on the hypothesis that Herodotus in the Lydian dynasty is following an Assyrian chronology of an authentic character,—an hypothesis which I do not admit, it being quite opposed to the phenomena to which I have called attention in the notes on that part of his work. If he follows it here, could he speak of his dates as *Hellenic* ones? and would he tacitly conform the Hellenic myths of Penelope and Semele to it? I think the supposition a far less violent one, that here, as in many other places, we have an interpolation by some ancient editor, who, in this particular case, would belong to the era of the Ptolemies.

Agreement of Egyptian and foreign accounts.

An oracle declares the future monarch of all Egypt, at a time when 12 kings exist.

## 148

The twelve confederates build the Labyrinth near Crocodilopolis as a memorial of themselves.

ἄνθρωποι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι<sup>433</sup> λέγουσι ὁμολογούντες τοῖσι ἄλλοις κατὰ ταύτην τὴν χώραν γενέσθαι, ταύτ' ἤδη φράσω προσέσται δέ τι αὐτοῖσι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὄψιος.

Ἐλευθερωθέντες Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ τὸν ἱερά τοῦ Ἡφαίστου βασιλεύσαντα<sup>434</sup>, (οὐδένα γὰρ χρόνον οἰοί τε ἦσαν ἄνευ βασιλέως διατᾶσθαι,) ἐστήσαντο δυνάδεκα βασιλέας, δυνάδεκα μοίρας δασάμενοι Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν<sup>435</sup>. οὗτοι ἐπυγαμίας ποιησάμενοι ἐβασίλευον, νόμοισι τοιοῦδε χρεώμενοι, μήτε καταρρέειν ἀλλήλους μήτε πλέον τι διζῆσθαι ἔχειν τὸν ἕτερον τοῦ ἐτέρου εἶναι τε φίλους τὰ μάλιστα· τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα τοὺς νόμους τούτους ἐποιεύντο ἰσχυρῶς περιστέλλοντες<sup>436</sup>. ἐκέχρητό<sup>437</sup> σφι κατ' ἀρχὰς αὐτίκα ἐνισταμένοισι ἐς τὰς τυραννίδας "τὸν χαλκῆ φιάλῃ σπείσαντα αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἱρῇ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τοῦτον ἀπάσης βασιλεύσειν Αἰγύπτου." ἐς γὰρ δὴ τὰ πάντα ἱρὰ συνελέγοντο<sup>438</sup>. Καὶ δὴ σφι μνημόσυνα ἔδοξε λιπέσθαι κοινῇ· δόξαν δὲ σφι, ἐποιήσαντο λαβύρινθον<sup>439</sup> ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος κατὰ Κροκοδείλων<sup>440</sup> καλεομένην πόλιν μάλιστα κη κείμενον τὸν ἐγὼ ἤδη ἶδον λόγου μέζω<sup>441</sup>. εἰ γάρ τις τὰ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων τείχεά τε καὶ ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν συλ-

<sup>433</sup> οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. From this point the sources from which the narrative flows are of a more definite historical character. The Hellenic element shows itself from time to time very distinctly. Ionian and Eolian condottieri in the Persian garrisons at Daphnæ and Marea (ii. 30), and Hellenic traders up the Nile to Heliopolis, Thebes, and Elephantine are probable channels through which a traditionary narrative passed. See above, § 99.

<sup>434</sup> μετὰ τὸν ἱερά . . βασιλεύσαντα. The participle is used (as in the Latin idiom) where in Greek the infinitive would be more usual. So i. 34, μετὰ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον. i. 37, ταῦτα οὕτω ποιούμενα. i. 61, ὅπῃ τὸν γῆρὸν κατακαίεται.

<sup>435</sup> δυνάδεκα μοίρας δασάμενοι Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν, "having made a duodecimal partition of all Egypt." Αἴγυπτον is the accusative case after an imaginary verb of which δυνάδ. μ. δ. is the equivalent. So in iv. 148 there is σφέας αὐτοὺς ἐξ μοίρας διείλον, where some of the MSS insert ἐς before ἐξ by the arbitrary correction of a transcriber. See note 132, above.

<sup>436</sup> ἰσχυρῶς περιστέλλοντες. See i. 98. S and V have ἰσχυροῖς.

<sup>437</sup> ἐκέχρητο. The manuscripts S and V have this form, the others ἐκέχρηστα. The same difference is found below, § 151, iii. 64. But in vii. 220 ἐκέχρητο is given by almost all the MSS.

<sup>438</sup> ἐς γὰρ δὴ τὰ πάντα ἱρὰ συνελέγοντο. In the Hellenic confederacies the meeting of the allies was always held in the same place; consequently, without some explanation, the reader would have imagined that this centre of union for the Egyptian dynasts had been the Hephæstæum at Memphis, and therefore the author adds that their practice had been to meet [in turn] at all the temples. The manuscript S has for ἐς the Attic expression ὧς. (See note 352, above.)

<sup>439</sup> λαβύρινθον. The Greek root of this word (λαβύρα, i. e. λαβύρα) shows that the name cannot be pure Egyptian.

<sup>440</sup> Κροκοδείλων. This is the reading of all the MSS except S, which has Κροκοδείλου. It should be remarked that Κροκόλις is the Hellenic, not the Egyptian name of the city, the word Κροκοδείλιος being an Ionian word (§ 68).

<sup>441</sup> τὸν ἐγὼ ἤδη ἶδον λόγου μέζω, "in which at last I had a sight passing description."

λογίζαιτο, ἐλάσσονος πόνου τε ἂν καὶ δαπάνης φανεῖν ἔοντα τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τούτου (καὶ τοὶ ἀξιόλογός γε καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐστὶ νηὸς, καὶ ὁ ἐν Σάμῳ) ἦσαν<sup>442</sup> μὲν νυν καὶ αἱ πυραμίδες λόγου μέζονες, καὶ πολλῶν ἐκάστη αὐτέων Ἑλληνικῶν ἔργων καὶ μεγάλων ἀνταξίη· ὁ δὲ δὴ λαβύρινθος<sup>443</sup> καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας ὑπερβάλλει. τοῦ γὰρ δυώδεκα μὲν εἰσι αὐλαὶ κατάστεγοι<sup>444</sup> ἀντίπυλοι ἀλλήλησι, ἕξ μὲν πρὸς βορέω<sup>445</sup>, ἕξ δὲ πρὸς νότον τετραμμέναι συνεχέες<sup>446</sup>. τοῖχος δὲ ἔξωθεν ὁ αὐτός σφεας περιέρρει. οἰκήματα δ' ἔνεστι διπλᾶ, τὰ μὲν ὑπόγαια τὰ δὲ μετέωρα ἐπ' ἐκείνοισι, τρισχίλια ἀριθμὸν, πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἐκάτερα<sup>447</sup>. τὰ μὲν νυν μετέωρα τῶν οἰκημάτων αὐτοὶ τε ὀρέομεν διεξιόντες<sup>448</sup> καὶ αὐτοὶ θεσάμενοι λέγομεν τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπόγαια λόγοισι ἐπυνθανόμεθα· οἱ γὰρ ἐπεστεῶτες τῶν Αἰγυπτίων δεικνύναι αὐτὰ οὐδαμῶς ἤθελον, φάμενοι θήκας αὐτόθι εἶναι τῶν τε ἀρχὴν τὸν λαβύρινθον τοῦτον οἰκοδομήσασμένων βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν κροκοδείλων οὕτω τῶν μὲν κάτω περὶ οἰκημάτων ἀκοῇ παραλαβόντες λέγομεν τὰ δὲ ἄνω, μέζονα ἀνθρωπητῶν ἔργων αὐτοὶ ὀρέομεν<sup>449</sup>. αἱ τε γὰρ ἐξοδοὶ διὰ τῶν στεγέων καὶ οἱ ἐλγμοὶ διὰ τῶν αὐλέων, ἔοντες ποικιλώτατοι, θῶμα μυρίον παρήχοντο ἐξ αὐλῆς τε ἐς τὰ οἰκήματα

<sup>442</sup> ἦσαν. The author uses the past tense from having seen the pyramids before the Labyrinth. They were indeed "passing description" (λόγου μέζονες), but the Labyrinth exceeded them also.

<sup>443</sup> ὁ δὲ δὴ λαβύρινθος, "but when you come to the Labyrinth, it" &c. See the note 6 on i. 1, for the force of δὴ. STRABO speaks somewhat less enthusiastically of the Labyrinth, calling it πᾶσις τὰς πυραμίσιν ἔργον.

<sup>444</sup> αὐλαὶ κατάστεγοι, "roofed courts." The epithet seems used to distinguish the chambers in question from the corresponding portion of a Greek building, which no doubt was always open. But in the latitude of 29° much greater protection from the sun would be requisite.

<sup>445</sup> πρὸς βορέω. Some MSS have πρὸς βορέην. But this seems a change adopted merely for the sake of producing symmetry of phrase. See § 121, above, and iii. 102.

<sup>446</sup> συνεχέες. See note 451, below.

<sup>447</sup> πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἐκάτερα. This is the reading of the MSS, but it is obviously corrupt; nor is there any clue in the variations of the context to suggest

an emendation. Perhaps the author wrote πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἐκατέρᾳ ἰόντων οἰκημάτων, and continued τὰ μὲν νυν μετέωρα αὐτοὶ τε κ.τ.λ.

<sup>448</sup> διεξιόντες, "in the course of our circuitous passage." See the note on vii. 234, and below, note 450.

<sup>449</sup> αὐτοὶ ὀρέομεν. It will be observed that what Herodotus testifies to as an eye-witness is not the number of the οἰκήματα, but the remarkable arrangement of the passages by which they were connected with the αὐλαὶ to which they belonged, and with the open colonnades (παστάδες) which served as a communication between each system of οἰκήματα. The uncertainty of the numbers even of the αὐλαὶ is obvious from the account of STRABO (xvii. c. i. p. 454). It is clear that both he and Herodotus were eye-witnesses, but received very different accounts both of the number of the αὐλαὶ and the cause of that number. In other words, the story of the ἐξηγηταὶ had entirely altered in the interval. Strabo gives no particular numbers for the στέγαι, but says that the αὐλαὶ were twenty-seven, one for every Nome, and that they were

διεξιούσι<sup>449</sup>, καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐς πασάδας, ἐς στέγας τε ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν πασάδων, καὶ ἐς αὐλὰς ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων ὀροφή δὲ πάντων τούτων λιθίνη, κατὰπερ οἱ τοίχοι οἱ δὲ τοίχοι τύπων ἐγγεγλυμμένων πλέοι· αὐλὴ δὲ ἐκάστη περίστυλος<sup>451</sup>, λίθου λευκοῦ ἄρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα· τῆς δὲ γωνίης τελευτῶντος τοῦ λαβυρίνθου ἔχεται πυραμὶς τεσσαρακοντόργυιος, ἐν τῇ ζῶα μεγάλη ἐγγέγλυπται<sup>452</sup>. ὁδὸς δ' ἐς αὐτὴν<sup>453</sup> ὑπὸ γῆν πεποιήται.

149

The lake Maëris, in the middle of which stand two pyramids with colossal figures on their summits,

Τοῦ δὲ λαβυρίνθου τούτου ἔντος τοιούτου, θῶμα ἔτι μέζον παρέχεται ἡ Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη, παρ' ἣν ὁ λαβύρινθος οὗτος οἰκοδόμηται. τῆς τὸ περίμετρον τῆς περιόδου εἰσὶ στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ἐξήκοντα ἔντων, ἴσοι καὶ αὐτῇ Αἰγύπτου τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν<sup>454</sup>. κέεται δὲ μακρὴ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς βορρῇν τε καὶ νότον, ἐοῦσα βάθος, τῇ βαθυτάτῃ αὐτῇ ἑνυτῇ, πεντηκοντόργυιος. ὅτι δὲ χειροποίητός ἐστι καὶ ὀρυκτὴ αὐτὴ δηλοῖ· ἐν γὰρ μέσῃ τῇ λίμνῃ μάλιστα κη ἐστᾶσι δύο πυραμίδες, τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπερέχουσαι πεντήκοντα ὀργυιάς ἑκατέρῃ, καὶ τὸ κατ' ὕδατος οἰκοδόμηται ἕτερον τοσοῦτον· καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρῃσι ἔπεστι κολοσσὸς λίθινος, κατήμενος ἐν θρόνῳ. (οὕτω αἱ μὲν πυραμίδες εἰσὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιέων, αἱ δ' ἑκατὸν ὀργυιαὶ δίκαιαι<sup>455</sup>· εἰσὶ στάδιον ἑξάπλευρον ἑξαπέδου μὲν τῆς ὀργυῖς μετρεομένης καὶ τετραπύχους· τῶν ποδῶν μὲν τετραπαλαιστων ἔντων, τοῦ δὲ πήχεος ἑξαπαλαιστου<sup>456</sup>.)

used as courts of justice for the inhabitants. In another passage he is even more lax: ὥς δὲ τινες, τοσοῦτοι ἦσαν οἱ σύμπαντες νομοί, ὅσαι αἱ ἐν τῷ λαβυρίνθῳ αὐλαί· αὐταὶ δ' ἐλάττους τῶν τριᾶκοντα (p. 416). DIODORUS SICULUS says of the building, that it is οὐκ οὕτω κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἔργων θαυμαστὸν ὥς πρὸς τὴν φιλοτεχνίαν δυσμύμητον (i. 61).

<sup>449</sup> διεξιούσι, "while passing by ins and outs." See note on vii. 234.

<sup>451</sup> αὐλὴ δὲ ἐκάστη περίστυλος. This expression seems to show decisively that there can have been no party-wall between two αὐλαί, and therefore that the word *συνεχέες* must not be taken as meaning more than that there was an architectural connexion between the six adjacent halls. This seems to have been effected by means of οἰκήματα and πασάδες. See note 449, above.

<sup>452</sup> ἐν τῇ ζῶα μεγάλη ἐγγέγλυπται. See note 238 on i. 70.

<sup>453</sup> ὁδὸς δ' ἐς αὐτὴν. The manuscripts B and V continue the narrative by the words ὁδὸς δ' ἐς θῶμα ἔτι μέζον παρέσται ἡ Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη.

<sup>454</sup> ἴσοι καὶ αὐτῇ Αἰγύπτου τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. The construction would be improved by altering τὸ into τῷ. But it seems possible that the sentence is a mere note, originally written in the margin, taken from § 6, and retaining the very words there used.

<sup>455</sup> δίκαιαι, "complete." The use is like that of the Latin *justus* in such phrases as *justum volūmen*. XENOPHON (*Mem.* iv. 4, 5) uses the expression ἵππον δίκαιον ποιῆσθαι, "to break a horse thoroughly in," and ÆSCHYLUS (*Æumenid.* 291): πιστὸν δίκαιος, "faithful in every point."

<sup>456</sup> οὕτω αἱ μὲν πυραμίδες . . ἑξαπαλαιστων. I look upon this sentence as the note of some subsequent διασκευάσεως of the work. Herodotus could never have

τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ αὐθυγενὲς<sup>457</sup> μὲν οὐκ ἔστι· ἄν-  
 δρος<sup>458</sup> γὰρ δὴ δεινῶς ἐστὶ ταύτῃ ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου δὲ κατὰ διώρυχα  
 ἐσθῆται<sup>459</sup>, καὶ ἔξ μὲν μῆνας ἔσω ῥέει ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἔξ δὲ μῆνας  
 ἔξω ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον αὐτίς· καὶ ἐπεὰν μὲν ἐκρέῃ ἔξω, ἡ δὲ τότε [τοὺς  
 ἔξ μῆνας] ἐς τὸ βασιλῆϊον καταβάλλει ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἐκάστην τά-  
 λαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐσίῃ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν,  
 εἴκοσι μνέας. Ἐλεγον δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ ὥς ἐς τὴν Σύρτιν τὴν 150  
 ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐκδίδοι ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὑπὸ γῆν, τετραμμένη τὸ πρὸς  
 ἐσπέρην ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος. ἐπεί  
 τε δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος τοῦτου οὐκ ὤρεον τὸν χοῦν οὐδαμοῦ ἔοντα,  
 (ἐπιμελὲς γὰρ δὴ μοι ἦν,) εἰρόμην τοὺς ἀγχιιστα οἰκέοντας τῆς  
 λίμνης, ὅκου εἴη ὁ χοῦς ὁ ἐξορυχθεῖς· οἱ δὲ ἔφρασαν μοι ἵνα  
 ἐξεφορήθῃ, καὶ εὐπετέως ἐπειθον· ἦδεα γὰρ λόγῳ καὶ ἐν Νίνῳ τῇ  
 Ἀσσυρίων πόλει γενόμενον ἕτερον τοιοῦτο· τὰ γὰρ Σαρδαναπάλλου  
 τοῦ Νίνου βασιλέως χρήματα, ἔοντα μεγάλα καὶ φυλασσόμενα ἐν  
 θησαυροῖσι καταγαίοισι, ἐπενόησαν κλῶπες ἐκφορήσαι· ἐκ δὴ ὧν  
 τῶν σφετέρων οἰκίαν ἀρξάμενοι οἱ κλῶπες, ὑπὸ γῆν σταθμεύοντες  
 ἐς τὰ βασιλῆϊα οἰκία ὀρυσσοῦν τὸν δὲ χοῦν τὸν ἐκφορέομενον ἐκ  
 τοῦ ὀρύγματος, ὅκως γένοιτο νῦξ, ἐς τὸν Τίγριν ποταμὸν παραρ-  
 ρέοντα τὴν Νίνον ἐξεφόρεον ἐς δὲ κατεργάσαντο ὃ τι ἐβούλοντο.  
 τοιοῦτον ἕτερον ἤκουσα καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λίμνης ὀρυγμα-  
 γενέσθαι· πλὴν οὐ νυκτὸς, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἡμέρην ποιούμενον ὀρύσ-  
 σουτας γὰρ τὸν χοῦν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον φορέειν ὁ δὲ,  
 ὑπολαμβάνων ἐμελλε διαχέειν. ἡ μὲν νυν λίμνη αὕτη οὕτω λέγεται  
 ὀρυχθῆναι<sup>460</sup>.

communi-  
cates with  
the Nile,

is said by  
the natives  
to have an  
outlet in  
the Syrtis.

Local story  
as to its ex-  
cavation.

Τῶν δὲ δωδέκα βασιλέων δικαιοσύνην χρεωμένων, ἀνὰ χρόνον 151  
 ὥς ἔθυσαν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῇ ὑστάτῃ τῆς ὀρτῆς μελ-  
 λόντων κατασπίσειν, ὁ ἀρχιρεὺς ἐξένεικέ σφι φιάλας χρυσᾶς

Pharmaci-  
stichus, with-  
out intend-  
ing to do

thought it necessary to insert such an explanation for his contemporaries and countrymen. (See note 112 on i. 32.) The manuscripts S and V commence the sentence with *τοῦτῃ* instead of *οὕτω*, and omit the word *δικαίαι*. The case is a very different one from that in iv. 86, where it was necessary for the author to give the mode in which he arrived at his estimate.

<sup>457</sup> *αὐθυγενές*. See note on iv. 48, *αὐ-  
τγενές*.

<sup>458</sup> *ἄνδρος*, "wanting in spring water." See note 626 on i. 185.

<sup>459</sup> κατὰ διώρυχα ἐσθῆται. The canal here mentioned is probably a portion of the long one running parallel to the river on its western side, called now the Bahr el Youssouf (*Joseph's River*).

<sup>460</sup> ἡ μὲν νυν λίμνη αὕτη οὕτω λέγεται ὀρυχθῆναι. For an account of the lake Moeris, and the operations there effected, together with an attempt to reconcile Herodotus and Strabo with one another and with the facts of the case, see *Excursus* on § 149.

so, fulfils  
the oracle  
mentioned  
above,  
§ 147.

(τῆσί περ ἑώθεσαν σπένδειν) ἁμαρτῶν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἑνδεκα δικάδεκα  
ἑοῦσι· ἐνθαῦτα ὡς οὐκ εἶχε φιάλην ὁ ἔσχατος ἑστειὼς αὐτῶν  
Ψαμμίτιχος, περιελόμενος τὴν κυνέην ἑοῦσαν χαλκῆν ὑπέσχε τε  
καὶ ἔσπειδε. κυνέας δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ἐφόρεον τε βασιλῆες  
καὶ ἐτίγγανον τότε ἔχοντες. Ψαμμίτιχος μὲν νυν οὐδενὶ δολερῷ  
νόφῃ χρεώμενος, ὑπέσχε τὴν κυνέην οἱ δὲ ἐν φρενὶ λαβόντες τὸ τε  
ποιηθὲν ἐκ Ψαμμίτιχου καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ὃ τι ἐκέχρητό <sup>461</sup> σφι,  
τὸν χαλκῆν σπεύσαντα αὐτῶν φιάλῃ τούτων βασιλέα ἔσεσθαι  
μοῦνον Αἰγύπτου, ἀναμνησθέντες τοῦ χρησμοῦ, κτείνειν μὲν οὐκ  
ἐδικαίωσαν Ψαμμίτιχον, ὡς ἀνεύρισκον βασανίζοντες ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς  
προνοίης <sup>462</sup> αὐτὸν ποιήσαντα <sup>463</sup>. ἐς δὲ τὰ ἔλεα ἔδοξέ σφι διώξαι,  
φιλάσαντας τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς δυνάμειος· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐλέων ὀρμεώμε-  
νον μὴ ἐπιμίσησθαι τῇ ἄλλῃ Αἰγύπτῳ. Τὸν δὲ Ψαμμίτιχον τοῦ-  
τον πρότερον φεύγοντα τὸν Αἰθίοπα Σαβακῶν ὃς οἱ τὸν πατέρα  
Νεκῶν ἀπέκτεψε, τοῦτον φεύγοντα τότε ἐς Συρίην, ὡς ἀπαλλάχθῃ  
ἐκ τῆς ὕψιος τοῦ ὀνείρου <sup>464</sup> ὁ Αἰθίοψ, κατήγαγον Αἰγυπτίων οἱτοὶ  
οἱ ἐκ νομοῦ τοῦ Σαῖτω εἰσι· μετὰ δὲ, βασιλεύοντα, τὸ δεύτερον  
πρὸς τῶν ἑνδεκα βασιλέων καταλαμβάνει μιν διὰ τὴν κυνέην  
φεύγειν ἐς τὰ ἔλεα. ἐπιστάμενος ὦν ὡς περιυβρισμένος εἶη πρὸς  
αὐτῶν, ἐπενόεε τίσασθαι τοὺς διώξοντας· πέμψαντι δὲ οἱ ἐς Βου-  
τοῦν πόλιν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τῆς Αἰητοῦς, ἔνθα δὴ Αἰγυπτίοισι  
ἔστι μαντήιον ἀψευδέστατον, ἦλθε χρησμός ὡς τίσις ἦξει ἀπὸ  
θαλάσσης χαλκῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανέντων καὶ τῷ μὲν δὴ ἀπιστίῃ  
μεγάλῃ ὑπεκέχυτο, χαλκῆους οἱ ἄνδρας ἦξεν ἐπικούρους χρόνου  
δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ἀναγκαίῃ κατέλαβε Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Κᾶρας  
ἄνδρας κατὰ λῆθην ἐκπλώσαντας, ἀπενειχθῆναι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐκ-  
βάντας δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ὀπλισθέντας χαλκῷ ἀγγέλλει τῶν τις Αἴγυ-  
πτίων ἐς τὰ ἔλεα ἀπικόμενος τῷ Ψαμμίτιχῳ, (ὡς οὐκ ἰδὼν πρό-  
τερον χαλκῷ ἄνδρας ὀπλισθέντας,) ὡς χάλκεοι ἄνδρες ἀπυγμένοι

152

Psammitichus had  
formerly  
fled to Syria  
and return-  
ed to Sais.

Now he re-  
ceives an  
oracle from  
Buto,

which is  
fulfilled by  
the landing  
of some  
Ionian and  
Carian  
pirates,

<sup>461</sup> ἐκέχρητο. This form is given by S and V, ἐκέχρηστο by the other MSS. See above, note 437.

<sup>462</sup> προνοίης. The manuscripts S and V have αἰτίης.

<sup>463</sup> ποιήσαντα. Bekker conceives that the words τὰ ἐποίησε are to be inserted. But, if this narrative is a local one, possibly Herodotus retained the very phrase which was used; and ποιεῖν (like the Latin *facere*)

might be employed in the sense of "to sacrifice." Such an usage appears in the Hellenistic Greek,—the dialect of commerce. (See *Luc. Evang.* ii. 27. *Hebr.* xi. 28.) Independently of this supposition, τὸ ποιηθὲν, above, helps to explain ποιήσαντα.

<sup>464</sup> ἐκ τῆς ὕψιος τοῦ ὀνείρου. See above, § 139, and notes 415, 416.

ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεηλατεύσι τὸ πεδῖον<sup>445</sup>. ὁ δὲ, μαθὼν τὸ χρηστήριον ἐπιτελεύμενον, φίλα τε τοῖσι Ἴωσι καὶ Κασοὶ ποικέται<sup>446</sup> καὶ σφεας μεγάλα ἵπποσχνεύμενος πείθει μετ' ἑωυτοῦ γενέσθαι· ὥς δὲ ἔπεισε, οὕτω ἅμα τοῖσι μετ' ἑωυτοῦ βουλομένοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπικούροισι καταίρει τοὺς βασιλέας.

Κρατήσας δὲ Αἰγύπτου πάσης ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος, ἐποίησε τῷ 153  
'Ηφαίστῳ προπύλαια ἐν Μέμφι, τὰ πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμ- He builds  
μένα· αὐλήν<sup>447</sup> τε τῷ Ἄπι, ἐν τῇ τρέφεται ἐπεὰν φανῇ ὁ Ἄπις, the southern  
οἰκοδόμησε ἐναντίον τῶν προπυλαίων, πᾶσάν τε περιστύλον ἐοῦσαν propylæas to  
καὶ τύπων πλήην· ἀντὶ δὲ κίωνων, ὑπεστᾶσι κολοσσοὶ δυοδeka- the Hephæ-  
πήχες τῇ αὐλῇ· ὁ δὲ Ἄπις κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσάν ἐστι steum at  
'Επαφος<sup>448</sup>. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Κασοὶ τοῖσι συγκατεργασα- Memphis;  
μένοισι αὐτῷ ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος δίδωσι χώρους ἐνοικῆσαι ἀντίους ἀλλή-  
λων, τοῦ Νείλου τὸ μέσον ἔχοντος, τοῖσι οὐνόματα ἐτέθη Στρατό-  
πεδα· τούτους τε δὴ σφι τοὺς χώρους δίδωσι καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ  
ὑπέσχετο πάντα ἀπέδωκε, καὶ δὴ καὶ παῖδας παρέβαλε αὐτοῖσι  
Αἰγυπτίους τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων  
ἐκμαθόντων τὴν γλῶσσαν οἱ νῦν ἐρμηνέες<sup>449</sup> ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γεγόνασι.  
οἱ δὲ Ἴωνές τε καὶ οἱ Κᾶρες τούτους τοὺς χώρους οἰκησαν χρόνον  
ἐπὶ πολλόν· εἰς δὲ οὗτοι οἱ χώροι πρὸς θαλάσσης, ὀλίγον ἔνερθε  
Βουβάστιος πόλιος<sup>450</sup>, ἐπὶ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ καλυμένῳ στόματι τοῦ

<sup>445</sup> ὡς χάλκεοι . . . τὸ πεδῖον. In the *Odyssey* (xiv. 252—265) is a description of just such a raid made by the Cretan crew, with whom Odysseus is sailing, upon the Egyptians; but these, when they come to the rescue, are themselves armed in brass: πλῆτο δὲ πᾶν πεδῖον πεζῶν τε καὶ ἱππῶν Χαλκοῦ τε στεροσῆς. The writer attributes to them the habits of his own countrymen.

<sup>446</sup> φίλα τε τοῖσι Ἴωσι καὶ Κασοὶ ποικέται, "He makes overtures to the Ionians and Carians." So Aristagoras, in the wish to win over the Ionian cities to an alliance with himself, put the several dynasts into the hands of their subjects: φίλα βουλόμενος ποικέσθαι τῇσι πόλεσι ἐξεδίδου (v. 37). The difference between the active and middle voice of the word in such phrases is pretty much the same as that between direct and indirect action. The latter would be especially applicable to the proceeding of a sovereign or person

in high office, although the two expressions might very often be used indifferently, on the common principle, "Qui facit per alterum facit per se."

<sup>447</sup> αὐλήν. Strabo describes Apis as being kept ἐν σηκῷ τινι, and says that there was an αὐλή in front of this, in which was another σηκὸς containing his mother. He was every day let out at a certain hour to run about (xvii. c. 1, p. 448). Strabo says, on the occasion of describing this, that Apis was identical with Osiris. At the time he visited Egypt this deity would be much more familiar to travellers, especially Romans, than Epaphus. He adds, that the temple of Apis is adjacent to the Hephæsteum.

<sup>448</sup> ὁ δὲ Ἄπις κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν ἐστι Ἐπαφος. See note 113 on § 38, above.

<sup>449</sup> οἱ νῦν ἐρμηνέες. See below, § 164.

<sup>450</sup> ὀλίγον ἔνερθε Βουβάστιος πόλιος. The districts in question are probably to



their descendants are afterwards removed to Memphis.

From the time of Psammitichus the Greeks know Egypt much better than before.

155

Oracle of Latona in a fane built with huge

Νεῖλον Τούτους μὲν δὴ χρόνῳ ὑστερον βασιλεὺς Ἀμασις ἐξαστήσας ἐνθεύτεν κατοίκησε ἐς Μέμφιν<sup>471</sup>, φυλακὴν ἐωυτοῦ ποικίμενος πρὸς Αἰγυπτίαν. τούτων δὲ οἰκισθέντων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἐπιμισγόμενοι τοῖτοισι τὰ περὶ Αἰγυπτὸν γινόμενα ἀπὸ Ψαμμίτιχου βασιλέως ἀρξάμενοι πάντα καὶ τὰ ὑστερον ἐπιστάμεθα ἀτρεκέως· πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν· ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἐξανέστησαν χώρων, ἐν τοῖτοισι δὴ οἱ τε ὀλκοὶ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὰ ἐρείπια τῶν οἰκημάτων τὸ μέχρι ἐμείψαν. Ψαμμίτιχος μὲν νυν οὕτω ἔσχε τὴν Αἰγυπτὸν.

Τοῦ δὲ χρηστηρίου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ<sup>472</sup> πολλὰ ἐπεμνήσθη<sup>473</sup> ἤδη, καὶ δὴ λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀξίου ἔοντος ποιήσομαι. τὸ γὰρ χρηστήριον τοῦτο τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἔστι μὲν Λητοῦς ἱερὸν, ἐν πόλει δὲ

be regarded in the light of *faubourgs*, appropriated to different communities as a habitation, like the Jews' quarter, the Armenian quarter, &c. in a modern Turkish city. Whatever their origin, they would no doubt in the sequel be chiefly tenanted by traders, and hence, when the commerce of Egypt was transferred to another emporium (as was the case under Amasis), the first occupied locality would soon be deserted. For the description of the site of *Bubastis*, see above, § 138, and note 481, below; and for traces of the same name in a locality similarly situated, note 588 on i. 174. In the river Nile there were islands called by the names of Ephesus, Chios, Lesbos, Cyprus, Samos, and other Hellenic names (HECATÆUS *ap. Steph. Byzant.* v. Ἐφεσος), a decisive evidence of the commercial intercourse which existed in early times between Egypt and the trading communities of the Ægean.

<sup>471</sup> κατοίκησε ἐς Μέμφιν. Probably the site was that which in the time of STRABO was called *Babylon*, a strong fort connected with the Nile by a mole. He mentions the view of the pyramids on the opposite side of the river obtained from it. According to the account he received, it was a settlement extorted from the kings of Egypt by some Babylonians who had revolted, under what circumstances, or at what time, he does not say. DIODORUS makes the rebels captives from Babylon in Mesopotamia, brought by *Sesostris* to Egypt, and exasperated to secession by the hard task-work in which he employed them. On the other hand CTE-  
SIAS, who followed Medo-Persian tradi-

tions, called these Babylonians a colony left in Egypt by *Semiramis* when she invaded it (*ap. Diodor.* i. 56). Diodorus adds the sensible remark: *περὶ τοῦτων τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς ἐκθεῖσθαι μετὰ ἀκριβείας οὐ βέβδιον*,—a maxim which deserves more respect than it has obtained. Babylon was the station of a Roman legion in the time of Strabo (*xvii. c. 1, p. 447*). WILKINSON (*Modern Egyptians*, p. 274) identifies its site with a portion of *Old Cairo*, but raises an imaginary difficulty in misunderstanding the expression by which Strabo describes the fort.

<sup>472</sup> πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι. ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν. No doubt they were the first through whom the Hellenic race were brought into contact with Egypt. But from the time of Solomon (*1 Kings* ix. 15—28) it seems scarcely doubtful but that there must have been much commercial intercourse with Egypt, probably accompanied with settlements there. The example of Jeroboam (*1 Kings* xi. 40) can hardly have been solitary. The state of things prophetically described by ISAIAH xix. 18—25 is illustrated by JEREMIAH xlv. and EZEKIEL xxix. xxi., from which it is plain that several important cities of Egypt were full of Jews. See too the notice of the Tyrian settlement, § 112, above.

<sup>473</sup> τοῦ χρηστηρίου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. The expression by itself would suggest that in the apprehension of the writer there was no other oracle in Egypt. See notes 154 and 213, above.

<sup>474</sup> πολλὰ ἐπεμνήσθη. See above, §§ 83. 133. 152.

μεγάλη ἰδρυμένοι κατὰ τὸ Σεβεννυτικὸν καλεόμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου, ἀναπλέοντι <sup>474</sup> ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω οὖνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ὅκου τὸ χρηστήριον ἐστὶ, Βουτῶ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον οὐνόμασταί μοι· ἱρὸν δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Βουτοῖ ταύτῃ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος· καὶ ὁ γε νηὸς τῆς Δητοῦς, ἐν τῷ δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐνι, αὐτὸς τε τυγχάνει ἑὼν μέγας καὶ τὰ προπύλαια ἔχει ἐς ὕψος δέκα ὀργυιῶν· τὸ δέ μοι τῶν φανερῶν θῶμα μέγιστον παρεχόμενον φράσω· ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ Δητοῦς νηὸς ἐξ ἑνὸς λίθου πεποιημένος ἐς τε ὕψος καὶ ἐς μῆκος <sup>475</sup>. καὶ τοίχος ἕκαστος τούτοις ἴσος· τεσσαράκοντα πήχεων τούτων ἕκαστός ἐστι· τὸ δὲ καταστέγασμα τῆς ὀροφῆς ἄλλος ἐπικέεται λίθος, ἔχων τὴν παρωροφίδα <sup>476</sup> τετράπηχυν. Οὕτω μὲν νυν ὁ νηὸς τῶν φανερῶν μοι 156  
τῶν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν ἐστὶ θυμαστότατον, τῶν δὲ δευτέρων A lake in the vicinity of the temple, with a floating island which contains a  
νῆσος ἡ Χέμμις καλυμένη <sup>477</sup>. ἐστὶ μὲν ἐν λίμνῃ βαθῇ καὶ πλατέῃ κειμένη παρὰ τὸ ἐν Βουτοῖ ἱρὸν, λέγεται δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι αὕτη ἡ νῆσος πλωτή· αὐτὸς μὲν ἔγωγε οὔτε πλέουσιν οὔτε

<sup>474</sup> ἀναπλέοντι. The words ἐν δεξιᾷ would seem to have fallen out of the text. The city was on the western bank of the Sebennytic mouth of the Nile.

<sup>475</sup> ἐς τε ὕψος καὶ ἐς μῆκος. The manuscripts S and V have καὶ μῆκος; but there is no important variation in any part of the passage, although it is difficult not to suppose some corruption. τούτοις must mean ὕψει καὶ μήκει, and ἕκαστος refer to the same. It seems not necessary to regard the temple as in the view of the writer a diuth structure. His words are compatible with the meaning that each side of it was a single stone of forty cubits square, and that the four were surmounted by another single block which overhung each side by four cubits. It is impossible, however, to conceive how even such masses could have been placed in position: and it is easier, so far as concerns the mechanical difficulty, to imagine the edifice really hewn out of a monolith block found on the spot. The efforts of the orientals in this kind were indeed stupendous. In the ruins of Balbec there are said to be "two stones in position, the fellow to which lies in the quarries about a mile distant, estimated to weigh from 1500 to 1800 tons. It is 68 feet 2 inches long, 15 feet deep, and 18 feet broad, and it has all the holes where the masons'

clamps were fixed that lifted it." (*Letter to the Evening Mail*, Aug. 14, 1851.) The Balbec block would contain 18,405 cubic feet; but the top stone in the text, if it be supposed only one cubit thick, would contain more than four times as much material.

<sup>476</sup> παρωροφίδα. This appears to be the portion of the roof standing out over the edge of the wall,—the coping. It is explained by JULIUS POLLUX as τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ ὀρόφου καὶ τοῦ στέγους. It has, however, been understood differently,—as the cornice, or the whole of the entablature above the bed of the architrave,—which in Egyptian buildings is found to occupy a ninth or tenth part of the whole height of the wall. This explanation, however, although perhaps it may accord with what Herodotus *was* told, does not seem to accord with the impression he received.

<sup>477</sup> ἡ Χέμμις καλυμένη. HERCULES described this island under the name Chembis. (*Steph. Byz. s. v.*) For the city of the same name see above, § 91. The peculiar feature of palm-trees growing appears in the description of both places. Hence we may perhaps infer that a "grove" was essential to the religious ritual in both.

temple of  
Apollo.

Local le-  
gend re-  
lating to  
the island.

Parallelism  
of certain  
Hellenic  
and Egypt-  
ian deities.

Egyptian  
mythology  
plagiarised  
by Æschyl-  
us.

κινηθείσαν ἴδον, τέθηπα δὲ ἀκούων εἰ νήσος ἀληθέως ἐστὶ πλωτή  
ἐν δὴ ὧν ταύτῃ νηὸς τε Ἀπόλλωνος μέγας ἐνι, καὶ βωμοὶ τρι-  
φάσιοι ἐνιδρύονται· ἐμπεφύκασι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ φοῖνικες συχνοὶ, καὶ  
ἄλλα δένδρεα καὶ καρποφόρα καὶ ἄφορα πολλὰ· λόγον δὲ τόνδε  
ἐπιλέγοντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ εἶναι αὐτὴν πλωτήν· ὥς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ  
ταύτῃ οὐκ εἴουσα πρότερον πλωτή, Λητῶ, εἴουσα τῶν ὀκτῶ θεῶν  
τῶν πρώτων γενομένων οἰκέουσα δὲ ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλει, ἵνα δὴ οἱ τὸ  
χρηστήριον τοῦτό ἐστι, Ἀπόλλωνα παρὰ Ἴσιος παρακαταθήκη  
δεξαμένη, διέσωσε κατακρύψασα ἐν τῇ νῦν πλωτῇ λεγομένη νήσῳ,  
ὅτε δὴ τὸ πᾶν διζήμενος ὁ Τυφὼν ἐπῆλθε θέλων ἐξευρεῖν τοῦ  
Ὀσείριος τὸν παῖδα·—Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ καὶ Ἀρτεμιν Διονύσου καὶ  
Ἴσιος λέγουσι εἶναι παῖδας, Λητοῦν δὲ τροφὸν αὐτοῖσι καὶ σώ-  
τειραν γενέσθαι· Αἰγυπτιστὶ δὲ Ἀπόλλων μὲν Ὡρος, Δημήτηρ  
δὲ Ἴσις, Ἀρτεμις δὲ Βούβαστις<sup>478</sup>. ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου καὶ  
οὐδενὸς ἄλλου Αἰσχύλος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ἤρπασε τὸ ἐγὼ φράσω,  
μοῦνος δὴ ποιητέων τῶν προγενομένων· ἐποίησε γὰρ Ἀρτεμιν εἶναι  
θυγατέρα Δήμητρος·—τὴν δὲ νήσον διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι πλωτήν.  
ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι.

157

Psammitichus reigns  
fifty-three  
years, dur-  
ing twenty-  
nine of  
which he  
is block-

158

ading Azotus.

Ψαμμίτιχος δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου τέσσερα καὶ πεντήκοντα  
ἔτεα· τῶν τὰ ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα, Ἀζωτον<sup>479</sup>, τῆς Συρίας μεγά-  
λην πόλιν, προσκατήμενος ἐπολιόρκει, ἐς τὸ ἐξεῖλε. αὕτη δὲ ἡ  
Ἀζωτος ἀπασέων πολίων ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον πολιορκευμένη  
ἀντέσχε τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

Ψαμμίτιχου δὲ Νεκὸς παῖς ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου  
ὅς τῃ διόρυχι ἐπεχείρησε πρῶτος τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν

<sup>478</sup> Ἀρτεμις δὲ Βούβαστις. The Artemis with which the Egyptian deity was identical was not the huntress-goddess; so that JUVENAL could in strict truth make the point he does with reference to the religions of Egypt: "Oppida tota CANEM venerantur, nemo DIANAM." The Artemis-Bubastis was more analogous to the Ephesian Artemis, a deity nearly connected with Aphrodite Urania. See notes 587 and 588 on i. 174, and § 60, above.

<sup>479</sup> Ἀζωτον. This city (Ashdod) was a member of the Philistine Pentapolis; and it is observable, that the only other incident recorded of Psammitichus's long reign, of which the source is not obvi-

ously the Hephæsteum at Memphis, is one apparently derived from the Aphrodite temple at Ascalon, another member of the same confederacy. See note 366 on i. 165. The expression of JEREMIAH (xxv. 20 = xxxii. 6, LXX), where "the remnant of Ashdod" is coupled with Ascalon, Gaza, and Ekron, probably has reference to the diminution of population resulting from this siege and capture. The numbers would perhaps be replenished from Egypt, and possibly the practice of circumcision (which certainly existed in later times) then introduced. See note 294 on § 104, above.

φερούση, τὴν Δαρείος ὁ Πέρσης δεύτερα διώρυξε· τῆς μῆκος μὲν <sup>He is succeeded by his son</sup> ἔστι πλῆος ἡμέραι τέσσερες, εὖρος δὲ ὠρύχθη ὥστε τριήρεας <sup>Neco, who begins the canal to join the Nile and the Arabian gulf,</sup> δύο πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρευμένας. ἦκται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτήν· ἦκται δὲ κατύπερθε ὀλίγον Βουβαστίος πόλιος <sup>400</sup>, παρὰ Πιάτουμον <sup>401</sup> τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν <sup>402</sup>. ὥρυκται δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου τὰ πρὸς Ἀραβίην ἔχοντα· ἔχεται δὲ κατύπερθε τοῦ πεδίου τὸ κατὰ Μέμφιν τείνων ὁρος, ἐν τῷ αἰ λιθοτομίαι ἔνευσι <sup>403</sup>. τοῦ ὧν δὴ οὖρεος τούτου παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρέην ἦκται ἡ διώρυξ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης μακρὴ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶν καὶ ἔπειτα τείνει ἐς διασφάγας φερούσας <sup>404</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ οὖρεος

<sup>400</sup> *τριήρεας*. It is not to be supposed that Psammitichus made the canal for triremes, but that the informant of Herodotus adopted this mode of giving him a notion of its breadth. Compare i. 179: *τεθρίππε περιλάσιον*.

<sup>401</sup> *κατύπερθε ὀλίγον Βουβαστίος πόλιος*. The site of the city Bubastis is the modern *Tel Basta* (lat. 30° 36' according to WILKINSON), which stands, as in the days of Herodotus, on the side of a lake. The Pelusiac branch of the river, however, which then ran into this, is now filled up. Basta is, according to RENNELL, about 48 geographical miles to the N.W. of Suez, which again is in the same parallel of latitude as Cairo. The hill which closes in the valley of the Nile at Memphis, forms a kind of arc, of which the two extremities are in the vicinity of Cairo and of Suez, while the vertex runs as far north as *Bilbeye*, which is about 17 miles S.W. of Basta. Rennell conceives that the canal of Neco passed through this place, and was then carried along the edge of the brow, in an easterly direction, for some time, until the line of the hill turns rapidly southwards and approaches the gorge of which Herodotus presently speaks. From Bilbeyes to Suez would be about 30 miles; so that the length of the canal would be about 47 geographical miles. Supposing the barges upon it propelled by men towing, the distance given by Herodotus would not be unreasonable, especially if we suppose him to mean that vessels clearing out from Bubastis on one day got into the port at Suez on the fourth. PLINY makes the distance 62 Roman miles, which is even less.

<sup>402</sup> *παρὰ Πιάτουμον*. This city is the *Pithom* of *Exodus* i. 11, where the first

syllable is considered to be the Coptic article, as in *piromis*.

<sup>403</sup> *ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν*. Herodotus repeats this assertion in iv. 39 incidentally; but, from the way in which he speaks of the geography of the region elsewhere (see note 28 on ii. 8), it is scarcely possible to conceive that he ever *saw* the entrance. He perhaps is following the account of a Bubastian cicerone, and possibly mistaking his phraseology. See note 409 on ii. 138.

<sup>404</sup> *ἐν τῷ αἰ λιθοτομίαι ἔνευσι*. The quarries from whence the stone for the Gizeh pyramids was brought. See ii. 8.

<sup>405</sup> *φερούσας*. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Gaisford (with some) has *φείρουσα*, which makes the statement of the entrance of the canal into the head of the Arabian gulf more *positive* than it otherwise would be in the text. The gorge (*διασφάγες*) is probably what Pococke describes as "a sort of fosse that is thought to be the canal of Trajan," through which part of the road from Ajeroud to Suez runs. Niebuhr remarked the same appearance, but doubted whether it was a part of a canal or the bed of a torrent. Pococke also, together with Niebuhr and Volney, describe the ground for some five miles to the N. of Suez as appearing to be the deserted bed of the sea, or rather that bed filled up with sand to a height above the ordinary level of the sea; and the first speaks of "the high ground with *broken cliffs* looking very much like such an alteration" (*ap. RENNELL, Geogr. of Herod. p. 474*). From this description of the site it seems very unlikely that, if the canal were completed into the Arabian gulf, it remained many years without being choked up.

πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον. τῇ δὲ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι καὶ συντομώτατον ἐκ τῆς βορητῆς θαλάσσης ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν νοτίην καὶ Ἐρυθρὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην<sup>406</sup> καλεομένην, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου οὗρου τοῦ οὐρίζοντος Αἰγυπτῶν τε καὶ Συρίην, ἀπὸ τούτου εἰσὶ στάδιοι χίλιοι ἀπαρτί<sup>407</sup> ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ συντομώτατον ἡ δὲ διώρυξ πολλὰ μακροτέρη<sup>408</sup> ὅση σκολιωτέρη ἐστὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Νεκῷ βασιλέος ὀρύσσοντες Αἰγυπτίων ἀπώλοντο δυνάδεκα μυριάδες<sup>409</sup>. Νεκὼς μὲν νυν μεταξὺ ὀρύσσειν ἐπαύσατο, μαντηίου ἐμποδίου γενομένου τοιοῦδε, "τῷ βαρβάρῳ αὐτὸν προεργάζεσθαι." βαρβάρους δὲ πάντας οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τοὺς μὴ σφίσι ὁμογλώσσους<sup>410</sup>. Πανσάμενος δὲ τῆς διώρυχος ὁ Νεκὼς, ἐτράπετο πρὸς στρατηγὰς καὶ τριήρεις, αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ βορητῇ θαλάσῃ ἐποικήθησαν, αἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ τῶν ἔτι οἱ ὅλκοι ἐπίδηλοι<sup>411</sup>. καὶ ταύτησί τε ἐχρᾶτο ἐν τῷ δέοντι, καὶ Σύριοις πεζῇ ὁ Νεκὼς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδόλῳ<sup>412</sup> ἐνίκησε μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην, Κάδυτιν

but desists from his enterprise,

159 builds ships on both seas, defeats the Syrians in Magdulus, and takes Kadytis.

And it is remarkable that while Herodotus represents Darius as cutting through the whole (iv. 30), Diodorus and Strabo (or their common authority, who was perhaps Aristotle) relate him to have been deterred by the notion that the level of the Red Sea was higher than that of the Nile, and the feat to have been performed by Ptolemy Philadelphus; whereas PLINY (vi. 29. *inif.*) asserts that the work was not carried out even by Ptolemy. Some authorities, among which is the Aristotelian *Meteorologica*, attributed the beginning of the canal to Sesostris. See note 285 on § 102.

<sup>406</sup> τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην. See note on § 66, above.

<sup>407</sup> ἀπαρτί. This word, which exists in none of the MSS, is recovered from a quotation by the SCHOLIAST ON ARISTOPHANES, *Plut.* 388.

<sup>408</sup> πολλὰ μακροτέρη. The canal itself can never have been so long as 1000 stades; but the whole course of the navigation by the canal from sea to sea would have been; and this is perhaps the foundation of the statement of Herodotus.

<sup>409</sup> ἀπώλοντο δυνάδεκα μυριάδες. VOLTAIRE states that the building of Petersburg by the Czar in 1714 cost the lives of more than a hundred thousand men. The foundations of the city were laid in a marsh, and labourers were pressed from

every portion of his dominions (*op. Grote, History of Greece*, iii. p. 423).

<sup>410</sup> βαρβάρους . . . ὁμογλώσσους. This must either be an instance of adaptation, meaning that the Egyptians had a word co-extensive in application to the Hellenic βάρβαρος (see note 523 on § 171, below, and note 471 on i. 139), or else "the Egyptians" are the naturalized foreigners resident in that country.

<sup>411</sup> τῶν ἐτι οἱ ὅλκοι ἐπίδηλοι. See note 285 on § 102, above.

<sup>412</sup> Μαγδόλῳ. This town stood very near Pelusium on the coast-road which led into Egypt from Syro-Phoenicia. From the disposition to identify the battle here mentioned with that related in 2 Kings xxiii. 29, it has been supposed that Magdulus is the Megiddo of that passage, and that Kadytis is Jerusalem. But see note 13 on iii. 5. No doubt there is some difficulty in understanding how the Syrians should penetrate so far as the Pelusiac Magdulus, and their defeat there entail as an immediate consequence the capture of Kadytis. But it is possible that the war commenced by an invasion of Egypt in great force, when, if the intruders were defeated, they would probably be annihilated from the want of water in their retreat (see iii. 5). In this case the conqueror, especially if he still

πόλιν τῆς Συρίας εἶσαν μεγάλην εἶλε ἐν τῇ δὲ ἐσθῆτι ἔτυχε Dies after  
reigning  
sixteen  
years.  
ταῦτα κατεργασάμενος ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, πέμψας ἐς Βραγχί-  
δας τὰς Μιλησίων<sup>153</sup>. μετὰ δὲ, ἑκαίδεκα ἔτεα τὰ πάντα ἄρξας  
τελευτᾷ, τῷ παιδὶ Ψάμμῳ παραδούς τὴν ἀρχήν.

Ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὸν Ψάμμῳ<sup>154</sup> βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου ἀπίκοντο 160  
Ἡλείων ἄνδρες ἄγγελοι, αἰχέοντες δικαιοτάτα καὶ κάλλιστα Judgment  
passed on  
the Eleans  
by the  
Egyptian  
sages under  
his son  
Psammis ;  
who reigns  
only six  
years, and  
invades  
Ethiopia.  
τιθέναι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δοκέοντες  
παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδ' ἂν τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίους οὐδὲν  
ἐπεξευρεῖν ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ Ἡλείοι ἔλεγον  
τῶν εἵνεκα ἀπίκοντο, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος συγκαλέεται Αἰγυ-  
πτιῶν τοὺς λεγομένους εἶναι σοφωτάτους· συνελθόντες δὲ οἱ Αἰγύ-  
πτιοι, ἐπυνθάνοντο τῶν Ἡλείων λεγόντων ἅπαντα τὰ κατήκει  
σφέας ποιέειν περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· ἀπηρησάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα, ἔφασαν  
ἦκειν ἐπιμαθησόμενοι εἰ τι ἔχοιεν Αἰγύπτιοι τούτων δικαιοτέρου  
ἐπεξευρεῖν ; οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι, ἐπειρώτων τοὺς Ἡλείους εἰ  
σφι οἱ πολῆται ἐναγωνίζονται ; οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν καὶ σφέων καὶ  
τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὁμοίως τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐξεῖναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι.  
οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἔφασαν σφέας οὕτω τιθέντας παντὸς τοῦ δικαίου  
ἡμαρτηκένα· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ εἶναι μηχανὴν ὅπως οὐ τῷ ἀσπῷ ἀγωνι-  
ζομένῳ προσθήσονται, ἀδικέοντες τὸν ξεῖνον ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ βούλονται  
δικαίως τιθέναι, καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα ἀπικόλατο ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ξεινοῖσι  
ἀγωνιστῇσι ἐκέλευον τὸν ἀγῶνα τιθέναι, Ἡλείων δὲ μηδενὶ εἶναι  
ἀγωνίζεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι Ἡλείοισι ὑπεθήκαντο.

Ψάμμος δὲ ἐξ ἔτεα μόνον βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου, καὶ στρα- 161

held Azotus (see above, § 157), would be able vigorously to pursue his success, and push on rapidly to the north,—perhaps even as far as Damascus,—without meeting any serious check.

<sup>153</sup> ἐς Βραγχίδας τὰς Μιλησίους. See note 528 on i. 157.

<sup>154</sup> ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὸν Ψάμμῳ. The anecdote which follows is referred by DIODORUS (i. 95) to the time of Amasis. PLUTARCH (*Quæst. Platon.* § 2, p. 1000) gives the Egyptian remark as a saying of σοφῶν τις. The substantial part of the story is the principle contained in the saying, and it is not strange that there should be a variation in the *dramatis personæ*. See note 116 on i. 32, and note

519 on i. 155. The reputation of the Eleans for impartiality gave occasion to one of the sayings of Agis, reported by PLUTARCH (*Apophtegm. Reg.* p. 190). See note 477 on i. 141. That Eleans should come to Egypt is in itself by no means an improbability; but not specially for the purpose of comparing their σοφία with that of the Egyptians. The yellow flax which they grew (*dyssus*), and which was consumed largely in Egypt, especially when circumstances, such as a war with Tyre, checked the importation of that from Palestine, would give rise to commercial intercourse between the two countries. See note 219, *ib.*, on § 86, above, and note 554 on § 182, below.

Apries, son of Psammis, makes war on Sidon, Tyre, and Cyrene, in the course of a twenty years' reign.

The Egyptians revolt from him after the last-named expedition.

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Amasis, whom he sends to quell the revolt, becomes leader of the rebels.

τευσαμένου ἐς Αἰθιοπὴν, καὶ μεταντὶκα τελευτήσαντος, ἐξεδέξατο Ἀπρίης<sup>495</sup> ὁ Ψάμμιος· δς μετὰ Ψαμμίτιχον τὸν ἐωυτοῦ προπάτορα ἐγένετο εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων<sup>496</sup>, ἐπ' ἔτα πεντεκαὶ εἴκοσι ἄρξας· ἐν τοῖσι ἐπὶ τε Σιδῶνα στρατὸν ἤλασε καὶ ἐνανμάχησε τῷ Τυρίῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔδεε κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγένετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τὴν ἐγὼ μεζόνως μὲν ἐν τοῖσι Λιβυκοῖσι λόγοισι<sup>497</sup> ἀπηγήσομαι, μετρίως δ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι· ἀποπέμψας γὰρ στρατεύμα ὁ Ἀπρίης ἐπὶ Κυρηναίους, μεγαλωσὶ προσέπταισε. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι, ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, δοκέοντες τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐκ προνοίης αὐτοὺς ἀποπέμψαι ἐς φαινόμενον κακόν, ἵνα δὴ σφέων φθορὴ γένηται αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν λουπῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀσφαλέστερον ἄρχῃ· ταῦτα δὲ δεινὰ ποιούμενοι αὐτοὶ<sup>498</sup> τε οἱ ἀπονουστήσαντες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων φίλοι, ἀπέστησαν ἐκ τῆς ἰθείης. Πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀπρίης ταῦτα, πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἀμασιν καταπαύσοντα λόγοισι· ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ἀπικόμενος κατελάμβανε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν λέγοντος αὐτοῦ, τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ὕπισθε στὰς περιέθηκε οἱ κυνὴν, καὶ περιτιθεὶς ἔφη “ἐπὶ βασιλεὶν περιτιθέναι.” καὶ τῷ οὕτως ἀκούσιον ἐγένετο τὸ ποιούμενον, ὥς διεδέκνυε· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ἐστήσαντό μιν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἀπεστεῶτες, παρεσκευάζετο ὥς ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην· πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπρίης, ἔπεμπε ἐπ' Ἀμασιν ἄνδρα δόκιμον τῶν περὶ ἐωυτὸν Αἰγυπτίων, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Πατάρβημις, ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ζῶντα Ἀμασιν ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἐωυτόν· ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενος τὸν Ἀμασιν ἐκάλεε ὁ Πατάρβημις, ὁ Ἀμασις (ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐπ' ἵππου κατήμενος) ἐπάρας ἀπεματαίωσε, καὶ τοῦτό μιν

<sup>495</sup> Ἀπρίης. This is the *Hophra* of JEREMIAH xxxvii. 8 and 11. MANETHO calls him *Uaphris*, where the letter U is the equivalent of the aspirate.

<sup>496</sup> εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων. This well-known Greek idiom, in which the subject of the adjective is not regarded as one of the class of instances with which it is compared, is imitated by MILTON (*Par. Lost*, iv. 323):

“Adam, the goodliest man of men since born  
His sons,—the fairest of her daughters  
Eve.”

An analogous idiom caused the expression

in *Luc. Evang.* xiii. 32: ἤγοντο δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι δύο κακοῦργοι σὺν αὐτῷ ἀναπεθῆναι.

<sup>497</sup> μεζόνως μὲν ἐν τοῖσι Λιβυκοῖσι λόγοισι. See note on iv. 159.

<sup>498</sup> αὐτοὶ. Gaisford with the MSS has *οἱ*. But the revolt seems to have arisen out of the dissatisfaction among the friends of those who perished, caused by the reports of those who came back (οἱ ἀπονουστήσαντες). These friends would be the remainder of the *corps* which occupied Marea; for it would doubtless be from this division that an army sent against Cyrene would be drawn. See § 30, and note 64, above.

ἐκέλευε Ἀπρίην ἀπάγειν ὁμῶς δὲ αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦν τὸν Πατάρβημιν, βασιλέος μεταπεμπομένον, ἵεναι πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν δὲ αὐτῷ ὑποκρίνεσθαι, ὡς "ταῦτα πάλαι παρεσκευάζετο ποιεῖν, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐ μέμψεσθαι"<sup>499</sup> Ἀπρίην παρέσεσθαι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἄλλους ἄξειν τὸν δὲ Πατάρβημιν ἕκ τε τῶν λεγομένων οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον ὀρέοντα σπουδῇ ἀπιέναι, βουλόμενον τὴν ταχίστην βασιλείῃ δηλῶσαι τὰ πρησσόμενα ὡς δὲ ἀπικέσθαι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀπρίην οὐκ ἄγοντα τὸν Ἀμασιν, οὐδένα λόγον αὐτῷ<sup>500</sup> δόντα ἀλλὰ περιθύμως ἔχοντα, περιταμεῖν προστάξει αὐτοῦ τά τε ὧτα καὶ τὴν ῥίνα ἰδόμενοι δ' οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, οἳ ἔτι τὰ ἐκείνου ἐφρόνεον, ἄνδρα τὸν δοκιμώτατον ἐωυτῶν οὕτω αἰσχροῦς λύμῃ διακείμενον, οὐδένα δὴ χρόνον ἐπισχόντες ἀπιστέατο πρὸς τοὺς ἐτέρους, καὶ ἐδίδosan σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀμάσι. Πυθόμενος δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπρίης, ὥπλιζε τοὺς ἐπι- 163  
κούρους καὶ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους· εἶχε δὲ περὶ ἐωυτὸν Apries falls  
Kārás τε καὶ Ἰωνας ἄνδρας ἐπικούρους τρισμυρίους<sup>501</sup>· ἦν δὲ οἱ τὰ back upon  
βασιλῆα ἐν Σαί πόλιν<sup>502</sup>, μεγάλη ἐόντα καὶ ἀξιοθέητα. καὶ οἳ τε his Ionian  
περὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἦσαν, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν and Carian  
Ἀμασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους. ἔν τε δὴ Μωμέμφιν<sup>503</sup> πόλιν ἐγένοντο auxiliaries.  
ἀμφότεροι<sup>504</sup> καὶ πειρήσεσθαι ἔμελλον ἀλλήλων.

<sup>499</sup> μέμψεσθαι. Gaisford with the MSS has μέμψασθαι.

<sup>500</sup> αὐτῷ. The conjectural emendation ἐωυτῷ has been proposed, but without necessity.

<sup>501</sup> τρισμυρίους. The manuscript M omits this word, but it exists in all the rest. In the parallel narrative of DIODO-  
RUS (i. 68) the auxiliaries are said to be ὡς τρισμυρίους, and it is not impossible that the number may have been introduced into the MSS of Herodotus from thence.

<sup>502</sup> ἐν Σαί πόλιν. The city *Sais* was situated inland, two *schoeni* removed from *Naucratis*, which was on the eastern bank of the Bolbitine branch of the Nile. (STRABO, xvii. p. 442.) Herodotus was at *Sais* (see ii. 28. 170), and doubtless derived his account of the fate of Apries from the γραμματιστῆς there. The proximity of *Naucratis* to *Sais* would account for the ready availability of the Carian and Ionian force. Indeed, by the phrase ὥπλιζε τοὺς ἐπικούρους, one might be

led to suspect that Apries in his distress resorted to the expedient of throwing himself upon the commercial population resident in *Naucratis*, just as an Oriental prince might take refuge in a British factory. Of course the native traditions would give a very different colour to such a proceeding. By the way in which *these* Ionians and Carians are mentioned one can hardly believe that the narrator intended to represent them as the same he had spoken of before (§ 154). It is more reasonable to suppose that he is here following a Saitan than a Memphitic authority.

<sup>503</sup> Μωμέμφιν. STRABO describes the city *Momemphis* as being on the right bank to a person sailing up the Bolbitine branch of the Nile towards the head of the Delta. He places it *above* the canals which connected the river with the lake *Mareotis* and *below* the salt lakes. *Aphrodite* was the tutelary deity of the city, and a sacred cow was preserved there, like the sacred bull *Apis* in *Memphis*, or *Mnevis*



- 164 *Digression on the seven Egyptian castes. Military caste.* "Ἔστι δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἑπτὰ γένεα· καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἱρέες, οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι κεκλέαται, οἱ δὲ βουκόλοι, οἱ δὲ συβῶται, οἱ δὲ κάπηλοι, οἱ δὲ ἑρμηνέες, οἱ δὲ κυβερνήται"<sup>355</sup>. γένεα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων τοσαυτὰ ἔστι, οὐνόματα δὲ σφί κέεται ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνέων. οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι αὐτῶν καλέονται μὲν Καλασιρίες τε καὶ Ἑρμοτύβιες<sup>356</sup>, ἐκ νομῶν δὲ τῶνδε εἰσὶ· κατὰ γὰρ δὴ νομοὺς Αἴγυπτος ἅπαντα διαραίρηται.
- 165 *Hermotybies 160,000 in number.* Ἑρμοτυβίων μὲν οἶδε εἰσὶ νομοὶ· Βουσιρίτης, Σαίτης, Χερμμίτης, Παπρημίτης, νῆσος ἡ Προσωπῆτις καλεομένη, Ναβὼ τὸ ἡμισυ. ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν νομῶν Ἑρμοτύβιες εἰσὶ, γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστοις γενόλατο, ἑκαίδεκα μυριάδες καὶ τούτων βαυαυσίης οὐδεὶς δεδάηκε οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' ἀνέονται<sup>357</sup> ἐς τὸ μάχιμον. Καλασιρίων δὲ οἶδε ἄλλοι νομοὶ εἰσιν· Θηβαῖος, Βουβαστίτης, Ἀφθίτης, Τανίτης, Μενδησίος, Σεβεννύτης, Ἀθριβίτης<sup>358</sup>, Φαρβαυθίτης, Θμουίτης, Ὀνουφίτης, Ἀνύσιος, Μυεκφορίτης· οὗτος ὁ νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ οἰκεῖ<sup>359</sup>, ἀντίον Βουβάστιος πόλιος. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ νομοὶ Καλασι-
- 166 *Calasiries 250,000 in number.*

in Heliopolis (xvii. c. 1. p. 441). For its probable site see note 263, above.

<sup>355</sup> ἐγίνοντο ἀμφοτέρω. It was very natural that the remnant of the army which returned from Cyrene should be on the western bank of the river. The track along the coast would take them to the shore of the Mareotic lake, the s.w. bank of which they would traverse on their way towards Sais, care being no doubt taken, when the report of their mutiny arrived, to deprive them of the means of passing by water. Apries on the other hand, by holding Naucratis, would have a large command of vessels, and thus might cross the river (as he did) when he felt himself sufficiently strong.

<sup>356</sup> κυβερνήται. By these we must understand not the pilots of sea-going vessels, but the navigators of such craft as those described above, § 96, by whom probably the whole internal traffic of Egypt was conducted, foreign bottoms discharging their cargoes at Naucratis. See § 179. It is remarkable that in the enumeration of castes artificers are not named,—certainly an important class, as they manufactured the papyrus-stem into sail-cloth (ii. 96), and the flax into fine linen (iii. 47). (See ISAIAH xix. 7. 9; EZEKIEL xxxvii. 7; 2 Chron. i. 16.) Possibly they are not named because the Hellenic traders may have had only to do with the middle-men (κάπηλοι).

<sup>356</sup> Καλασιρίες τε καὶ Ἑρμοτύβιες. These words are interpreted by JABLONSKY as being equivalent to "youths" and "warriors." If so, we should perhaps be near the truth in regarding the division as one involving liability to, or exemption from, foreign service and having reference to the age of the soldiers. The name of "warrior" may have been confined to the veteran campaigners.

<sup>357</sup> ἀνέονται. This anomalous form is the reading of the MSS. Bekker has adopted the conjecture ἀνέωται.

<sup>358</sup> Ἀθριβίτης. See note 121 on § 41, above.

<sup>359</sup> οὗτος ὁ νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ οἰκεῖ. The use of the phrase νομὸς οἰκεῖ is paralleled by νήσῳ, εἰς νήσους, πέραν ἄλλης Ἠλίδος ἄστα (*Iliad* ii. 626), and to a certain extent by the address to *Salamis* in SOPHOCLES:

ὃ κλεινὴ Σαλαμίς, σὺ μὲν πού  
ναίεις ἀλίπλεγτος, εὐδαίμων,  
πᾶσιν περίφαντος ἄελ. (*Aj.* 596.)

Zenodotus, however, altered the Homeric verse to Νήσῳ, οἱ γαίονσι. The expressions πόλις εὐ ναυεκάστας (*Iliad* ii. 648) and ναυεκάστας πόλις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων (*Iliad* iv. 45) serve to show the train of thought which led to the phrase in the text.

ρίων εἰς ἑνὸς γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐγενέετο, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν οὐδὲ τούτοις ἐξεστὶ τέχνην ἐπασκῆσαι οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐπασκέουσι μούνα, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος. Εἰ μὲν νυν καὶ τοῦτο παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασιν 167 οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως κρίναι, ὁρέων καὶ Θρηίκας καὶ Σκύθας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Λυδοὺς, καὶ σχεδὸν πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀποτιμωτέρους τῶν ἄλλων ἡγούμενους πολητῶν τοὺς τὰς τέχνας μαθάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐργόνοους τούτων τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλασμένους τῶν χειρωναξίων γενηαίους νομιζομένους εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνειμένους<sup>510</sup>. μεμαθήκασιν δ' ὦν τοῦτο πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ μάλιστα Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἥκιστα δὲ Κορίνθιοι θνούνται τοὺς χειροτέχνας. Γέρεα δὲ σφί ἦν τάδε 168 ἐξαραιρημένα μούνοισι Αἰγυπτίων, πάρεξ τῶν ἱρέων ἀρουραὶ ἐξαίρετοι δυῶδεκα ἐκάστῳ ἀτελέες (ἡ δὲ ἀρουρα ἑκατὸν πήχεων ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίων πάντη· ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος πήχυς<sup>511</sup> τυγχάνει ἴσος ἑὼν τῷ Σαμίῳ.) ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασιν ἦν ἐξαραιρημένα· τάδε δὲ ἐν περιτροπῇ ἑκαρποῦντο<sup>512</sup>, καὶ οὐδαμὰ ὄντοί. Καλασιρῶν χίλιοι, Extra allowances of the guards. καὶ Ἑρμοτυβίων ἄλλοι, ἐδορυφόρου ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστοι τὸν βα-

Contempt for handicrafts in Hellas as well as in Egypt.

Land appropriated to the military.

Extra allowances of the guards.

<sup>510</sup> ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνειμένους, "devoted to war." For the sense of ἀνειμένους (let go) see note 174 on § 85, above. But, as those who were set free from secular pursuits were enabled to perform others the better, the word acquired the meaning in the text. The Latin 'vacare' experienced a similar change of sense.

<sup>511</sup> ὁ Αἰγύπτιος πήχυς. BOECKH has made out from a mean measure of seven Egyptian cubits, all of which come from Memphis, that the length was 525·587 millimeters, or about 232·55 lines. (*Metrolologische Untersuchungen*, p. 227.) The Babylonian cubit (calculated) he makes to be 234·685 lines (see note 597 on i. 178), and from the small difference (amounting only to about one-fifth of an inch in a measure of nearly 21 inches) he infers that the two cubits are identical, whether the Egyptian measure was at an early period introduced at Babylon, or the Babylonian imposed upon Egypt at the time of its conquest. The former theory seems favoured by the circumstance that one of the Egyptian measures was (if Champollion's interpretation of the hieroglyphics upon it be correct)

buried in the grave of an individual the contemporary of Horus son of Amenophis. But it is singular that all the Egyptian measures seem to have been divided into seven παλαισταὶ each of four δακτυλοί, whereas the Greek πήχυς (and in Boeckh's opinion the Babylonian also) consisted of six of the former divided into twenty-four of the latter; so that the septenary division appears to be the regulating principle in the one case and the duodenary in the other. In commercial intercourse, however, the subdivision of the πήχυς was an unimportant matter, and it does not seem to follow from the text that the Samian division of the measure was septenary. (See note on vi. 42.) The coincidence of the Babylonian with the commercial cubit of Samos explains the difficulty in i. 178. See note 597 on that passage.

<sup>512</sup> ἐν περιτροπῇ ἑκαρποῦντο, καὶ οὐδαμὰ ὄντοί. Perhaps this assertion is to be interpreted by supposing a given area of soil appropriated to the maintenance of a given garrison, and these latter shifted from one station to another. The custom is a totally different one from that ascribed to the Germans by TACITUS (*Germani*, § 26).

σιλέα· τούτοισι δ' ὦν τάδε παρέξ τῶν ἀρουρέων ἄλλα ἐδίδδοτο ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη, ὅπου σίτου σταθμὸς πέντε μνέαι ἐκάστω, κρεῶν βοέων δύο μνέαι, οἶνου τέσσερες ἀρυστήρες. ταῦτα τοῖσι αἰεὶ δορυφορέουσι<sup>515</sup> ἐδίδδοτο.

169

Apries is defeated and kept at Sais by Amasis in honourable custody.

Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ συνιόντες, ὃ τε Ἀπρίης ἄγων τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ὁ Ἀμασις πάντας τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μώμεμφιν πόλιν, συνέβαλον καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο μὲν εὖ οἱ ξεῖνοι, πλήθει δὲ πολλῶν ἐλάσσονες ἔοντες κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσώθησαν. Ἀπρίεω δὲ λέγεται εἶναι ἦδε ἡ διάνοια, μὴδ' ἂν θεὸν μιν μῆδενα δύνασθαι παῦσαι τῆς βασιληΐης· οὕτω ἀσφαλῶς ἔωντῷ ἰδρῦσθαι ἐδόκεε. καὶ δὴ τότε συμβαλὼν ἐσώθη· καὶ ζωγρηθεὶς, ἀπήχθη ἐς Σαῖν πόλιν<sup>516</sup>, ἐς τὰ ἔωντοῦ [οἰκία]<sup>517</sup> πρότερον ἔοντα, τότε δὲ Ἀμάσιος ἦδη βασιλῆα. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τέως μὲν ἐτρέφετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιληΐοις, καὶ μιν Ἀμασις εὖ περιεῖπε, τέλος δὲ, μεμφομένων Αἰγυπτίων ὡς οὐ ποιοῖ δίκαια τρέφων τὸν σφίσι τε καὶ ἑωυτῷ ἔχθιστον, οὕτω δὴ παραδιδόει τὸν Ἀπρίην τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοις· οἱ δὲ μιν ἀπέπνιξαν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇσι πατρίεσι ταφῇσι. αἱ δὲ εἰσι ἐν τῇ ἱρῇ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ μεγάρου, ἐσίωντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός<sup>518</sup>. ἔθαψαν δὲ Σαῖται πάντας τοὺς ἐκ νομοῦ τούτου γενομένους βασιλέας ἔσω ἐν τῇ ἱρῇ. καὶ γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος σῆμα ἑκαστέρῳ μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ μεγάρου ἢ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπρίεω καὶ τῶν τούτου προπατόρων ἐστὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱροῦ<sup>517</sup>, παστὰς λιθίῃ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἡσκημένῃ στύλοισι τε φοίνικας τὰ δένδρεα μεμιμημένοισι καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δαπάνῃ. ἔσω δὲ ἐν τῇ παστάδι διξὰ θυρώματα<sup>518</sup> ἔστηκε· ἐν δὲ τοῖσι θυρώμασι ἡ

At last the Egyptians strangle him, and bury him in the temple of Athens.

<sup>515</sup> τοῖσι αἰεὶ δορυφορέουσι, "to the guards on duty."

<sup>516</sup> ἐς Σαῖν πόλιν. For a description of the site see note 502, above.

<sup>517</sup> οἰκία. One MS has οἰκία. Possibly the original form of the text was ἐς τὰ οἰκία πρότερον ἔοντα τότε δ' Ἀμάσιος ἦδη βασιλῆα, and ἑωυτοῦ was written in the margin as a gloss of οἰκία. If afterwards the pronoun was taken into the text, the change from οἰκία into οἰκία would readily suggest itself. But there seems no place for any distinction between οἰκία and βασιλῆα. For the expression βασιλῆα see § 130.

<sup>518</sup> εἰσίωντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός. The proximity of Naucratis to Sais (see note

502, above) accounts for the familiarity with this locality here apparent.

<sup>517</sup> ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱροῦ. WILKINSON (*Modern Egyptians*, i. p. 183) describes the principal part of the remains to consist of "a large enclosure surrounded by massive crude brick walls. These last are about 70 feet thick and of very solid construction. Between the courses of bricks are layers of reed intended to serve as binders." (Compare the account of the walls of Babylon, i. 170.) This enclosure measures 2325 feet by 1960, of which the north side is occupied by the pool mentioned by Herodotus. This is, however, now long and irregular.

<sup>518</sup> διξὰ θυρώματα. The building de-

θήκη ἐστὶ. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ ταφαὶ τοῦ οὐκ ὄσιον ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ 170  
 τοιούτῳ πρήγματι <sup>510</sup> ἐξαγορεύειν τούνομα ἐν Σαΐ, ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς  
 Ἀθηναίης, ὅπισθε τοῦ νηοῦ, παντὸς τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐχόμεναι  
 τοίχου <sup>520</sup>. καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει ὀβελοὶ ἐστᾶσι μεγάλοι λίθινοι  
 λίμνη τέ ἐστι ἐχόμενη, λίθινη κρηπὶδι κεκοσμημένη καὶ ἐργασμένη  
 εὖ κύκλῳ, καὶ μέγαθος, ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκεε, ὅση περ ἡ ἐν Δήλῳ ἡ  
 τροχοειδὴς καλεομένη <sup>531</sup>. Ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ ταύτῃ τὰ δεικῆλα <sup>532</sup>  
 τῶν παθῶν αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ποιεῦσι, τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια <sup>533</sup> Αἰγύ-  
 πτιω. περὶ μὲν νυν τούτων εἰδότε μοι ἐπὶ πλέον ὥς ἕκαστα αὐ-  
 τῶν ἔχει, εὖστομα κείσθω καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τελετῆς πέρι, τὴν οἱ  
 Ἕλληνες θεσμοφόρια καλέουσι, καὶ ταύτης εἰδότε μοι πέρι εὖ-  
 στομα κείσθω· πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὅσῃ ἐστὶ λέγειν <sup>534</sup>, αἱ Δαναοῦ  
 θυγατέρες ἦσαν αἱ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγαγούσαι,  
 καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγιώτιδας γυναῖκας· μετὰ δὲ, ἐξαναστάσης  
 πάσης Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Δωριέων, ἐξαπώλετο ἡ τελετὴ <sup>535</sup>. οἱ δὲ  
 ὑπολειφθέντες Πελοποννησίῳ καὶ οὐκ ἐξαναστάντες Ἀρκάδες  
 διέσωζον αὐτὴν μῶνοι.

In the same temple is another sepulchre [probably of Osiris] with obelisks and a circular pool in the precinct.

171

Ἀπρίῳ δὲ ὧδε καταραιρεμένον, ἐβασίλευσε Ἀμασις, νομοῦ μὲν 172  
 Σαΐτω ἐών· ἐκ τῆς δὲ ἦν πόλις, οὐνόμα οἱ ἐστὶ Σιούφ <sup>536</sup>. τὰ  
 μὲν δὴ πρῶτα κατόνοντο τὸν Ἀμασιν Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ἐν οὐδεμῇ

Amasis, become king, obtains the

scribed in the text seems to be something like the so-called "arch of Janus" at Rome, only with two instead of four doors. These may be conceived as opposite to each other, and forming respectively the termination of two limbs of a colonnade. If the size of the building was very small as compared with these apertures, the tomb which it contained might be termed "within the doors."

<sup>510</sup> ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι. See note 383 on § 132.

<sup>520</sup> παντὸς τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐχόμεναι τοίχου, "joining on with the whole extent of the wall of Athens." There was a similar association of the fane of *Pandrosus* with the temple of *Athene Polias* at Athens. See the note on v. 77: ἄντιον δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἱερῇν τετραμῆνον.

<sup>531</sup> ἡ τροχοειδὴς καλεομένη. CALLIMACHUS (*Del.* 261) calls this τροχόεσσα.

<sup>532</sup> τὰ δεικῆλα τῶν παθῶν αὐτοῦ, "the exhibition of his woes,"—a ritual of a scenic description, like that of *Dionysus* and the Cretan *Zeus*. See note 76 on

i. 23. The expression δεικῆλα is perhaps Lacedæmonian. They gave the name δεικῆλαια to certain pantomimic performers. (ATHENÆUS, xiv. p. 621.)

<sup>533</sup> τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια. Here appears to be another instance of adaptation. See note 490, above.

<sup>534</sup> πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὅσῃ ἐστὶ λέγειν. In the place of these words S has only λέγεται ὥς,—a reading which gives what follows the air of a note. The ceremonies to which Herodotus here alludes are those in honour of *Dionysus* and *Demeter Prosymna*, which were celebrated at Lerna near a pool in the midst of a grove. They belonged to a time antecedent to the Heracleide invasion. (PAUSANIAS, ii. 37. 1—3.)

<sup>535</sup> ἐξαπώλετο ἡ τελετὴ, "the ritual died out." See notes 164 and 179 on Book I.

<sup>536</sup> Σιούφ. The modern *Saï*, situated about three leagues to the N.E. of *Sais*, on the Eastern bank of the Nile. (CHAMPOLLION quoted by *Kenrick*.)

respect of  
the Egypt-  
ians, which  
was at first  
denied him.

μοίρη μεγάλην ἦγον, ἅτε δὴ δημότην τὸ πρὶν ἔοντα καὶ οἰκίης οὐκ ἐπιφανέος· μετὰ δὲ, σοφίῃ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀμασις οὐκ ἀγνωμοσύνη προσηγάγετο<sup>527</sup>. ἦν οἱ ἄλλα τε ἀγαθὰ μυρία, ἐν δὲ καὶ ποδανιπτήρ χρύσεος ἐν τῇ αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ἀμασις καὶ οἱ δαιτυμόνες οἱ πάντες τοὺς πόδας ἐκάστοτε ἐναπενίζεατο· τοῦτον κατ' ὄν κόψας<sup>528</sup>, ὄγαλμα δαίμονος ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐποίησατο καὶ ἴδρυσεν τῆς πόλιος ὅκου ἦν ἐπιτηδεύατον· οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι φοιτέοντες πρὸς τὸ γαλμα, ἐσέβοντο· μεγάλως· μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀμασις τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀστῶν ποιούμενον, συγκαλέσας Αἰγυπτίους ἐξέφη· φὰς ἐκ τοῦ ποδανιπτήρος τὸ γαλμα γεγυμέναι, ἐς τὸν πρότερον μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐνεμείν τε καὶ ἐνουρέειν καὶ πόδας ἐναπονίζεσθαι, τότε δὲ μεγάλως σέβεσθαι· ἦδη ὢν, ἔφη λέγων, ὁμοίως αὐτὸς τῷ ποδανιπτήρῳ πεπρηγέσθαι· εἰ γὰρ πρότερον εἶναι δημότης, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι εἶναι αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ τιμᾶν τε καὶ προμηθεύεσθαι ἐσωτοῦ ἐκέλευε. τοιοῦτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ προσηγάγετο τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ὥστε δικαιοῦν δουλεύειν. Ἐχρᾶτο δὲ καταστάσει πρηγμάτων τοιῆδε· τὸ μὲν ὄρθριον, μέχρι ὅτου<sup>529</sup> πληθῶρης ἀγορῆς, προθύμως ἔπρησσε τὰ προσφερόμενα πρήγματα· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔπινε τε καὶ κατέσκαπτε τοὺς συμπότας, καὶ ἦν μάταιός τε καὶ πανγνιῶμων ἀχθεσθέντες δὲ τούτοις οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ<sup>530</sup> ἐνουθέτεον αὐτὸν, τοιαῶν λέγοντες· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐκ ὀρθῶς σεωντοῦ προέστηκας, ἐς τὸ ὄγαν φαῦλον προάγων σεωντόν. σὲ γὰρ χρῆν ἐν θρόνῳ σεμνῷ σεμνὸν θεωκέοντα, δι' ἡμέρης πρήσσειν τὰ πρήγματα· καὶ οὕτω Αἰγύπτιοί τ' ἂν ἐπιστάετο ὡς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου ἄρχονται καὶ ἄμεινον σὺ ἂν ἤκουες· νῦν δὲ ποιέεις οὐδαμῶς βασιλικά.” ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοιοῦτε αὐτοῖς· “τὰ τόξα οἱ κεκτημένοι, ἔπειδ' ἐν δέοντι χρᾶσθαι ἐνταυνοῦσι, [ἔπειδ' ἐν χρῆσιν αὐτῶν, ἐκλύουσι<sup>531</sup>]. εἰ γὰρ δὴ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐντεταμένα εἴη, ἐκραγείη ἂν ὥστε ἐς τὸ δέον οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου κατάστασις· εἰ ἐθέλοι κατεσπονδᾶσθαι αἰεὶ μηδὲ ἐς πανγνίην τὸ μέρος ἐσωτὸν ἀνέναι, λάθοι ἂν

173  
Habits of  
Amasia.

His answer  
to his  
friends who  
rebuked  
him for  
want of  
dignity.

<sup>527</sup> οὐκ ἀγνωμοσύνη προσηγάγετο. Strictly speaking, only the word σοφίῃ is to be taken with προσηγάγετο. See note 190 on i. 59.

<sup>528</sup> κατ' ὄν κόψας. See note 116, above.

<sup>529</sup> μέχρι ὅτου πληθῶρης ἀγορῆς. See note 87, above.

<sup>530</sup> ἀχθεσθέντες δὲ τούτοις οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ. This narrative and perhaps also

the following one is referable to the class of stories of which i. 141 furnishes an example. See note 477 on that section.

<sup>531</sup> [ἔπειδ' ἐν χρῆσιν αὐτῶν, ἐκλύουσι.] These words are deficient in the manuscripts M, P, K, F, a, c, and the sense is quite perfect without them, although the antithesis is not so regular.

ἦτοι μανεῖς ἢ ὄγε ἀπόπληκτος γενόμενος· τὰ ἐγὼ ἐπιστάμενος, μέρος ἑκατέρῳ νέμω.” ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς φίλους ἀμεΐφατο. 174  
 Δέγεται Another anecdote of him.  
 δὲ ὁ Ἄμασις, καὶ ὅτε ἦν ἰδιώτης, ὡς φιλοπότης ἐὼν καὶ φιλοσκώμ-  
 μων, καὶ οὐδαμῶς κατεσπουδασμένος ἀνὴρ· ὅκως δὲ μιν ἐπιλείποι  
 πίνοντά τε καὶ εὐπαθεύοντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα, κλέπτεσκε ἂν περιῶν· οἱ  
 δ' ἂν μιν φάμενοι ἔχειν τὰ σφέτερα χρήματα ἀρνεύμενον ἄγεσκον  
 ἐπὶ μαντήϊον, ὅκου ἐκάστοτε <sup>532</sup> εἶη. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀλλοσκετο  
 ὑπὸ τῶν μαντηῶν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀποφεύγεσκε· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ καὶ  
 ἐβασίλευσε, ἐποίεε τοιαύδε· ὅσοι μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν θεῶν ἀπέλυσαν μὴ  
 φῶρα εἶναι, τούτων μὲν τῶν ἱρῶν οὔτε ἐπεμέλετο οὔτε ἐς ἐπι-  
 σκευὴν ἐδίδου οὐδὲν οὐδὲ φοιτέων ἔθνε, ὡς οὐδενὸς ἐοῦσι ἀξίωσι  
 ψευδέα τε μαντήϊα κεκτημένοι· ὅσοι δὲ μιν κατέδησαν φῶρα  
 εἶναι <sup>533</sup>, τούτων δὲ ὡς ἀληθῆως θεῶν ἐόντων καὶ ἀψευδέα μαν-  
 τήϊα παρεχομένων τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεμέλετο.

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἐν Σαῖι τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ προτύλαια θωνμάσιά οἱ 175  
 ἐξεποίησε, πολλὸν πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενος τῷ τε ὕψει καὶ τῷ His archi-  
tectural  
works at  
Sais.  
 μεγάλει, ὅσων τε τὸ μέγαθος λίθων ἐστὶ καὶ ὁκοίων τέων <sup>534</sup>. τοῦτο  
 δὲ, κολοσσοὺς μεγάλους καὶ ἀνδρόσφυγας περιμήκεας ἀνέθηκε,  
 λίθους τε ἄλλους ἐς ἐπισκευὴν ὑπερφυέας τὸ μέγαθος ἐκόμισε.  
 ἡγάγετο δὲ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Μέμφιν ἐουσέων λιθοτο- He brings  
huge stones  
from the  
neighbour-  
hood of  
Memphis,  
but larger  
still from  
Elephan-  
tine.  
 μέων, τοὺς δὲ ὑπερμεγάθους ἐξ Ἑλεφαντίνης πόλιος, πλόον καὶ  
 εἰκόσι ἡμερέων ἀπεχούσης ἀπὸ Σαῖος. τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῶν  
 ἀλλὰ μάλιστα θωνμάζω, ἔστι τόδε οἶκημα μονόλιθον ἐκόμισε ἐξ  
 Ἑλεφαντίνης πόλιος· καὶ τοῦτο ἐκόμιζον μὲν ἐπ' ἕτεα τρία, δισχι-  
 λιοὶ δὲ οἱ προσετετάχατο ἄνδρες ἀγωγέες, καὶ οὗτοι ἅπαντες ἦσαν  
 κυβερνήται <sup>535</sup>. τῆς δὲ στέγης ταύτης τὸ μὲν μήκος <sup>537</sup> ἕξωθεν ἔστι  
 εἰς τε καὶ εἰκοσι πῆχες, εὖρος δὲ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα, ὕψος δὲ ὀκτώ.

<sup>532</sup> ἐκάστοτε. Gaisford with the majority of MSS reads ἐκάστοισι. S and V have the reading in the text.

<sup>531</sup> κατέδησαν φῶρα εἶναι. So below, iv. 68: ἦν μιν καταδήσωσιν ἐπιρκῆσαι.

<sup>534</sup> οἱ. A similar pleonastic use of this pronoun is found in vi. 68: ἀπικομένην δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἐσθελς ἐς τὰς χεῖρας οἱ τῶν σπλάγχνων κατικέτενε.

<sup>535</sup> ὅσων τε τὸ μέγαθος λίθων ἐστὶ καὶ ὁκοίων τέων, “of such huge stones in point of size, and such kinds of stone, do they consist.”

<sup>536</sup> κυβερνήται, “boatmen.” See note 505, above. The mass was floated down the river on a raft.

<sup>537</sup> τῆς δὲ στέγης ταύτης τὸ μὲν μήκος. The dimensions given by Herodotus of this monolith would make it contain something like 6000 cubic feet of Syenite granite,—an enormous weight, when the density of the material is taken into account. But the dimensions are trifling when compared with those of the temple described above, § 155, where see note 475.

ταῦτα μὲν τὰ μέτρα ἔξωθεν τῆς στέγης τῆς μουνολίθου ἐστί· ἀτὰρ ἔσωθεν τὸ μήκος ὀκτωκαίδεκα πηχέων καὶ πυγῶνος<sup>338</sup>, τὸ δὲ εὖρος δυνάδεκα πηχέων, τὸ δὲ ὕψος πέντε πηχέων ἐστί. αὕτη τοῦ ἱροῦ κέεται παρὰ τὴν ἔσοδον· ἔσω γάρ μιν ἐς τὸ ἱρόν φασι τῶνδ' εἵνεκα οὐκ ἐσελκύσαι· τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς, ἐλκομένης τῆς στέγης, ἀναστενάζαι οἷά τε χρόνου ἐκγεγονότος πολλοῦ καταχθόμενον τῷ ἔργῳ· τὸν δὲ Ἀμασιω ἐνθυμστὸν ποιησάμενον<sup>339</sup> οὐκ ἔαν ἔτι προσωτέρω ἐλκύσαι· ἤδη δέ τινας λέγουσι, ὡς ἄνθρωπος διεφθάρη ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῶν τις αὐτὴν μοχλευόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου οὐκ ἐσελκυσθῆναι. Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἱροῖσι ὁ Ἀμασις πᾶσι τοῖσι ἐλλογίμοις ἔργα τὸ μέγαθος ἀξιοθέητα, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἐν Μέμφι τὸν ὑπτιον κείμενον κολοσσόν, τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἔμπροσθε τοῦ πόδες πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντά εἰσι τὸ μήκος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ βάθρῳ ἐστᾶσι, Αἰθιοπικοῦ ἑόντες<sup>340</sup> λίθου, δύο κολοσσοί, ἑέικοσι ποδῶν τὸ μέγαθος ἑὼν ἑκάτερος, ὁ μὲν ἔνθεν ὁ δ' ἔνθεν τοῦ μεγάλου<sup>341</sup>. ἔστι δὲ λίθινος ἕτερος τοσοῦτος καὶ ἐν Σάϊ<sup>342</sup>, κείμενος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ ἐν Μέμφι. τῇ Ἰσι τε τὸ ἐν Μέμφι ἱρόν Ἀμασις ἐστί ὁ ἐξοικοδομήσας, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιοθεητότατον.

176

Among other places, Memphis is adorned by him with a supine colossal figure similar to one at Sais, and with a temple of Isis.

177

Superior fertility of Egypt under Amasis.

Ἐπ' Ἀμάσιος δὲ βασιλέος λέγεται Αἴγυπτος μάλιστα δὴ τότε εὐδαιμονῆσαι, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ χώρῃ γινόμενα καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι· καὶ πόλις ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τὰς ἀπάσας τότε δισμυρίας<sup>343</sup> τὰς οἰκεόμενας. νόμον δὲ Αἰγυπτίους

<sup>338</sup> καὶ πυγῶνος. The πυγὼν is to be taken as five-sixths of the πῆχυς.

<sup>339</sup> ἐνθυμστὸν ποιησάμενον. It was the ill-omen, arising from the groan to which the architect gave vent, which made Amasis pause, not the magnitude of the task which had been performed.

<sup>340</sup> ἑόντες. All the MSS have ἑόντος, but vary between Αἰθιοπικοῦ and τοῦ αὐτοῦ. Schweighäuser conjectures ἑόντες, which I have adopted as a slight change. But it seems not impossible that Herodotus wrote τοῦ αὐτοῦ λίθου, Αἰθιοπικοῦ ἑόντος, δύο κ. The reading of Gaisford is Αἰθιοπικοῦ ἑόντος λίθου.

<sup>341</sup> τοῦ μεγάλου. Gaisford and the MSS have τοῦ μεγάρου.

<sup>342</sup> ἔστι δὲ λίθινος ἕτερος τοσοῦτος καὶ ἐν Σάϊ. It seems strange that Herodotus should not have mentioned this most remarkable colossus before he quitted the subject of the sculpture at Sais. Possibly,

although he certainly was at Sais, this statue was not seen by him, but when he arrived at Memphis he was told of its existence. Or perhaps it was not wrought by Amasis, but by some former king. It is quite clear that the image at Memphis was the more celebrated one, from the use of the article: τὸν ἔπ. κ. κ., "the colossus on its back (which all know)."

<sup>343</sup> πόλις ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι . . . δισμυρίας. These must be regarded as merely townships, such as those under the jurisdiction of an Aga at present. The proceeding of Amasis probably was of the nature of a census, to serve as the basis of a regular land-tax. The organisation would be similar to that which prevails generally in the East at the present day. See note 304 on § 109, above. The aga, or farmer of the revenue of a township, would be the party in direct communication with the tax-payer; but there would be a check

τόνδε Ἀμασίς ἐστι ὁ καταστήσας ἀποδεικνύει ἔτος ἐκάστου τῷ νομάρχῃ πάντα τινὰ Αἰγυπτίων ὅθεν βιοῦνται μὴ δὲ ποιεῦντα ταῦτα, μηδὲ ἀποφαίνοντα δικαίην ζῆν, ἰθύνεσθαι θανάτῳ. Σόλων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος λαβὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῦτον τὸν νόμον Ἀθηναίοισι ἔθετο· τῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐς αἰεὶ χρέωνται, εἰσὶν ἀμόμφ· νόμῳ. Φιλέλλην 178 δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ἀμασις, ἀλλὰ τε ἐς Ἑλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσι ἀπικνευμένοισι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδωκε Ναυκρατίην πόλιν ἐνοικήσαι<sup>544</sup>. τοῖσι δὲ μὴ βουλομένοισι αὐτῶν οἰκέειν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ναυτιλλομένοισι, ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνιδρύσασθαι βωμοὺς καὶ τέμενεα θεοῖσι. τὸ μὲν νῦν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος, καὶ οὐνομαστότατον ἐὼν καὶ χρησιμώτατον, καλεῖται Ἑλλήνιον, αἶδε πόλιν εἰσὶ αἱ ἰδρυμέναι κοινῇ· Ἰώνων μὲν Χίος καὶ Τέως καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Κλαζομεναί· Δωριέων δὲ Ῥόδος<sup>545</sup> καὶ Κνίδος καὶ Ἀλικαρνησσὸς καὶ Φάσηλις· Αἰολέων δὲ ἡ Μυτιληναίων μούνη. τούτων μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ τέμενος, καὶ προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου αὗται αἱ πόλιν εἰσὶ αἱ παρέχουσαι· ὅσαι δὲ ἄλλαι πόλιν μεταποιεῦνται<sup>546</sup>, οὐδὲν σφί μετεὼν μεταποιεῦνται. χωρὶς δὲ Αἰγυπ-

His census adopted by Solon at Athens.

He gives up Naucratis to the commercial Greeks as a factory.

List of the Hellenic states which had temples there.

upon him by the returns made to the nomarch (or *pasha*). The indirect effect of any system of this kind would doubtless be to discourage vagrancy or idleness; but it is a mere misapprehension on the part of later writers, such as *Ælian*, to represent it as instituted with this special object. That the principle of an assessment was the essential part of the regulation is evident from the assertion (whether true or not), 'that Solon adopted the system and that the Athenians continued to act upon it.' This could be said of nothing else. The superior productiveness of a regular tax to arbitrary imposts would readily lead to the current belief in the bad times which followed, that the country had been unusually fertile during the reign of the king who adopted such a policy.

<sup>544</sup> ἔδωκε Ναυκρατίην πόλιν ἐνοικήσαι. In the time of *Strabo* the prevalent local account was that Naucratis was built by the descendants of some Milesians. They were said to have come in the time of *Cyaxares* against *Psammitichus* in thirty vessels, to have entered the Bolbitine mouth of the Nile, and there fortified a place called τὸ Μιλησιῶν τείχος. Afterwards they sailed up the river, defeated *Inarus*, and built Naucratis (xvii. p. 439). In the latter

part of this story one can hardly doubt there is a confusion with the Athenian expedition of which *Thucydides* speaks (i. 103), somewhat facilitated, perhaps, by the circumstance that the father of *Inarus* bore the name of *Psammitichus*. (*Herod.* vii. 7.) *Scaliger* (*Animadversiones ad Eusebii Chronica*, p. 74) observes on the enormous anachronism contained in *Strabo's* notice, but does not attempt to explain it. See an instance of similar confusion in note 213 on i. 63. For the site of Naucratis see notes 263 and 502, above.

<sup>545</sup> Ῥόδος. If this section is the genuine production of *Herodotus*, it is strange that this phrase should be used. Rhodes (the city) was a *συνοικία* from the smaller towns, first built in the time of the Peloponnesian war by *Hippodamus* of Miletus, the architect of the Piræus. If it be said that the author means Rhodes (the island), it is strange that he should adopt such a mode of speech instead of enumerating the towns (as he does in i. 144, where speaking of the participants in the Triopian temple). It is also observable in the last section, that the chronological order of Solon's legislation and his travels is reversed, as compared with i. 29, 30.

<sup>546</sup> ὅσαι δὲ ἄλλαι πόλιν μεταποιεῦνται.



179

Naucratis was anciently the only emporium of Egypt.

180

Liberality of Amasis to the Delphians.

181

Amasis was on friendly terms with Cyrene, and married a Cyrenian woman.

ται ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν ἰδρύσαντο τέμενος Διὸς, καὶ ἄλλο Σάμιοι, Ἡρῆς, καὶ Μιλήσιοι, Ἀπόλλωνος. Ἦν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν <sup>547</sup> μούνη ἡ Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον, καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτου· εἰ δέ τις ἐς τῶν τι ἄλλο στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου ἀπῆκοιτο, χρῆν ὁμοῖαι "μὴ μὲν ἐκόντα ἐλθεῖν" ἀπομόσαντα δὲ, τῇ νηϊ αὐτῇ πλέειν ἐς τὸ Κανωβικόν· ἢ εἰ μὴ γε οἶά τε εἴη πρὸς ἀνέμους ἀντίους πλέειν, τὰ φορτία ἔδεε περιάγειν ἐν βάρισι περὶ τὸ Δέλτα, μέχρι οὐ ἀπῆκοιτο ἐς Ναύκρατιν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ναύκρατις ἐτετίμητο. Ἀμφικτυόνων δὲ μισθωσάντων τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι νῦν ἔοντα νηὸν <sup>548</sup> τριηκοσίων ταλάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι· ὁ γὰρ πρότερον ἐὼν αὐτόθι αὐτομάτως κατεκάρη τοὺς Δελφοὺς δὲ ἐπέβαλλε τεταρτημόριον τοῦ μισθώματος παρασχέειν· πλανώμενοι δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐδωτίναζον, ποιεῦντες δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐνέικαντο <sup>549</sup>. Ἀμασις μὲν γάρ σφι ἔδωκε χίλια στυπητήρης\* τάλαντα, οἱ δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες Ἑλλήνες εἴκοσι μνέας.

Κυρηναίοισι δὲ Ἀμασις φιλόττητά τε καὶ συμμαχίην συνεθήκατο· ἐδικαίωσε δὲ καὶ γῆμαι αὐτόθεν, εἴτ' ἐπιθυμήσας Ἑλληνίδος γυναικὸς εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως φιλόττητος Κυρηναίων εἵνεκα· γαμέει δ' ὦν, οἱ μὲν λέγουσι Βάττω, οἱ δ' Ἀρκεσίλειω θυγατέρα, οἱ δὲ Κρι-

The manuscripts S and V have in place of these words αἱ δὲ ἅλλαι πόλεις.

<sup>547</sup> ἦν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν κ.τ.λ. This section must be regarded rather in the light of a note than as a continuation of what precedes it. The 'ancient time' of which the writer speaks must be taken as ancient with reference to himself,—not with reference to Amasis,—for the practice which he describes is cited to show the honour in which Naucratis was held *after* it became the commercial emporium. This, in Herodotus's notion, was in the days of Amasis; but there can be little doubt that Naucratis was an emporium in very early times,—perhaps so early as to produce the different accounts of the time and particulars of its foundation, a subject of one of the lost works of APOLLONIUS RHODIUS.

<sup>548</sup> μισθωσάντων τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι νῦν ἔοντα νηὸν. The contract to rebuild the temple was taken by the Alcmaeonids. See v. 62.

<sup>549</sup> Ἀμφικτυόνων . . . ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐνέικαντο. The construction of this sentence is somewhat irregular; but the irregularity

arises from the introduction of fresh matter into a statement originally of a general character. The liberality of Amasis towards the Greeks is the point especially in hand at the beginning of § 178, and this object is reverted to after the paragraph τὸ μὲν νῦν μέγιστον . . . ἐτετίμητο, which is rather of the nature of a note. But as the writer bethought him of mentioning the circumstances which led the Delphians to resort to a collection, the issue of the sentence is retarded, and the final clause goes on, coupled with what immediately precedes it by the particle δὲ, quite irrespective of the beginning of the sentence.

\* στυπητήρης. BECKMANN (*History of Inventions*, i. p. 288) says that this substance, which the ancients would use in dyeing wool and perhaps also in dressing leather, is not *alum*, but *vitriol*; the former substance being very rarely found in a native state, while the native crystals of vitriol abound in the Lipari islands and Melos, which PLINY (xxxiv. 19) notes as the place from which it was chiefly procured.

τοβούλου, ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου<sup>550</sup>, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Λαδίκη<sup>551</sup>.  
 τῇ ἐπεὶ τε συγκλίνουτο ὁ Ἀμασις, μίσησθαι οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγένετο· Her narrow  
 τῇσι δὲ ἄλλησι γυναιξὶ ἐχράτο· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγένετο, death  
 εἶπε ὁ Ἀμασις πρὸς τὴν Λαδίκην ταύτην καλεομένην “ὦ γύναι,  
 κατὰ με ἐφάρμαξας, καὶ ἔστι τοι οὐδεμία μηχανὴ μὴ οὐκ ἀπολω-  
 λέναι κάκιστα γυναικῶν πασέων” ἡ δὲ Λαδίκη, ἐπεὶ τέ οἱ ἀρνευ-  
 μένη οὐδὲν ἐγένετο πρηύτερος ὁ Ἀμασις, εὐχεται ἐν τῷ νόφ τῇ  
 Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἣν οἱ ὑπ’ ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα μιχθῇ ὁ Ἀμασις, τοῦτο γάρ  
 οἱ κακοῦ εἶναι μῆχος, ἀγαλμά οἱ ἀποπέμφειν ἐς Κυρήνην· μετὰ δὲ  
 τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτίκα οἱ ἐμίχθη ὁ Ἀμασις, καὶ τὸ ἐνθεύτεν ἤδη, ὁκοτε  
 ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐμίσητο· καὶ κάρτα μιν ἔστερξε μετὰ τοῦτο. ἡ leads to a  
 δὲ Λαδίκη ἀπέδωκε τὴν εὐχὴν τῇ θεῷ ποιησαμένη γὰρ ἀγαλμα votive offer-  
 ἀπέπεμφε ἐς Κυρήνην, τὸ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν σόον<sup>552</sup>, ἔξω ἰδρυμένον ing at Cy-  
 τοῦ Κυρηναίων ἀστεος. ταύτην τὴν Λαδίκην, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε Καμ- rene.  
 βύσης Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπίθετο αὐτῇς ἢ τις εἴη, ἀπέπεμφε ἀσιωέα ἐς  
 Κυρήνην.

Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ὁ Ἀμασις ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοῦτο 182  
 μὲν ἐς Κυρήνην ἀγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον Ἀθηναίης, καὶ εἰκόνα ἑωυτοῦ Presents of  
 γραφῇ εἰκασμένην τοῦτο δὲ τῇ ἐν Λίνδῳ Ἀθηναίῃ δύο τε ἀγάλ- various Hel-  
 ματα λίθινα, καὶ θώρηκα λίνεον ἀξιοθέητον<sup>553</sup>. τοῦτο δ’ ἐς Σάμον tem-  
 τῇ Ἡρῇ εἰκόνας ἑωυτοῦ διφασίας ξυλίνας, αἱ ἐν τῷ νηφὶ τῷ pleas.  
 μεγάλῳ ἰδρύατο ἔτι καὶ τὸ μέχρις ἐμεῦ, ὅπισθε τῶν θυρέων. ἐς  
 μὲν νυν Σάμον ἀνέθηκε κατὰ ξεινίην τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τε καὶ Πολυ-  
 κράτεος τοῦ Αἰάκεος, ἐς δὲ Λίνδον ξεινίης μὲν οὐδεμιῆς εἵνεκεν ὅτι  
 δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Λίνδῳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίης λέγεται τὰς τοῦ Δα-  
 ναοῦ θυγατέρας ἰδρύσασθαι προσχούσας, ὅτε ἀπεδίδρησκον τοὺς

<sup>550</sup> ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου. Both this expression and the name of the female decisively show that it was the daughter of one of the Hellenic families, and not of an aboriginal one, that Amasis married. See the note on iv. 165.

<sup>551</sup> Λαδίκη. The manuscript S always calls this female Λαδίκη.

<sup>552</sup> τὸ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν σόον. It is only reasonable to suppose that the traditions of the Aphrodisium at Cyrene were the source of this narrative; and there is a strong presumption that the writer was there himself. In § 96, he speaks of the Cyrenian lotus as if he had seen it growing. With regard to *Ladice*,

the traditional character of the story is clearly shown by the circumstance that the authorities neither knew why Amasis had married her, nor who her relations were,—the statue in the temple, and the tradition attaching to it, being all the data they had to go upon. See notes 52, 88, 224, and 329 on Book I.

<sup>553</sup> θώρηκα λίνεον ἀξιοθέητον. See a description of this article, or rather of a similar one at Samos, below, iii. 47. It is rather singular that Herodotus should not here allude to the circumstance of Amasis having sent this latter present to the Lacedæmonians, and to its having been intercepted by the Samians (which

Αἰγύπτου παῖδας. ταῦτα μὲν ἀνέθηκε ὁ Ἀμασις. εἶλε δὲ Κυ-  
προν<sup>154</sup> πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων, καὶ κατεστρέψατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν.

was the Lacedæmonian account of the matter). Is it conceivable that he is *here* following the account of a Samian merchant, who omitted noticing an offering to which a story discreditable to his countrymen attached?

<sup>154</sup> εἶλε δὲ Κύπρον. It was impossible that Cyprus could have been reduced without a fleet, and Egypt did not possess one of her own. The conquest, therefore, must have been made with an *auxiliary* force. From whence was this procured? There is no positive statement, and therefore we are left to conjecture. It seems to me scarcely doubtful that it was Hellenic, perhaps Samian, under the influence of Polycrates during the time of the alliance between Amasis and that dynast (see iii. 39). The power of Samos is evinced by the fact of the Samians possessing a Heræum at Naucratis (§ 178, above). The close connexion of Samos with Cyrene (from whence Amasis married a wife) is also noticed by Herodotus (iv. 152). Afterwards, Amasis may have

thought the Ionians and Dorians of the Hellenium offered equal or greater advantages to him, and this may have led to a jealousy on the part of Polycrates issuing in a determination to ally himself with the Persian invader (see iii. 44). The bucanling character of Polycrates would have made him useful to Amasis in *extending* his conquests, but when Cyprus was reduced, a league with the Dorian towns on the Asiatic main would become even more important. Hence, perhaps, the propitiation of the Lidian Athens, and the real cause of the renunciation of the alliance with Polycrates. If it be true, as Herodotus relates (§ 161, above), that even Apries was able to engage the Tyrians at sea, it must be concluded that some Hellenic auxiliary naval force was at the command of the Egyptian king even at that time. Possibly this too may have been Samian, but before the revolution which terminated in the tyranny of Polycrates. See the note on iii. 19.

## EXCURSUS ON II. 149.

THE researches of modern travellers in the neighbourhood of the Lake Moeris, prove beyond all doubt that the lake itself is the work of nature, although advantage was taken of its situation to construct works of a gigantic size for the purpose of artificial irrigation. Strabo appears never for a moment to have supposed it an excavation. He rather inclines to the belief that it, as well as the neighbourhood of the temple of Ammon, at one time was reached by the sea, and he points attention particularly to the beaches existing by the side of it, resembling those on the shore of the latter<sup>1</sup>.

In his time there was an entrance from the Nile just above Memphis into a canal which ran parallel to the river on its western bank. This channel—which, at least in a portion of its extent, exists at the present day under the name of the *Bahr el Youssouf* (Joseph's River)—skirted the brow upon which the pyramids are placed, and constituted the western boundary of an island formed by the Nile and two branches of the canal. This island was either the whole or a large portion of the *Heracleotic nome*<sup>2</sup>. From the main

<sup>1</sup> Θωρασθῆν δὲ καὶ τὴν λίμνην ἔχει τὴν Μοίριδος καλωμένην πελαγίαν τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ χροῇ θαλαττοειδῇ· καὶ τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς δὲ ἔστιν ὄραν εὐκότας τοῖς θαλαττίοις· ὥς ὕπονοιεν τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν κατὰ Ἀμμωνα τόπων καὶ τούτων (xvii. c. 1. p. 452). This refers to the opinion of ΣΤΡΑΒΟ, which he had mentioned before: τάχα δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμμωνος ἱερὸν πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἦν, ἐκρύψεως γενομένης νῦν ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ κείσθαι (i. c. 3. p. 79).

<sup>2</sup> Δι' ἐνὸς βεῖθρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ [i.e. Νείλου] φερομένου, πλὴν εἰ μὴ που τις ἐντρέχει νῆσος· ὧν ἀξιολογωτάτη ἡ τὸν Ἡρακλεωτικὸν νομὸν περιέχουσα· ἢ εἴπου τις ἐκτροπὴ διώρυγι ἐπὶ πλείον εἰς λίμνην μεγάλην καὶ χώραν, ἣν ποτίζειν δύναται, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς

channel of the Bahr el Youssouf, in about latitude  $29^{\circ} 13'$ , another branch turns off to the north-west through a break in the Libyan hills, near a place called *Awarat el Macta*, and enters, after a course of about eight geographical miles, a mountain basin with an area of something like 400 square miles, of which about 150 towards the north-west extremity is occupied by a lake, called from its shape *Birket el Keroun* (Horned Sea), thirty-five or thirty-six miles long, and in the average four broad. This piece of water is the natural lake Moëris; its water is slightly brackish from the rains which wash the saline particles of the neighbouring soil into it, but not salt, for it contains fish of fresh-water species. The mountain basin is the *Faioum*, the *Arsinoïtan nome* of which Strabo speaks as the most wonderful portion of Egypt, both as a sight, and for its fertility and its artificial arrangements<sup>1</sup>. He remarks (a point which is especially to be observed) that with the exception of some gardens in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, it was the only site in Egypt where the olive flourished. This circumstance alone is a sufficient evidence that the irrigation must have been conducted on a different principle from that of merely allowing the waters of the river to overflow and cover the whole soil for a considerable period, after the ordinary practice of Egypt; for such a course would undoubtedly have prevented the growth of any thing but seed crops. And the existing state of the country seems to show that the arrangements which were made rested upon the principle of storing the water of the Nile at the time of the inundation in large canals at *different levels* within the mountain basin, the Birket el Keroun serving as a receptacle for the surplus of the whole.

In the portion of the basin which is not occupied by the Birket el Keroun two distinct levels are traceable at the present day. The upper of these, comprising a space of 140 square miles, is only six feet higher than the bottom of the Bahr el Youssouf, and about twenty-four feet lower than its surface when full (taking the level at the point where the canal enters the Faioum, which is not

τὸν Ἀρσινοΐτην νομὸν ποιούσης καὶ τὴν Μοίριδος λίμνην (xvii. p. 419). Εἴθ' ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ μεγάλη, καθ' ἣν ἡ διώρυξ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ, εἰς τὴν Λιβύην ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀρσινοΐτην νομῷ [forte supplendum φερομένη] ὥστε καὶ δίστομον εἶναι τὴν διώρυγα, μεταξὺ μέρους τινὸς τῆς γῆσου παρεμπύπτουτος (ib. p. 451).

<sup>2</sup> Ἀξιολογώτατος τῶν ἀπάντων κατὰ τε τὴν ὕψιν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν.

perceptibly different from its level at *Medineh*, a place six miles further in the direction of the lake), and it is covered with a sedimentary deposit of Nile mud from 18 to 22 feet thick. But at some short distance from *Medineh* the ground slopes gently to north and south, and more rapidly to the west, the surface of the lake itself being about sixty feet below the bottom of the canal, and from 130 to 170 feet below the surface of the Nile. Very near *Medineh* is supposed to have been the site of *Arsinoë* or *Crocodilopolis*.

If these levels are correctly given, it is quite clear, that in the system of irrigation pursued, the prime feeder must have been the diverging branch of the *Bahr el Youssouf* above described, reckoned from the point where it turns to the north-west to *Medineh*, a distance in the whole of about fourteen miles, six of which lie within the expanse of the mountain basin. This branch is at present estimated to convey one twenty-eighth portion of the water which passes in the bed of the Nile. Its mean depth is 30 feet and its breadth 160. Just as it enters the basin, it probably discharged a portion of its water into another canal on a lower level, also still traceable. This second canal, which goes by the name of *Bahr bela ma* (Waterless River), it being now mainly dry, starts in a northerly direction, and conducts, by a circuitous route of several miles, to the north-east extremity of the *Birket el Keroun*. Throughout its course there are said still to exist traces of ancient dams and sluices; and as its breadth is nearly 300 feet, and its depth 21, it must have been capable of holding a very large quantity of water.

Another nullah, similar to the *Bahr bela ma*, and varying from 600 to 1200 feet in breadth, is traceable in a north-westerly direction from a point ten miles to the south-west of *Awarat el Macta*, and joining the *Birket el Keroun* by a small channel, at a point where the sides are rocky, after a course of fourteen or fifteen miles. It goes by the name of *Bahr el Wadi* (the River of the Plain). Unfortunately, its precise level is not given; but it is obvious from the description, that it is lower than the *Bahr el Youssouf*, and higher than the *Birket el Keroun*. That it belonged to the arrangements for irrigation appears from the fact, that *WILKINSON* discovered its bottom to be cut in the limestone rock at a place where the breadth was 673 feet \*.

\* This is given on the authority of the Chevalier *BUNSEN*. The levels and positions

Various other traces of channels are described as existing in this singular region; but the above-mentioned are sufficient to explain the principle which prevailed in the irrigation.

It being perfectly clear that the water could never have been returned from the Birket el Keroun, or indeed from any portion of the works back *into the Nile*, the real problem is to explain how what really took place can have been so regarded as to give rise to the descriptions of Herodotus and Strabo.

Now Strabo appears to have regarded the *Bahr bela ma* and *Bahr el Wadi* as two branches of one and the same canal, by the former of which the water was conveyed to the *Birket el Keroun* at the time of the inundation, while to the other it was supplied from that lake *while the waters were falling* (ἐν τῇ ἀποβάσει). In this definition of the time his main error lies. The *Bahr el Wadi*, if originally a reservoir for irrigating the lowest portion of the plain (as its name seems to suggest), would not improbably be filled from the lake when this had risen beyond a few feet. As soon as the rising of the waters had ceased the sluices would be shut, and the water remain stored in a broad but not deep canal, having no doubt many small branches, —as was the case also with the *Bahr bela ma*, and the main stem of the διώρυξ running up to Medineh. The only remaining difficulty in Strabo's description is the connexion which he implies between the *Bahr el Wadi* and the διώρυξ<sup>5</sup>. But this is a very slight one. We must conceive him standing at Arsinoë (*Medineh*), by the side of the pool, where he gives the graphic description of his seeing the sacred crocodile fed<sup>6</sup>, which was probably the head of the διώρυξ. His host would point out to him the *Bahr bela ma* stretching away to the ΝΝ.Ε. and tell him that it entered the lake some fifteen or sixteen

laid down in this note are taken from the essay on the Lake Moeris contained in his work *Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, vol. ii. pp. 209—232. The modern authorities on which he rests are LINANT DE BELLEFONDS, in a memoir read at the Egyptian Society in Cairo on the 6th of July, 1842; JOMARD, *Mémoire sur le Lac Moeris*; and personal communications to himself from PERRING and WILKINSON.

<sup>5</sup> xvii. c. i. p. 454, ἡ δ' οὖν Μοίριδος λίμνη διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ βάθος ἰκαρὴ ἐστὶ κατὰ τε τὰς ἀναβάσεις τὴν πλημμυρίδα φέρειν καὶ μὴ ὑπερπολάσκειν εἰς τὰ οἰκούμενα καὶ πεφυτευμένα, εἴτα ἐν τῇ ἀποβάσει τὸ πλεονάζον ἀποδοῦσα τῇ αὐτῇ διώρυγι κατὰ θάτερον τῶν στομάτων ἔχειν ὑπολειπόμενον τὸ χρήσιμον πρὸς τὰς ἐποχέτελας καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ ἡ διώρυξ. ταῦτα μὲν φυσικά· ἐπικεῖται δὲ τοῖς στόμασιν ἀμφοτέροις τῆς διώρυγος κλεῖθρα, οἷς ταμεύουσιν οἱ ἀρχιτέκτονες τὸ τε εἰσέρειν ὕδαρ καὶ τὸ ἐκέρειν.

<sup>6</sup> xvii. c. i. p. 455.

miles off by a sluice. Similarly towards the n.w. he would see the *Bahr el Wadi* (which he would be told was supplied from the lake by similar sluices) *apparently* running towards the δῶρυξ on which he had himself been towed to Arsinoë, and from which he might have seen the *Bahr bela ma* diverge as he came. The distance from which he would have a view of the object would be not less than eight or nine miles, and the difference of level not more than ninety feet at the very utmost. This of course would be entirely imperceptible by the eye at such a distance.

The account given by Herodotus is much more strikingly at variance with the natural phenomena; but much of the difficulty here will disappear if we suppose him to have visited the district very soon after the inundation was at its height, and while the waters were let out over a large portion of the basin; Strabo, on the other hand, having certainly been at Arsinoë at the season when these were confined to the canals. The fluid was retained on the different levels by dams, the existence of some of which is even now traceable. *Seen from any point between Arsinoë and the Labyrinth*, the whole would appear like one enormous expanse of water, the difference of the levels not showing itself. And if we suppose Herodotus to have had the view of the district thus covered *from the top of the Labyrinth*, his description is intelligible enough. The indisputable evidence of its natural origin which the outline of the lake presented to Strabo would be entirely masked; its enormous seeming magnitude, apparently coextensive with the basin of the Faioum, would render the dimensions assigned to it not *primâ facie* absurd<sup>7</sup>; and, 100 stadia off, the colossi at Crocodilopolis would appear to stand out from the middle of the water. To these circumstances must be added the impression that the Faioum irrigation was the same simple process with which he was familiar in the neighbourhood of the Nile, and the fact that at the point where he was no part of the works was visible, but the main δῶρυξ with the Nile water flowing through it. And, finally, we may reasonably conceive that the dragoman, accustomed to the spectacle before the eyes of his companion, would not even think of the necessity of explaining to him the peculiar circum-

<sup>7</sup> The circumference of the lake itself is estimated roughly at 75 or 80 geographical miles. Herodotus makes it 3600 stades, about five times as much.



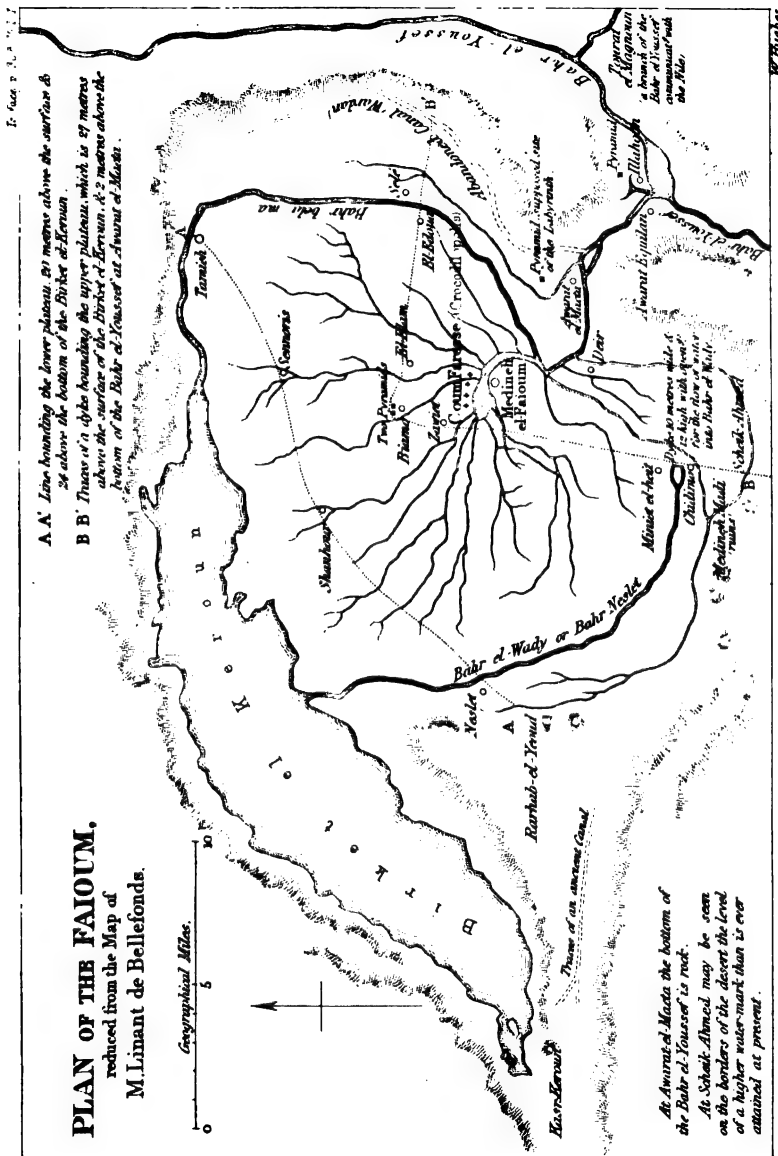
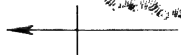
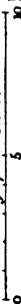
stances which gave rise to the ocular deception. In his mind the whole system of water-meadows would be connected together, and described as the work of Mæris, even supposing him undesirous of producing an exaggerated impression on the traveller;—a supposition, however, which is at variance with the ordinary practice of *ciceroni* either in ancient or modern times.

If the above considerations have any truth in them, both Herodotus and Strabo must in this matter be entirely acquitted of the charge of inaccuracy in those points which came under their personal knowledge. Both the one and the other give a true account of the phenomena presented to them; and both give a false explanation (philosophically speaking) of those phenomena. In the case of Herodotus the ocular deception was much the greater, and probably the informant whose explanation was adopted the more ignorant; for the rank of Strabo's companions procured them the attentions of the chief authorities of Arainoë, whereas the other would probably have no guide but a common *laquais de place*. If indeed we are determined to look upon him as some of the moderns insist on doing; to regard him not as a simple traveller with the clear Hellenic eye for sensuous impressions, and the fresh Hellenic imagination for embodying them, but as a physical philosopher and historical critic of the nineteenth century, testing all that he heard and saw by independent observations and reference to known laws of nature, we must undoubtedly be content to regard his description of the lake Mæris as one of the most gigantic exaggerations to be found in the whole compass of literature.

# PLAN OF THE FAÏOUM.

reduced from the Map of  
M. Linant de Bellefonds.

Geographical Miles.



A A' Line bounding the lower plateau, 20 metres above the surface of the sea above the bottom of the Bahr el Youssouf.

B B' Trace of a line bounding the upper plateau, which is 27 metres above the surface of the Bahr el Youssouf, 6.2 metres above the bottom of the Bahr el Youssouf at Amrat el Maadi.



# ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

## ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΤΡΙΤΗ.

### ΘΑΛΕΙΑ.

ἘΠΙ τούτον δὴ τὸν Ἀμασιν Καμβύσης ὁ Κύρου ἐστρατεύετο, 1  
 ἄγων καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἥρχε καὶ Ἑλλήνων Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας<sup>1</sup>, Cambyses  
makes war  
upon Ama-  
sis.  
 δι' αἰτίην τοιήνδε· πέμψας Καμβύσης ἐς Αἴγυπτον κήρυκα, αἷτεε A Persian  
account of  
the origin  
of the quar-  
rel  
 Ἀμασιν θυγατέρα· αἷτεε δὲ ἐκ συμβουλῆς ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου, δς  
 μεμφόμενος Ἀμασιν ἔπρηξε ταῦτα, ὅτι μιν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν  
 Αἰγύπτῳ ἡτρῶν ἀποσπάσας ἀπὸ γυναικός τε καὶ τέκνων,  
 ἕκδοτον ἐποίησε ἐς Πέρσας, ὅτε Κῦρος πέμψας παρὰ Ἀμασιν  
 αἷτεε ἡτρὸν ὀφθαλμῶν δς εἶη ἄριστος τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ<sup>2</sup>.  
 ταῦτα δὴ ἐπιμεμφόμενος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἐνήγε τῇ συμβουλῇ  
 κελεύων αἰτέειν τὸν Καμβύσεια Ἀμασιν θυγατέρα· ἵνα ἡ δοῦς  
 ἀνῴτο, ἡ μὴ δοῦς Καμβύσῃ ἀπέχθοιτο· ὁ δὲ Ἀμασις, τῇ  
 δυνάμει τῶν Περσέων ἀχθόμενος καὶ ἀρρωδέων, οὐκ εἶχε οὔτε  
 δοῦναι οὔτε ἀρνήσασθαι· εὖ γὰρ ἡπίστατο ὅτι οὐκ ὥς γυναικά  
 μιν ἐμελλε Καμβύσης ἐξεῖν ἀλλ' ὥς παλλακὴν ταῦτα δὴ ἐκ-  
 λογιζόμενος, ἐποίησε τάδε· ἦν Ἀπρίεω τοῦ προτέρου βασιλέως  
 θυγάτηρ κάρτα μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐειδής<sup>3</sup>, μούνη τοῦ οἴκου λελειμ-  
 μένη· οὐνομα δὲ οἱ ἦν Νίτητις· ταύτην δὴ τὴν παῖδα ὁ Ἀμασις

<sup>1</sup> Ἑλλήνων Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας. See note 593 on i. 176. The thread of the narrative is resumed from ii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> ἡτρὸν ὀφθαλμῶν, δς εἶη ἄριστος τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. For the extent to which medical science was carried in Egypt, and the division of the several branches of practice, see ii. 84.

<sup>3</sup> μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐειδής. The sister of the Pæonian brothers who attracted Darius's attention and produced the subjugation of her tribe is described in the same terms (v. 12). The word καλὸς applied to a woman always involved the notion of commanding stature as well as beauty of feature and complexion.

makes Nitetis the concubine of Cambyzes.

κοσμήσας ἐσθῆτί τε καὶ χρυσῷ<sup>4</sup>, ἀποπέμπει ἐς Πέρσας ὡς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα· μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ὥς μιν ἡσπάζετο πατρόθεν οὐνομάζων, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ παῖς· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, διαβεβλημένος ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιος οὐ μανθάνεις, ὃς ἐμέ σοι κόσμῳ ἀσκήσας ἀπέπεμψε ὡς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα διδοῦς ἐοῦσαν τῇ ἀληθείῃ Ἀπρίῳ· τὸν ἐκείνος ἐόντα ἑωυτοῦ δεσπότεια μετ’ Αἰγυπτίων ἐπαναστὰς ἐφόνευσε.” τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἔπος καὶ αὕτη ἡ αἰτία ἐγγενομένη ἤγαγε Καμβύσεια τὸν Κύρου, μεγάλως θυμωθέντα, ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον. οὕτω μὲν νυν λέγουσι Πέρσαι<sup>5</sup>.

2

An Egyptian account made Cambyzes a son of Nitetis by Cyrus.

Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ οἰκισθῆναι Καμβύσεια, φάμενοι μιν ἐκ ταύτης δὴ τῆς Ἀπρίῳ θυγατρὸς γενέσθαι<sup>6</sup>. Κύρου γὰρ εἶναι τὸν πέμψαντα παρὰ Ἀμασιν ἐπὶ τὴν θυγατέρα, ἀλλ’ οὐ Καμβύσεια. λέγοντες δὲ ταῦτα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγουσι. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ λέληθε αὐτοὺς, (εἰ γάρ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι, τὰ Περσέων νόμιμα ὀρθῶς ἐπιστεύεται καὶ Αἰγυπτίοι,) ὅτι πρῶτα μὲν νόθον οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ βασιλεύσαι, γησιῶν παρεόντος· αὐτὶς δὲ, ὅτι Κασσανδάνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω<sup>7</sup> θυγατρὸς ἦν παῖς Καμβύσης, ἀνδρὸς Ἀχαιμενίδεω, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίης· ἀλλὰ παρατρέπουσι τὸν λόγον, προσποιούμενοι τῇ Κύρου

3

A third made Nitetis come as a concubine to Cyrus when Cambyzes was ten years old.

οἰκίῃ συγγενέες εἶναι<sup>8</sup>. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὧδε ἔχει. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὧδε ὁ λόγος, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιθανός· ὡς τῶν Περσίδων γυναικῶν ἐσελθοῦσά τις παρὰ τὰς Κύρου γυναικάς, ὡς εἶδε τῇ Κασσανδάνῃ παρεστῶτα τέκνα εὐεῖδέα τε καὶ μεγάλα, πολλῷ ἐχρᾶτο τῷ ἐπαίνῳ ὑπερθυνμάζουσα· ἡ δὲ Κασσανδάνη, ἐοῦσα τοῦ Κύρου γυνή, εἶπε τάδε· “τοιῶνδε μέντοι ἐμέ παιδων μητέρα ἐοῦσαν Κύρος ἐν ἀτιμίῃ ἔχει· τὴν δ’ ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ κτήγον ἐν τιμῇ τίθεται.” τὴν μὲν ἀχθομένην τῇ Νιτήτι εἰπεῖν ταῦτα· τῶν δὲ οἱ παῖδων τὸν

<sup>4</sup> κοσμήσας ἐσθῆτί τε καὶ χρυσῷ. A similar phrase occurs in the description of the infant Cyrus, κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ (i. 111).

<sup>5</sup> οὕτω μὲν νυν λέγουσι Πέρσαι. See note 338 on i. 95.

<sup>6</sup> φάμενοι μιν . . . γενέσθαι, “asserting that it was of this daughter of Apries after all that he was the son.” The claim of the conquered race to have some connexion with the conqueror is a trait of human nature which shows itself every where. MALCOLM (quoted by Kenrick) says that in the Persian traditions Alexander the Great is represented as the son of a Persian princess by Philip.

<sup>7</sup> Κασσανδάνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω. It was

not however all the Persian accounts which made Cambyzes son of Cassandane. Ctesias makes him son of Amytis, and that this is not another name of Cassandane appears from the circumstance that he makes Amytis survive Cyrus, and only die shortly before the death of Cambyzes. See note on § 61.

<sup>8</sup> προσποιούμενοι τῇ Κύρου οἰκίῃ συγγενέες εἶναι. This was probably the reason of another story which Diodorus (i. 33) relates: that Meroë, a city in the island of the Nile of the same name, built by Cambyzes, was so called after the name of his mother. It appears from Strabo (xvii. c. 1, p. 420) that others maintained Meroë to be his sister, and others again his wife.

πρεσβύτερον εἶπεν Καμβύσεα· “τοιγάρ τοι, ὦ μήτηρ, ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ γένωμαι ἀνὴρ, Αἰγύπτου τὰ μὲν ἄνω κάτω θήσω, τὰ δὲ κάτω ἄνω.” ταῦτα εἶπεν αὐτὸν ἔτεα ὡς δέκα κου γεγονότα, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν θωύματι γενέσθαι· τὸν δὲ διαμνημονεύοντα<sup>9</sup>, οὕτω δὴ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀνδρώθη καὶ ἔσχε τὴν βασιλητὴν, ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον στρατητὴν.

Συνήνευκε δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι τοιόνδε πρῆγμα γενέσθαι ἐς τὴν ἐπι- 4  
στράτευσιν ταύτην. ἦν τῶν ἐπικούρων τῶν Ἀμάσιος ἀνὴρ γένος Assistance in the invasion of Egypt is furnished to Cambyzes by Phanes, a deserter from Amasis, and a native of Halicarnassus.  
μὲν Ἀλικαρνησεύς, οὖνομα δὲ οἱ Φάνης, καὶ γνῶμην ἱκανὸς καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄλκιμος· οὗτος ὁ Φάνης μεμφόμενός κού τι Ἀμάσι, ἐκδιδρῆσκει πλοῖφ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου βουλόμενος Καμβύσῃ ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους· οἷα δὲ ἔοντα αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖσι ἐπικούροισι λόγου οὐ σμικροῦ ἐπιστάμενόν τε τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἀτρεκέστατα μεταδιώκει ὁ Ἀμασις, σπουδὴν ποιούμενος ἐλεῖν μεταδιώκει δὲ, τῶν εὐνοούχων τὸν πιστότατον ἀποστείλας τριηρεῖ κατ’ αὐτόν· ὃς αἰρέει μιν ἐν Λυκίῃ, ἐλὼν δὲ οὐκ ἀνήγαγε ἐς Αἴγυπτον· σοφίῃ γάρ μιν περιῆλθε ὁ Φάνης· καταμεθύσας γὰρ τοὺς φυλάκους ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς Πέρσας. ὥρμημένῳ<sup>10</sup> δὲ στρατεύεσθαι Καμβύσῃ ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἔλασιν, ὅκως τὴν ἀνδρον διεκπερᾷ<sup>11</sup> ἐπελθὼν φράζει μὲν καὶ τὰλλα τὰ Ἀμάσιος πρῆγματα ἐξηγέεται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔλασιν, ὧδε παραινέων· πέμψαντα παρὰ τὸν Ἀραβίων βασιλέα δέεσθαι τὴν διέξοδόν οἱ ἀσφαλέα παρασχεῖν<sup>11</sup>. Μοῦνη δὲ ταύτῃ εἰσὶ φανεραὶ ἐσβολαὶ 5

<sup>9</sup> τὸν δὲ διαμνημονεύοντα. It is curious, and illustrative of the way in which the ethical features of tradition remain constant, while the historic details shift and vary, that in all these accounts the revengeful and violent character of Cambyzes is preserved. So it seems to have been in every other version of the story. CTESIAS's account agreed with Herodotus's. DINON (in his *Persica*) and LYNGEAS of Naucratis (in his *Aegyptiaca*) agreed with the Egyptian account in making Cambyzes son of Nitetis by Cyrus, but still they represent his expedition to Egypt as undertaken in a spirit of revenge: ἐκδικοῦντα τῇ μητρὶ (*Athenaeus* xiii. p. 24). Similarly, Ctesias related that Cambyzes succeeded in conquering Egypt *through treachery*; but it is that of Combaphes, an eunuch who was in high office with the Egyptian sovereign, and who, on condition of being made by Cambyzes satrap of the province,

betrayed to him τὰς τε γεφύρας καὶ τὰλλα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πρῶτα (ap. Photium, p. 37). The very nature of the difficulties varies with the country of the narratives. At the Persian court (where Ctesias picked up his story) the most familiar obstacle that could be presented to the course of an invader would be such as occurred often in the great road between Susa and Sardis,—streams crossed by bridges defended by strong fortifications,—and the form taken by treachery would be the unnecessary abandonment of these. See note on ii. 30.

<sup>10</sup> ὥρμημένῳ. According to STRABO (xvi. c. 2, p. 368) the base of the operations of the Persian army in this invasion was *Ake* (Acre) which under the name Ptolemais was in his time “a great city.”

<sup>11</sup> τὴν διέξοδόν οἱ ἀσφαλέα παρασχεῖν, “to secure the means of transit for him.” This could only be effected by providing

The line of coast from Phœnicia to Egypt described.

ἐς Ἀδρυπτον ἀπὸ γὰρ Φοινίκης μέχρι αὖραν τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος, ἥ ἐστὶ Σύρων<sup>13</sup> τῶν Παλαιστινίων καλεομένων ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος<sup>12</sup>, εὐόσης πόλιος (ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ) Σαρδίαν οὐ πολλὰ ἐλάσσωνος, ἀπὸ

a supply of water for the army during the three days' march between Ienysus and the Serbonian marsh, as is plain from the end of this section compared with §§ 7 and 9. It is therefore clear that this district must have been under the command of an Arabian scheik, and not of the Syrians. See note 44 on ii. 12.

<sup>12</sup> ἥ ἐστὶ Σύρων. Dobree would omit the word ἥ, Bekker change it into γῆ. But the whole passage is (I conceive) in confusion. See note 16, below.

<sup>13</sup> Καδύτιος. It seems clear that the city spoken of here is, in Herodotus's view, the same as that mentioned in ii. 159; and it has been concluded that the latter must be Jerusalem. But Jerusalem lies entirely out of the road *along the coast*, which, or rather the coast itself, appears here to be described; and a more plausible opinion is that by Kadytis Herodotus understands the city *Kadesh Naphthali*, near which the great commercial and military road from the south turned eastward, through Damascus, to the Euphrates. Against this it may be urged, that undoubtedly Necho did capture Jerusalem, or at least enforced its submission and dethroned the king. (2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 3.) But on the other hand it must be remembered that the war of Necho was not confined to a single campaign. His defeat on the banks of the Euphrates took place more than three years after the submission of Jerusalem (*Jeremiah* xvi. 2), and it was seven or eight years after that before the relative power of the Assyrian and Egyptian monarchs had so far changed that the former was enabled to recapture that city and carry off the vassal of the latter. There can be no doubt that in the course of the war many actions were fought and many cities captured,—Damascus probably among the rest, for the great road ran through that city, and from thence to Tadmor (Palmyra), and so to Thapsacus (*Heb.* Thipsach = trajectus), so called because there was a ferry over the Euphrates there (*Strabo*, xvi. p. 349; 1 *Kings* iv. 24; ix. 18; 2 *Chron.* viii. 4). But it is an error to look either in the Jewish annalist or the Greek historian for a complete account of the proceedings which took place, and no less a one to assume that the parts which they select

for mention must be identical. Great stress has been laid upon the fact that Kadytis is the Greek form of *Keduthe* (the Syrian equivalent of the Hebrew *Kedusha*, 'the holy'). But this argument leaves out of sight the circumstance that almost every city would have this name given to it by the worshippers of the deity to which it was dedicated, as the multitude of places called Hierapolis sufficiently proves. The same may be said of the numerous *Kadesh*-es. Compare *Josh.* xv. 23; 1 *Chron.* vi. 72 and 76.

Another view is that, although Kadytis may be a Kadesh, the description of its greatness has been transferred from Jerusalem. But if any such confusion has taken place, I should be disposed to conjecture that it is one of Jerusalem with Joppa, its port, from which the city was said to be visible (*Strabo* xvi. c. 2, p. 370). A very good reason may be given for the ignorance of the Hellenic navigators on this subject. Joppa was a nest of pirates, with which Carmel and the forests which covered the shore in the neighbourhood likewise swarmed. Accordingly the navigator going south would, on coming abreast of that mountain, be careful to preserve a good offing, and not come near enough to Joppa to make out distinctly what it was. He would probably run as direct as he could from Acre to Gaza, a port from whence there was a caravan route by Petra to Ailana at the head of the east branch of the Arabian gulf. (*Strabo*, l. c.) Hugging the shore however a very little too much would bring him instead to Ascalon or Azotus, of both which places Herodotus has stories.

It is quite in accordance with the known habits of the Phœnicians that they should have endeavoured to hinder the commercial intercourse of the Hellenic merchants with these parts, and this might effectually be done by co-operating with the Joppa pirates. In this case the Hellenic navigator would naturally resort to the Philistine ports which lay nearer to Egypt, and to which the influence of that friendly power would extend. For some other cases in which the hostility growing out of commercial rivalry appears to have affected the sources of the author's information, see note on iv. 38.

ταύτης τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρι Ἰηνύσου πόλιος ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰηνύσου, αὐτὶς Σύρων<sup>14</sup> μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἣν δὴ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει<sup>15</sup> ἐς θάλασσαν<sup>16</sup>. ἀπὸ δὲ Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, ἐν τῇ δὴ λόγος τὸν Τυφὼ κεκρύφθαι<sup>17</sup>, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤδη Αἴγυπτος. τὸ δὴ μεταξὺ Ἰηνύσου πόλιος καὶ Κασίου τε οὖρεος καὶ τῆς Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, ἐν τοῦτο οὐκ ὀλίγον χωρίον ἀλλ' ὅσον τε ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδὸν<sup>18</sup>, ἀνδρόν ἐστι δεινῶς. Τὸ δὲ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ναυτιλλομένων ἐννεκάκασι, τοῦτο ἔρχομαι φράσω<sup>19</sup> ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης, καὶ πρὸς, ἐκ Φοινίκης<sup>19</sup>, κέραμος ἐσάγεται πλήρης οἴνου δις τοῦ ἔτους ἐκάστου καὶ

6  
Use made  
of wine jars  
since the  
Persians  
gained  
Egypt.

<sup>14</sup> αὐτὶς Σύρων. The manuscripts S and V have the variation πόλιος Συρίων, which perhaps contains a trace of the true reading. See note 16, below.

<sup>15</sup> παρ' ἣν δὴ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει ἐς θάλασσαν. See the note 23 on ii. 6.

<sup>16</sup> ἐς θάλασσαν. I have little doubt that the whole of this passage is in confusion, and cannot be satisfactorily emended without the aid of other MSS. Perhaps Herodotus may have written ἀπὸ γὰρ Φοινίκης μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος γῆ ἐστὶ Σύρων ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος, ἐξουσίας πόλιος (ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ) Σερβίων οὐ πολλὰ ἑλάσσονος, ἀπὸ ταύτης τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρι Ἰηνύσου πόλιος ἐστὶ Σύρων τῶν Παλαιστινῶν καλεομένων ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰηνύσου, πόλιος Συρίων, μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης παρ' ἣν δὴ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει ἐς θάλασσαν, τοῦ Ἀραβίου. The distinction of Syro-Phoenicians and Syro-Philistines is well known, and Herodotus seems to regard the domain of Kadytis as marking the separation of the line of coast inhabited by the Phoenicians from that inhabited by the Philistines, only it must be remembered he is speaking as a navigator might speak, not as a geographer. Such a one sailing along the coast southwards, after taking in his cargo at Possidium (see note on § 97), would in turn come off Sidon and Tyre and their dependencies, backed by the ranges of Libanus. After rounding the headland of Mount Carmel he would run along a similar coast in which the Philistine towns lay. At the boundary between this cultivated coast and the desert was Ienysus (*Khan Iōnes*, placed by RENNELL, p. 260, a few hours' journey to the south-west of Gaza). From thence nothing but sand would meet the eye as far

as his next land-mark, the truncated hummock of gravel on which stood the temple of Zeus Casius. From Gaza to Casium the coast is *λυπρὰ πᾶσα καὶ ἀμμάδης*. (STRABO, xvi. c. 2, p. 371.)

<sup>17</sup> ἐν τῇ δὴ λόγος τὸν Τυφὼ κεκρύφθαι. It seems not unlikely that the story of Typhon being overwhelmed in the Serbonian marsh arose from a confusion between that and the Dead Sea, which appears to have been the case with the authorities followed by STRABO (xvi. c. 2, p. 377). They make it 1000 *stadēs* in circumference. But the Serbonian marsh of Herodotus was a narrow salt lake about 200 *stadēs* long and 50 across at the most, running parallel to the seashore, from which it was separated only by a narrow strip of sand; and through this at one time there was a mouth (STRABO xvi. p. 371). It is now entirely filled up.

<sup>18</sup> ἐν τοῦτο οὐκ ὀλίγον χωρίον ἀλλ' ὅσον τε ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδόν. From *Khan Iōnes* to Mount Casius is about sixty geographical miles direct (RENNELL, p. 260), but the Serbonian marsh extends considerably further east, so that, taking a day's journey direct at seventeen miles, the statement is tolerably accurate. But between Mount Casius and the ancient Pelusium, the nearest point at which *drinkable water* could be obtained, the distance is thirty-nine or forty miles through the desert. It would seem from this that the estimate is one made by a navigator from his run at sea, using the common reduction for land distances, which he was in the habit of doing (see notes on ii. 6). Water had really to be provided by a land traveller for a march of five or six days at least.

<sup>19</sup> καὶ πρὸς, ἐκ Φοινίκης. In the time



ἐν κεράμιον οἰνηρὸν ἀριθμῷ κείμενον οὐκ ἔστι (ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν) ἰδέσθαι. κοῦ δῆτα, εἴποι τις ἂν, ταῦτα ἀναισχυοῦνται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω· δεῖ τὸν μὲν δήμαρχον<sup>20</sup> ἕκαστον ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πόλιος συλλέξαντα πάντα τὸν κέραμον ἄγειν ἐς Μέμφιν τοὺς δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἐς ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἄνδρα τῆς Συρίας<sup>21</sup> κομίζειν πλήσας τας ὕδατος· οὕτω ὁ ἐπιφουτέων κέραμος καὶ ἐξαερόμενος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπὶ τὸν παλαιὸν κομίζεται ἐς Συρίην. Οὕτω μὲν νυν Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἱ τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτην παρασκευάσαντες ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ δὴ τὰ εἰρημένα σάξαντες ὕδατι, ἐπεὶ τε τάχιστα παρέλαβον Αἴγυπτον τότε δὲ οὐκ ἔντος καὶ ὕδατος ἐτοίμου, Καμβύσης πυθόμενος τοῦ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ ξείνου, πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Ἀράβιον ἀγγέλου καὶ δεηθεὶς τῆς ἀσφαλείης ἔτυχε, πίστις δούς τε καὶ δεξάμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ.

- 8 Σέβονται δὲ Ἀράβιοι πίστις ἀνθρώπων ὁμοία τοῖσι μάλιστα<sup>22</sup>. ποιεῦνται δὲ αὐτὰς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· τῶν βουλομένων τὰ πιστὰ ποιέεσθαι ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ἐστεῶς, λίθῳ ὃξεί τὸ ἔσω τῶν χειρῶν παρὰ τοὺς δακτύλους τοὺς μεγάλους ἐπιτάμνει τῶν ποιευμένων τὰς πίστις· καὶ ἔπειτα λαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἱματίου ἑκατέρου κροκίδα<sup>23</sup>, ἀλείφει τῷ αἵματι ἐν μέσῳ κειμένους λίθους ἑπτὰ<sup>24</sup>. τοῦτο δὲ ποιέων ἐπικαλεῖ τὸν τε Δίονυσον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην ἐπιτελέσαντος δὲ τούτου ταῦτα, ὁ τὰς πίστις ποιησάμενος τοῖσι φίλοισι παρεγγυᾷ τὸν ξεῖνον, (ἡ καὶ τὸν ἀστὸν ἦν πρὸς ἀστὸν ποιέηται,) οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς πίστις δικαιοῦσι σέβεσθαι. Δίονυσον δὲ θεὸν μόνον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην ἡγεῖνται

The Arabs especially tenacious of their plighted faith.

of STRABO, almost all the wine imported into Alexandria, then the port of Egypt, came from Laodicea in Syria, where it was shipped (xvi. c. 2, p. 368). It must be remembered that at that time Tyre had been destroyed. Previously to that event, wine grown in the very same place would probably have been shipped in Tyrian bottoms and called Phœnician. See note on § 91, below.

<sup>20</sup> τὸν δήμαρχον, "the *aga*." See note 543 on ii. 177.

<sup>21</sup> ἐς ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἄνδρα τῆς Συρίας. This expression applies in the mind of the narrator to the desert which lay between Ienysus and Mount Casius. But if only this route was supplied with water in this manner, it is extraordinary that Memphis, so high up on the Nile, should be the place where the wine-jars

were collected. There was, however, in early times, a caravan traffic from Petra to the coast of the Mediterranean, the line of which lay through the desert in great part, and probably the water-jars would be used for this also, although no route except the one by the coast would here have any interest for Herodotus. See note on § 111.

<sup>22</sup> ὁμοία τοῖσι μάλιστα. A similar expression is used below, § 57, ὁμοία τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοις.

<sup>23</sup> κροκίδα. POLLUX (vii. 63) quotes Herodotus as using the accusative case κρόκην.

<sup>24</sup> λίθους ἑπτὰ. The sacred character of the number seven among the tribes inhabiting the country between the Red Sea, the Dead Sea, and the Serbonian lake, is evidenced by the "seven ewe

εἶναι· καὶ τῶν τριχῶν τὴν κουρὴν κείρεσθαι φασι κατόπερ αὐτὸν τὸν Διόνυσον κεκάρθαι· κείρονται δὲ περιτρόχαλα<sup>25</sup>, περιξυροῦντες τοὺς κροτάφους· οὐνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον Ὀροτάλ<sup>26</sup>, τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην Ἀλιλάτ.

Worship of Dionysus and Aphrodite Urania.

Ἐπεὶ ὦν τὴν πίστιν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι παρὰ Καμβύσειω 9 ἀπυγμένοισι ἐποίησατο ὁ Ἀράβιος, ἐμψχανῶτο τοιάδε. ἄσκους καμήλων<sup>27</sup> πλήσας ὕδατος, ἐπέσαξε ἐπὶ τὰς ζωὰς τῶν καμήλων πάσας· τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας, ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἀνυδρον, καὶ ὑπέμενε ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Καμβύσειω στρατόν. οὗτος μὲν ὁ πιθανώτερος τῶν λόγων<sup>28</sup> εἴρηται· δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥσσον πιθανόν, ἐπεὶ γε δὴ λέγεται, ῥηθῆναι. ποταμός ἐστι μέγας ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίῃ τῇ οὐνομα Κόρυς· ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ του δὴ ὦν τοῦ ποταμοῦ λέγεται τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀραβίων, ῥανθάμενον τῶν ὠμοβοτέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δερμάτων ὀχετὸν μήκει ἐπικνεύμενον ἐς τὴν ἀνυδρον, ἀγαγεῖν διὰ δὴ τούτου τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀνύδρῳ μεγάλας δεξαμενὰς οὐρύξασθαι, ἵνα δεκόμεναι τὸ ὕδωρ σώζωσι· (ὁδὸς δ' ἔστι δικοῦδεκα ἡμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἀνυδρον) ἄγειν δὲ μὴν διὰ ὀχετῶν τριῶν ἐς τριζὰ χωρία.

Mode in which the Arabians supplied the army of Cambyses with water.

Different account the way in which assistance was rendered.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ Πηλουσίῃ καλεομένῃ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου ἐστρατο-

10

Amasis, after reign-

lambs" in the transaction between Abraham and Abimelech (*Gen.* xxi. 28), and the "seven altars" prepared for Balaam (*Numb.* xxiii. 1).

<sup>25</sup> κείρονται δὲ περιτρόχαλα. This custom is alluded to in JEREMIAH (ix. 26 of the LXX. version) ἐπὶ πάντα περικυρῶμενον τὰ κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ: xxxii. 9 (*Heb.* xiv. 23) τὰν περικεκαρμένον κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ. See also *Leviticus*, xix. 27.

<sup>26</sup> Ὀροτάλ. The MSS. vary between this form, Ὀροτάλ, and Οὐροτάλ. VON HAMMEK considers the word to be a corruption from Ὀουσατάλ, which is (he says) a genuine Arabic word. For Ἀλιλάτ two MSS have Ἀλιλάτ. The Græcised form ἈΛιλάτ is given by Herodotus in i. 131.

<sup>27</sup> ἄσκους καμήλων, "skins of camel's hide." A somewhat similar expression is used vii. 26: ὁ τοῦ Μαρσύου ἄσκος, "the sack made from Marsyas's skin."

<sup>28</sup> ὁ πιθανώτερος τῶν λόγων. BEN. NELL (*Geogr.* p. 257) does not consider

this account the more plausible of the two "It appears morally impossible to have supplied a Persian army, and its followers and beasts of burden, with water by means of skins, during the whole march. Arabia could scarcely have supplied skins enough." He asserts that the Arabs know well where to obtain water in the desert, but they have in many cases stopt up the wells, to further their predatory schemes. He supposes that really the army of Cambyses made a *détour*, being guided by the Arabs to springs and wells more inland, where too a supply had possibly been accumulated in tanks at the end of each day's march. As for the river Corys, it is in vain to seek for it in Arabia. RITTER (*Vorhalle*, p. 82) conceives it to be etymologically equivalent to κύρος or κέρος, words which mean in the language of the nomads "sacred to the sun." The skins were perhaps used for lining the wooden sides of wells sunk in the sand, or channels from a spring to a tank.

ing forty-four years, dies, and is succeeded by his son Psammenitus, under whom rain falls at Thebes for the first and last time.

## 11

The allies of the Egyptian king sacrifice the children of Phanes before engaging the Persians,

πεδεύετο Ψαμμήνιτος<sup>20</sup> ὁ Ἀμάσιος παῖς, ὑπομένων Καμβύσεια Ἀμασιν γὰρ οὐ κατέλαβε ζῶντα Καμβύσης ἐλάσας ἐπ' Αἰγυπτον ἀλλὰ βασιλεύσας ὁ Ἀμασις τέσσερα καὶ<sup>21</sup> τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεα ἀπέθανε ἐν τοῖσι οὐδέν οἱ μέγα ἀνάρσιον πρήγμα συνενεῖχθη ἀποθανὼν δὲ καὶ ταριχευθεὶς, ἐτάφη ἐν τῇσι ταφῇσι<sup>21</sup> τῇσι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τὰς αὐτὸς οἰκοδομήσατο. ἐπὶ Ψαμμήνιτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου, φάσμα Αἰγυπτίοισι μέγιστον δὴ ἐγένετο ὑσθησαν γὰρ Θῆβαι<sup>22</sup> αἱ Αἰγύπτιαι, οὔτε πρότερον οὐδαμὰ ὑσθεῖσαι οὔτε ὕστερον τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, ὡς λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Θηβαῖοι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὑεταὶ τὰ ἄνω τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παράπαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ὑσθησαν αἱ Θῆβαι φακάδι. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπεὶ τε διεξελάσαντες τὴν ἄνυδρον ἔζοντο πέλας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὡς συμβαλέοντες, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἐπικούροι οἱ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, εἶντες ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες τε καὶ Κᾶρες<sup>23</sup>, μεμφόμενοι τῷ Φάνη ὅτι στρατὸν ἤγαγε ἐπ' Αἰγυπτον ἀλλόθροον, μηχανῶνται πρήγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιούδε ἦσαν τῷ Φάνη παῖδες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καταλελειμμένοι τοὺς ἀγαγόντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐς ὅψιν τοῦ πατρὸς<sup>24</sup>, κρητῆρα ἐν μέσῳ ἔστησαν

<sup>20</sup> *Ἰστρατοπεδεύετο Ψαμμήνιτος.* At Pelusium was the nearest point at which water was abundant, and it therefore constituted the key of Egypt. By the continual shifting of the bed of the river westward, this tract has become desert, and the nearest point at which water can be obtained is now Salahiah (107 geographical miles from Khan Iones). This place was occupied in force by the French when in Egypt, just as Pelusium was by Psammenitus and by the priest of Hephæstus (ii. 141).

<sup>21</sup> *τέσσερα καὶ.* These words do not exist in the manuscripts B and V.

<sup>22</sup> *ἐν τῇσι ταφῇσι.* See ii. 169.

<sup>23</sup> *ὕσθησαν γὰρ Θῆβαι.* WILKINSON (*Thebes*, p. 75) says that the lions on the cornices here have spouts in their mouths to let the rain run off, a convincing proof of the exaggeration of the Thebans. Every eight or ten years heavy rain falls, which fills the torrent beds of the mountains, and every year showers fall, perhaps four or five upon an average. Compare the account of the earthquake at Delos, vi. 98, and the note there.

<sup>24</sup> *Ἕλληνες τε καὶ Κᾶρες.* These were apparently a force gradually gathered around the descendants of the piratical adventurers mentioned above (ii. 152) forming a species of prætorian guard. They them-

selves were doubtless from various parts of Greece, and hence the expression *πάντες οἱ ἐπικούροι* below (i.e. the leaders, or principal officers, of the several bands of *condottieri*). The expression *στρατὸς ἀλλόθρους* applied to the invaders would seem rather due to the Egyptian narrator of the story.

<sup>24</sup> *ἐς ὅψιν τοῦ πατρὸς.* This feature of ferocity must not make us suppose that the proceeding of the allies had not a meaning in it independent of their indignation at Phanes. Their act was doubtless a formal religious ceremony in honour of the deity whom they jointly acknowledged. This it can hardly be questioned would be a warlike deity, analogous to the Ζεὺς Στρατιῶς of Labranda (v. 119), to the national deity of the Carians (see note 578 on i. 172), or to the "brzen man," δ γυδχαλκος, Talus, the primeval guardian of Crete, of whose ritual a relic remained in the ancient practice of the Curetes, who offered human victims, especially children, to Cronus. (ISTRA, *op. Porphyr. De Abstinentiâ*, ii. 56; EUSEBIUS, *Præp. Evang.* iv. 16.) See too the note on iv. 70. The story of Sesostris related in ii. 109, looks very like the perversion of a scene in the Moloch ritual. And it will be observed that the locality assigned to it is this very one,—

ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων μετὰ δὲ, ἀγινέοντες κατὰ ἕνα<sup>35</sup>  
 ἕκαστον τῶν παιδῶν ἔσφαζον ἐς τὸν κρητῆρα· διὰ πάντων δὲ  
 διεξελθόντες τῶν παιδῶν<sup>36</sup>, οἶνόν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐσεφόρεον ἐς αὐτόν·  
 ἐμπιόντες δὲ τοῦ αἵματος πάντες οἱ ἐπικούροι οὕτω δὴ<sup>37</sup> συνέβαλον.  
 μάχης δὲ γενομένης καρτερῆς καὶ πεσόντων ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν who defeat  
 them.  
 στρατοπέδων πλήθει πολλῶν, ἐτράποντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι.

Θῶυμα δὲ μέγα ἶδον πυθόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τῶν γὰρ 12  
 ὁστέων περιεχυμένων χωρὶς ἐκατέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ Difference  
 between the  
 substance of  
 Egyptian  
 and Persian  
 skulls ac-  
 counted for.  
 πεσόντων (χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ τῶν Περσέων ἐκέετο τὰ ὁστέα, ὥς  
 ἐχωρίσθη κατ' ἀρχὰς, ἐτέρωθι δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων) αἱ μὲν τῶν  
 Περσέων κεφαλαὶ εἰσι ἀσθενέες οὕτω, ὥστε εἰ θέλεις ψήφῃ μούνη  
 βαλέειν διατετρανέεις· αἱ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὕτω δὴ τι ἰσχυραί,  
 μόγις ἂν λίθῳ παίσας διαρρήξῃαι. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου τόδε ἔλεγον,  
 καὶ ἐμέ γ' εὐπετέως ἐπειθον ὅτι Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ παι-  
 δίων ἀρξάμενοι ξυρεῖνται τὰς κεφαλὰς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον παχύ-  
 νεται τὸ ὁστέον· τὸν δὲ τούτου καὶ τοῦ μὴ φαλακροῦσθαι αἰτίον  
 ἐστὶ· Αἰγυπτίων γὰρ ἂν τις ἐλαχίστους ἴδοιτο φαλακροὺς πάντων The Egypt-  
 ians are  
 rarely bald.  
 ἀνθρώπων· τοῖσι μὲν δὴ τούτῳ ἐστὶ αἴτιον ἰσχυρὰς φορέειν τὰς  
 κεφαλὰς. τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσῃσι ὅτι ἀσθενέας φορέουσι τὰς κεφαλὰς,  
 αἴτιον τόδε· σκιητροφέουσι ἐξ ἀρχῆς πῖλους τιάρας<sup>38</sup> φορέοντες.  
 ταῦτα μὲν νυν τοιαῦτα ὄντα ἶδον ἶδον δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὁμοῖα τοῖσι  
 ἐν Παπρήμ<sup>39</sup>, τῶν ἅμα Ἀχαιμένει τῷ Δαρείου διαφθαρέντων  
 ὑπὸ Ἰνάρῳ τοῦ Λίβυος<sup>40</sup>.

the camp near Pelusium. Moloch was (as is notorious) the Cronus of the Phœnician race.

<sup>35</sup> ἀγινέοντες κατὰ ἕνα. These words are to be taken together, and ἕκαστον made to follow ἔσφαζον, "bringing them up separately they cut each child's throat over the vase."

<sup>36</sup> ἔσφαζον . . . παιδων. These words are omitted in B, obviously from the eye of the transcriber falling upon the word παιδων in the archetypal codex, and mistaking it for the same word that had occurred a couple of lines before.

<sup>37</sup> οὕτω δὴ, "then and not before." See note 22 on i. 5. The proceeding of the allies, or more probably of their officers, is well illustrated by that of the seven confederate chiefs against Thebes, which itself was a preliminary to engaging. ÆSCHYLUS, *Theb.* 42:—

ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ θεοῖοι λοχαγέται,  
 ταυροσφαγόντες ἐς μελάνθεον σάκος,  
 καὶ θυγγάνοντες χερσὶ ταυροῦ φόνου,  
 Ἄρη τ' Ἐνυὶ καὶ φιλαίματον Φόβον  
 ἄρκωμέτησαν, κ.τ.λ.

It must be remembered that without a common deity there could be no common ἄρκος, and the only common deity of mercenaries gathered from countries with different local religions would be a martial one.

<sup>38</sup> πῖλους τιάρας. Some of the MSS have πῖλους τιάρας τε. Perhaps this is another instance of two alternative readings united, or of a gloss taken into the text.

<sup>39</sup> ἐν Παπρήμ. The site of this city is unknown, Herodotus being the only ancient writer who makes mention of it, which he does in several passages (ii. 63.

13 The Egyptian fugitives retreat on Memphis, which is taken after a long siege.

Lilya, Cyrene, and Barca submit to Cambyzes.

14 Ethical anecdote of Psammetichus.

Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκ τῆς μάχης, ὡς ἐτράποντο, ἔφευγον οὐδεὶν κόσμῳ. κατεilhθέντων δὲ ἐς Μέμφιν, ἔπεμπε ἀνὰ ποταμὸν Καμβύσης νέα Μυτιληναίην κήρυκα ἀγούσαν ἄνδρα Πέρσην, ἐς ὁμολογίην προκαλούμενος Αἰγυπτίους· οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε τὴν νέα ἴδον ἐσελθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, ἐκχυθέντες ἀλλῆς ἐκ τοῦ τείχεος, τὴν τε νέα διέφθειραν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας κρεουργηδὸν διασπάσαντες ἐφόρεον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν μετὰ τοῦτο πολιορκεῖμενοι, χρόνῳ παρέστησαν· οἱ δὲ προσεχές Λίβυες, δέισαντες τὰ περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων γεγονότα, παρέδωσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς ἀμαχητί· καὶ φόρον τε ἐτάξαντο· καὶ δῶρα ἔπεμπον. ὃς δὲ Κυρηναῖοι καὶ Βαρκαῖοι δέισαντες ὁμοίως [ἃ καὶ οἱ Λίβυες, ἕτερα τοιαῦτα<sup>41</sup>] ἐποίησαν. Καμβύσης δὲ τὰ μὲν παρὰ Λιβύων ἐλθόντα δῶρα φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο, τὰ δὲ παρὰ Κυρηναίων ἀπικόμενα μεμφθεῖς<sup>42</sup>, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὅτι ἦν ὀλίγα—ἔπεμψαν γὰρ δὴ πεντηκοσίας μνῆας ἀργυρίου οἱ Κυρηναῖοι—ταύτας δρασσόμενος, αὐτοχειρὴ διέσπειρε τῇ στρατιῇ.

Ἡμέρη δὲ δεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἧς παρέλαβε τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Μέμφι Καμβύσης, κατίσας ἐς τὸ προάστειον ἐπὶ λύμῃ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ψαμμήνιτον, βασιλεύσαντα μῆνας ἕξ, τοῦτον κατίσας σὺν ἄλλοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι διεπειράτο αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς, ποιῶν τοιάδε. στεῖλας αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐσθῆτι δουλητῇ, ἐξέπεμπε ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἔχουσαν ὑδρήϊον συνέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας παρθένους,

64. 71. 165). But it must have been somewhere in the western region of the Delta, for it appears from THUCYDIDES (i. 104) that *Marea*, very near the subsequent Alexandria, was the base of Inarus's operations, and that the retreating Persians took refuge in Memphis, two-thirds of which Inarus, with the aid of an Athenian squadron, succeeded in capturing. Papremis therefore would lie between Marea and Memphis. From the order in which Herodotus speaks of the two collections of skulls, it would seem as if he entered Egypt near Pelusium and left it near Papremis, and this accords with some other notices. See note 63 on ii. 18.

<sup>41</sup> ὅτι Ἰνδρῶ τοῦ Λίβυος. Herodotus mentions this circumstance again in vii. 7. The success of Inarus took place in, or very soon after, the year 460 B.C. The Persians recovered the whole of Egypt except the marshes in the year 455. This

region still held out under Amyrtæus. (THUCYDIDES i. 110.) It is clear from this passage that the visit of Herodotus to Egypt was later than the year 460,—but how much later does not appear. See note 49, below, and also note 91 on ii. 30.

<sup>42</sup> παρέστησαν, "yielded." The ellipse is of αὐτοῦς. See v. 65: *παρέστησαν* ἐν οἷσι ἐβούλοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. vi. 140: *ἐπολιορκέοντο* ἐς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ παρέστησαν. iii. 155: *θῶσον* οἱ πολλοὶ παρῴντες, in which last passage is no ellipse.

<sup>43</sup> φόρον ἐτάξαντο, "agreed to the imposition of a tribute." See the note on § 89.

[ἃ καὶ οἱ Λίβυες, ἕτερα τοιαῦτα.] The MSS vary between these words and *ὡς καὶ οἱ Λ. ἕτερα τοιαῦτα*, or *ἃ καὶ οἱ Λ. τοιαῦτα*. The several variations appear to me only glosses of ὁμοίως, and I have therefore included them between brackets.

<sup>44</sup> μεμφθεῖς. See note 267 on i. 77.

ἀπολέξας ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων, ὁμοίως ἐσταλμένας τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως· ὡς δὲ βοῇ τε καὶ κλαυθμῷ παρήσαν αἱ παρθένοι κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας<sup>45</sup>, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πατέρες ἀνεβῶν τε καὶ ἀντέκλειον, ὁρῶντες τὰ τέκνα κεκακωμένα· ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος προῖδων καὶ μαθὼν, ἔκυψε ἐς τὴν γῆν παρεξελθουσέων δὲ τῶν ὑδροφόρων, δευτέρᾳ οἱ τὸν παῖδα ἔπεμπε μετ' ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων δισχιλίων τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην ἔχόντων, τοὺς τε αὐχένας κάλῃ δεδεμένους καὶ τὰ στόματα ἐγκεχαλιωμένους· ἄγοντο δὲ ποιὴν τίσοντες Μυτιληναίων τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι ἀπολομένοισι σὺν τῇ νηϊ ταῦτα γὰρ ἐδίκασαν οἱ βασιλῆοι δικασταί, ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἐκάστου δέκα Αἰγυπτίων τῶν πρώτων ἀνταπόλλυσθαι· ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν παρεξίοντας, καὶ μαθὼν τὸν παῖδα ἡγεόμενον ἐπὶ θάνατον, τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων τῶν περικατημένων αὐτὸν κλαίωντων καὶ δεινὰ ποιεύντων, τῶντ' ἐποίησε τὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ· παρελθόντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, συνέηκε ὥστε τῶν συμποτέων οἱ ἄνδρα ἀπηλικέστερον, ἐκπεπτωκότα ἐκ τῶν ἐόντων, ἔχοντά τε οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ ὅσα πτωχὸς καὶ προσαιτέοντα τὴν στρατιὴν, παρίεναι Ψαμμήνιτόν τε τὸν Ἀμάσιος καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ κατημένους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος ὡς ἶδε, ἀνακλαύσας μέγα καὶ καλέσας οὐνόματι τὸν ἐταῖρον, ἐπλήξατο τὴν κεφαλὴν ἦσαν δ' ἅρα αὐτοῦ φύλακοι, οἱ τὸ ποιεύμενον πᾶν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐπ' ἐκάστη ἐξόδῳ Καμβύσῃ ἐσήμαινον θωυμάσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης τὰ ποιεύμενα, πέμψας ἄγγελον εἰρώτα αὐτὸν, λέγων τάδε· “Δεσπότης σε Καμβύσης, Ψαμμήνιτε, εἰρωτᾷ, διότι δὴ τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα ὁρέων κεκακωμένην, καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐπὶ θάνατον στείχοντα, οὔτε ἀνέβωσας οὔτε ἀπέκλαυσας· τὸν δὲ πτωχὸν οὐδὲν σοι προσήκοντα, ὡς ἄλλων πυνθάνομαι<sup>46</sup>, ἐτίμησας;” ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· “ὦ παῖ Κύρου, τὰ μὲν οἰκῆία ἦν μέγ' οὐ κακὰ ἢ ὥστε ἀνακλαίνειν τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐταίρου πένθος, ἄξιον ἦν δακρύων· ὃς ἐκ πολλῶν τε καὶ εὐδαιμόνων ἐκπεσὼν ἐς πτωχήτην ἀπίκται ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ<sup>47</sup>·” καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα<sup>48</sup> ὑπὸ

<sup>45</sup> κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας. The use of the preposition κατὰ here illustrates such phrases as κατὰ Χιόνῃν πόλιν (i. 76); κατὰ Κροκοδείλου πόλιν (ii. 148), “as the maidens came wailing and weeping over against their fathers.” See note 195 on ii. 75.

<sup>46</sup> πυνθάνομαι. Gaisford adopts this

reading on the authority of the minority of MSS. The greater number have πυνθάνεται.

<sup>47</sup> ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα, “upon their being reported, as they were.” The full expression would be καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἀπηνέχθη ἐκ τοῦτου, ἀπενειχθέντα ἐξ δ. εἰρ. See note 337 on ii. 120.

τούτου, εὐ-δοκέειν οἱ εἰρήσθαι· ὥς δὲ λέγεται ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων, δακρύειν μὲν Κροῖσον, (ἐτετεύχεε γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἐπισπόμενος Καμβύσῃ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον,) δακρύειν δὲ Περσέων τοὺς παρόντας· αὐτῷ τε Καμβύσῃ ἐσελθεῖν οἰκτόν τινα, καὶ αὐτίκα κελεύειν τὸν τε οἱ παῖδα ἐκ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων σώζειν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ προαστείου

15  
who is taken  
into favour  
by Cam-  
byases, but  
afterwards  
put to death  
for treason.

ἀναστήσαντας ἄγειν παρ' ἐωντόν τὸν μὲν δὴ παῖδα εὖρον οἱ μετιόντες οὐκέτι περιέοντα, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον κατακοπέντα· αὐτὸν δὲ Ψαμμήνιτον ἀναστήσαντες ἦγον παρὰ Καμβύσεα· ἔνθα τοῦ λοιποῦ διατῆτο ἔχων οὐδὲν βίαιον εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡπιστήθη μὴ πολυπρηγμονεῖν, ἀπέλαβε ἂν Αἴγυπτον ὥστε ἐπιτροπείειν αὐτῆς<sup>11</sup>. ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν ἐώθασι Πέρσαι τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς παῖδας· τῶν, ἦν καὶ σφεων ἀποστέωσι, ὅμως τοῖσί γε παισὶ αὐτῶν ἀποδιδῶσι τὴν ἀρχήν· πολλοῖσι μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλοις ἐστι σταθμῶσασθαι, ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτω νενομίκασι ποιεῖν, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε, τῷ Λίβυος Ἰνάρῳ παιδὶ Θαννύρα, δς ἀπέλαβε τὴν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ εἶχε ἀρχήν καὶ τῷ Ἀμυρταίου Πανσίρι<sup>12</sup>. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἀπέλαβε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχήν· καίτοι Ἰνάρῳ τε καὶ Ἀμυρταίου οὐδαμοὶ καὶ Πέρσας κακὰ πλέω ἐργάσαντο. νῦν δὲ<sup>13</sup> μηχανώμενος κακὰ ὁ Ψαμμήνιτος ἔλαβε τὸν μισθόν· ἀπιστὰς γὰρ Αἰγυπτίους ἦλ' ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐπ' αἴστος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Καμβύσει, αἶμα ταύρου πίων ἀπέθανε παραχρῆμα. οὕτω δὴ οὗτος ἐτελεύτησε.

16  
Cambyses  
burns the  
body of  
Amasis, and  
by so doing  
shocks the  
religious  
feelings  
both of  
Persians  
and Egypt-  
ians.

Καμβύσης δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἀπῆκετο εἰς Σάϊν πόλιν, βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐποίησε. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ἐσῆλθε εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος οἰκία<sup>14</sup>, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε ἐκ τῆς ταφῆς τὸν Ἀμάσιος νέκυν ἐκφέρειν ἔξω· ὥς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπιτελέα ἐγένετο, μαστιγοῦν<sup>15</sup> ἐκέλευε, καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἀποτίλλειν, καὶ κεντοῦν τε καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα λυμαίνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔκαμον ποιούντες, (ὁ γὰρ δὴ νεκρὸς, ἅτε τεταριχευμένος, ἀντεῖχέ τε καὶ οὐδὲν διεχέετο,) ἐκέ-

<sup>11</sup> ἀπέλαβε ἂν Αἴγυπτον ὥστε ἐπιτροπείειν αὐτῆς. Ctesias in his *Persica* related that Cambyses did no other harm to the Egyptian king—whom he makes to be *Amyrtaeus*—than sending him to Susa with six thousand of the principal Egyptians (*ap. Photium, Biblioth.* p. 37). See the note 9, above.

<sup>12</sup> Πανσίρι. Unless this passage is a later addition, we must suppose Herodotus's visit to Egypt to have been subsequent to the complete recovery of that country by the Persians, and consequently

after (perhaps long after) B.C. 449. (See CLINTON, *F. H.* on year 455 B.C.) On the other hand compare note 91 on ii. 30.

<sup>13</sup> νῦν δὲ, "but as the case was." So below, § 25, νῦν δὲ λέγον οὐδένα ποιέμενος ἦτε αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω, "but as it was he took no account of the matter and kept on advancing farther."

<sup>14</sup> οἰκία. The manuscript S has οἰκία. See above, note 515 on ii. 169.

<sup>15</sup> μαστιγοῦν. Some MSS. add τὴν νέκυν.

λευσέ μιν ὁ Καμβύσης κατακαῦσαι, ἐντελλόμενος οὐκ ὄσια· Πέρσαι γὰρ θεὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι πῦρ· τὸ ἂν κατακαλεῖν γε τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδαμῶς ἐν νόμῳ οὐδετέροισί ἐστι· Πέρσῃσι μὲν, δι' ὅπερ εἴρηται, θεῷ οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγοντες νέμειν νεκρὸν ἀνθρώπου<sup>15</sup>. Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ νερόμισται πῦρ θηρίον εἶναι ἔμφυχον, πάντα δὲ αὐτὸ κατεσθίειν τὰ περ ἂν λάβῃ πλησθὲν δὲ αὐτὸ τῆς βορῆς συναποθνήσκειν τῷ κατεσθιομένῳ· οὐκ ὅν θηρίοισι νόμος οὐδαμῶς σφί ἐστι· τὸν νέκυν διδόναι· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ταριχεύουσι, ἵνα μὴ κείμενος ὑπὸ εὐλέων καταβρωθῇ. οὕτω δὴ οὐδετέροισι νομιζόμενα ἐνετέλλετο ποιεῖν ὁ Καμβύσης. ὥς μέντοι Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι, οὐκ ἄμασις ἦν ὁ ταῦτα παθὼν ἀλλὰ ἄλλος τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων, ἔχων τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην Ἀμάσι· ὃ λυμαινόμενοι Πέρσαι ἐδόκεον ἄμασιν λυμάνεσθαι· λέγουσι γὰρ, ὥς πυθόμενος ἐκ μαντητοῦ ὁ ἄμασις τὰ περὶ ἑωυτὸν μέλλοι ἀποθανόντα γίνεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀκεόμενος τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα, τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον τῶν μαστιγωθέντα ἀποθανόντα ἔθαψε ἐπὶ τῇσι θύρῃσι ἐντὸς<sup>16</sup> τῆς ἑωυτοῦ θήκης, ἑωυτὸν δὲ ἐνετείλατο τῷ παιδί ἐν μυγῷ τῆς θήκης ὥς μάλιστα θείναι. αἱ μὲν νῦν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος ἐντολαὶ αὗται, αἱ ἐς τὴν ταφήν τε καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχουσαι, οὗ μοι δοκεῖν ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι, ἄλλως δ' αὐτὰ Αἰγύπτιοι σεμνοῦν.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα<sup>17</sup> ὁ Καμβύσης ἐβουλεύσατο τριφασίας στρατηγίας, ἐπὶ τε Καρχηδονίους καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀμμωνίους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας, οἰκημένους δὲ Λιβύης ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσσῃ. βουλευομένην δὲ οἱ ἔδοξε ἐπὶ μὲν Καρχηδονίους τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ἀποστέλλειν ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀμμωνίους τοῦ πεζοῦ ἀποκρίναντα· ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας κατόπτας πρῶτον, ὄψομένους τε τὴν ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι Αἰθίοψι λεγομένην εἶναι ἡλίου τράπεζαν εἰ ἐστὶ ἀληθές, καὶ πρὸς ταύτη τὰ ἄλλα κατοψομένους, δῶρα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ φέροντας τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν. Ἡ δὲ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου

17 Cambyses projects expeditions against Carthage, Ammon, and Ethiopia.

<sup>15</sup> θεῷ οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγοντες νέμειν νεκρὸν ἀνθρώπου. Some MSS have λέγουσι for λέγοντες, in order, no doubt, to make the construction run more clearly. But I conceive the clause to have dropt out of its proper place after πῦρ. If it be replaced, the sentence will be perfectly regular with a proper punctuation: Πέρσαι γὰρ θεὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι πῦρ, θεῷ οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγοντες νέμειν νεκρὸν ἀνθρώπου· τὸ ἂν κατακαλεῖν γε τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδαμῶς ἐν

νόμῳ οὐδετέροισί ἐστι, Πέρσῃσι μὲν δι' ὅπερ εἴρηται, Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ κ.τ.λ.  
<sup>16</sup> ἐντὸς. 8 and V have ἐκτός.

<sup>17</sup> μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα. The account which follows of the transactions of Cambyses in Upper Egypt appears to rest on local Theban traditions. The Greek auxiliaries are represented as left behind at Memphis, and as being sent home by Cambyses immediately on his return (§ 25).



The "Table of the Sun" in Ethiopia.

The Phœnicians refuse to sail against Carthage.

Cambyzes sends certain Ichthyophagi with presents to the Ethiopians.

τοιγῆδε τις λέγεται εἶναι· λειμών ἐστι ἐν τῇ προαστείῳ ἐπίπλεος κρεῶν ἐφθῶν πάντων τῶν τετραπόδων, ἐς τὸν τὰς μὲν νύκτας ἐπιτηδεύοντας τιθέναι τὰ κρέα τοὺς ἐν τέλει ἐκάστους ἐόντας τῶν ἀστῶν, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας δαίνυσθαι προσιώντα τὸν βουλόμενον φάναι δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ταῦτα τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀναδιδόναι<sup>46</sup> ἐκάστοτε. ἡ μὲν δὴ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου καλεομένη λέγεται εἶναι τοιγῆδε. Καμβύση δὲ ὡς ἔδοξε πέμπειν τοὺς κατασκόπους, αὐτὰ κατεπέμπετο ἐξ Ἑλεφαντίνης πόλιος τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς ἐπισταμένους τὴν Αἰθιοπίδα γλῶσσαν· ἐν ᾧ δὲ τοὺτους μετήϊσαν, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκέλευε ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα πλέειν τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν Φοίνικες δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν ποιήσῃ ταῦτα· ὀρκίοισι τε γὰρ μεγάλοισι ἐνδεδέσθαι καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποιεῖν ὅσια ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρατευόμενοι· Φοινίκων δὲ οὐ βουλομένων, οἱ λοιποὶ οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι ἐγίνοντο. Καρχηδόνοι μὲν νυν οὕτω δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων· Καμβύσης γὰρ βίην οὐκ ἔδικαλον προσφέρειν Φοῖνιξι, ὅτι σφέας τε αὐτοὺς ἐδεδώκεσαν Πέρσησι καὶ πᾶς ἐκ Φοινίκων ἡρηγτο ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός. δόντες δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι σφέας αὐτοὺς Πέρσησι ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον<sup>47</sup>. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλεφαντίνης ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, ἔπεμπε αὐτοὺς ἐς τοὺς Αἰθιοπας ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρή, καὶ δῶρα φέροντας πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα καὶ χρύσειον στρεπτὸν περιανχένιον καὶ ψέλια καὶ μύρον ἀλάβαστρον καὶ φοινικητὸν οἶνον

<sup>46</sup> τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀναδιδόναι. The em-  
placement of these Ethiopians is an ex-  
tremely hopeless matter; but it is plain  
that the fertility of the country, or the  
richness of the products which were re-  
puted to come from thence, and did really  
come from that direction, caused them to  
be described as inhabitants of a sort of *pays*  
*de Cocagne*, just as was the case with the  
Tartessians. The long life attributed to  
them is probably a part of the same notion.  
See STRABO, cited in the note 540 on i. 163,  
and the description of the *Hyperboreans*  
by PINDAR (*Pyth.* x. 57):

Μοῖσα δ' οὐκ ἀποδαμεί  
τρόποις ἐπὶ σφετέρῃσι· παν-  
τὰ δὲ χοροὶ παρθένων  
λυρῶν τε βοᾷ καναχαί τ' αὐλῶν δονέονται·  
δάφνη τε χρυσὴ καί-  
μας ἀναδήσαντες εἰλα-  
πινάζουσιν εὐφρόνας.

νόσοι δ' οὐτε γῆρας οὐλόμενον  
κέκραται ἱερᾷ γενεᾷ· πόνον  
δὲ καὶ μαχῶν ἄτερ  
οἰκτίουσι, φυγόντες  
ὑπὲρδίκον Νέμεσιν.

Kenrick well remarks on the common  
tendency of men, groaning under the bur-  
dens of the social state, to draw such pic-  
tures as these, and refer them to times before  
the origin of history, and to countries be-  
yond the limits of geographical knowledge.

<sup>47</sup> Cyprus, according to Herodotus (ii.  
ult.), had been reduced to the condition of  
a tributary by Amasis; and according to  
the authorities followed by DIONOARS  
(i. 68), was an ally of Phœnicia in the war  
with Apries (mentioned by Herodotus ii.  
161). These circumstances would be  
favourable to Cambyzes in his designs  
against Egypt, as the attack would be  
made on a common enemy.

κάδον. οἱ δὲ Αἰθίοπες οὗτοι, ἐς τοὺς ἀπέπεμπε ὁ Καμβύσης, The beauty  
of the race,  
their stature,  
and pecu-  
liar cus-  
toms.  
λέγονται εἶναι μέγιστοι καὶ κάλλιστοι<sup>57</sup> ἀνθρώπων πάντων·  
νόμοισι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοισι χρᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς φασὶ κεχωρισμένοις τῶν  
ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δὴ κατὰ τὴν βασιλεῖαν τοιῶδες τὸν ἀν-  
τὼν ἀστῶν κρίνωσι μέγιστόν τε εἶναι<sup>58</sup> καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέγαθος ἔχειν  
τὴν ἰσχὺν, τοῦτον ἀξιούσι βασιλεύειν.

Ἐς τούτους δὴ ὦν τοὺς ἀνδρας ὡς ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, 21  
διδόντες τὰ δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν, ἔλεγον τάδε· “Βασιλεὺς ὁ Anecdote  
of the king  
of the  
Ethiopians,  
on receiving  
the envoys.  
Περσέων Καμβύσης, βουλόμενος φίλος τοι καὶ ξείνος γενέσθαι,  
ἡμέας τε ἀπέπεμψε ἐς λόγους τοι ἐλθεῖν κελεύων, καὶ δῶρα ταυτά  
τοι διδοῖ τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἡδεται χρεώμενος.” ὁ δὲ Αἰθίοψ  
μαθὼν ὅτι κατόπται ἤκοιεν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε· “οὔτε ὁ  
Περσέων βασιλεὺς δῶρα ὑμᾶς ἔπεμψε φέροντας προτιμῶν πολ-  
λοῦ ἐμοὶ ξείνος γενέσθαι, οὔτε ὑμεῖς λέγετε ἀληθέα, (ἦκετε γὰρ  
κατόπται τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς,) οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ ἐστὶ δίκαιος· εἰ γὰρ  
ἦν δίκαιος, οὐτ’ ἀν’ ἐπεθύμησε χώρας ἄλλης ἢ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ οὐτ’ ἀν’  
ἐς δουλοσύνην ἀνθρώπους ἦγε ὑπ’ ὧν μηδὲν ἡδίκηται· νῦν δὲ αὐτῷ  
τόξον τόδε διδόντες τάδε ἔπεα λέγετε· Βασιλεὺς ὁ Αἰθιοπῶν συμ-  
βουλεύει τῷ Περσέων βασιλεῖ, ἐπεὰν οὕτω εὐπετέως ἔλκωσι τὰ  
τόξα Πέρσαι ἐόντα μεγάθει τοσαῦτα, τότε ἐπ’ Αἰθιοπας τοὺς  
Μακροβίους<sup>59</sup> πληθθεὶ ὑπερβαλλόμενον στρατεύεσθαι· μέχρι δὲ  
τούτου θεοῖσι εἰδέναι χάριν, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον τρέπουσι Αἰθιοπῶν  
παισὶ<sup>60</sup> γῆν ἄλλην προσκτᾶσθαι τῇ ἑωυτῶν.” Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπας, 22  
καὶ ἀνείς τὸ τόξον, παρέδωκε τοῖσι ἤκουσι· λαβὼν δὲ τὸ εἶμα τὸ  
πορφύρεον, εἰρώτα ὃ τι εἶη καὶ ὅπως πεποιημένον; εἰπάντων δὲ τῶν  
Ἰχθυοφάγων τὴν ἀληθινήν περὶ τῆς πορφύρης καὶ τῆς βαφῆς,  
δολεροὺς μὲν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔφη εἶναι δολερὰ δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ εἴματα·  
δεύτερα δὲ, τὸν χρυσοῦν εἰρώτα στρεπτὸν τὸν περιαιχμένιον καὶ τὰ

<sup>57</sup> μέγιστοι καὶ κάλλιστοι. HUME (ap. *Walpole, Turkey*, p. 392) says that the Ethiopian women brought to Egypt for sale, though black, are extremely beautiful. Their features are regular and their eyes full of expression. A great number of them were purchased by the French during their stay in Egypt, and they fetched from 60 to 100 dollars, while Arab women might be purchased for as little as ten.

<sup>58</sup> τὸν ἀν’ τῶν ἀστῶν κρίνωσι μέγιστόν

τε εἶναι. The foundation of this notion perhaps was the circumstance of the chieftains belonging to a different race from their subjects. ARISTOTLE (*Polit.* vii. p. 1332. l. 24) quotes Scylax as relating that the “Indian” chiefs differed unmistakably from those whom they governed.

<sup>59</sup> τοὺς Μακροβίους. See the note 540 on i. 163.

<sup>60</sup> οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον τρέπουσι Αἰθιοπῶν παισὶ. See note 241 on i. 71.

ψέλια· ἐξηγεομένων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὸν κόσμον αὐτῶν, γελάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ νομίσας εἶναι σφραγίδας, εἶπε ὡς παρ' ἐνωτοῖσι εἰσι βρωμαλέωτεραι τούτων πέδας· τρίτον δὲ, εἰρώτα τὸ μύρον εἰπάντων δὲ τῆς ποιήσεως περὶ καὶ ἀλείψιος, τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τὸν καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἵματος εἶπε· ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸν οἶνον ἀπῖκετο καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ τὴν ποιήσιν, ὑπερησθεὶς τῷ πόματι ἐπέλετο ὃ τι τε σιτέται ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ χρόνον ὅκσον μακρότατον ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ζῶει; οἱ δὲ σιτέσθαι μὲν τὸν ἄρτον εἶπαν, ἐξηγησάμενοι τῶν πυρῶν τὴν φύσιν, ὀγδάκοντα δ' ἔτεα ζῆς πλήρωμα ἀνδρὶ μακρότατον προκέεσθαι· πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Διόσιππος ἔφη, οὐδὲν θωυμάζειν εἰ σιτέομενοι κόπρον ἔτεα ὀλίγα ζῶουσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν τοσαῦτα δύνασθαι ζῶειν σφέας εἰ μὴ τῷ πόματι ἀνέφερον<sup>61</sup>, φράζων τοῖσι Ἰχθυοφάγοις τὸν οἶνον τοῦτο γὰρ ἐνωτοῦς ὑπὸ Περσέων ἐσσοῦσθαι. Ἀντειρομένων δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῆς ζῆς καὶ διαίτης περὶ, ἔτεα μὲν ἐς ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν<sup>62</sup> τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπικνεέσθαι, ὑπερβάλλειν δὲ τινας καὶ ταῦτα· σίτησιν δὲ εἶναι κρέα ἐφθὰ, καὶ πόμα γάλα· θάυμα δὲ ποιευμένων τῶν κατασκόπων περὶ τῶν ἐτέων, ἐπὶ κρήνην σφί ἡγήσασθαι<sup>63</sup>. ἀπ' ἧς λουόμενοι λιπαρώτεροι ἐγίνοντο, κατὰ περ εἰ ἐλαίου εἴη ὅζωι δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὥσει ἰων. ἀσθενὲς δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς κρήνης ταύτης οὕτω δὴ τι ἔλεγον εἶναι οἱ κατάσκοποι, ὥστε μηδὲν οἶόν τε εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέειν, μήτε ξύλον<sup>64</sup> μήτε τῶν ὅσα ξύλου ἐστὶ ἐλαφρότερα, ἀλλὰ πάντα σφέα χωρέειν ἐς βυσσόν· (τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τοῦτο<sup>65</sup> εἰ σφί ἐστι ἀληθέως οἶόν τι λέγεται,

23

Longevity  
of the  
Ethiopians.

Wonders  
of the  
country.

<sup>61</sup> ἀνέφερον. The MSS vary between this reading, ἀναφέρων, and ἀνέφυρον.

<sup>62</sup> ἐς ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν. The same duration of life is ascribed to Arganthionius, the king of the Tartessians (i. 163). See note 58, above.

<sup>63</sup> ἡγήσασθαι. This infinitive is to be taken after ἔφασαν or some such word, of which the subject is οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, whereas the infinitives in the preceding sentence would follow ἀνέλεγε or some such word, of which the subject would be ὁ βασιλεὺς. The transition from the direct form to the oblique at the beginning of this section gives the impression of an author making an abstract of an account before him, which would naturally of itself produce a certain slovenliness of construction.

<sup>64</sup> μήτε ξύλον. It seems not impossible that the belief in the extreme rarity

of this water may partly arise from the circumstance that the wood of the cocco-tree, which would be the commonest of all in many regions of Africa, is of a greater specific gravity than water, and consequently would sink in it. So also would ebony and lignum vitae, and some other woods.

<sup>65</sup> τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τοῦτο. This sentence is not to be regarded as a part of the missionaries' story, but as an inference of the author's from the rarity of the water. The Ichthyophagi rather regarded the spring as a magical one, making those who bathed in it vigorous, of which the outward mark was the sleek, shining appearance of their skin. Their narrative is renewed in the next sentence by the appropriate change to an indirect form of construction.

διὰ τοῦτο ἂν εἰεν, τούτῳ τὰ πάντα χρεώμενοι, μακρόβιοι) ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης δὲ ἀπαλλασσομένων, ἀγαγεῖν σφέας ἐς δεσμωντήριον ἀνδρῶν, ἔνθα τοὺς πάντας ἐν πέδῃσι χρυσέσῃ δεδέσθαι· ἔστι δὲ ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι Λιβύῃσι πάντων ὁ χαλκὸς σπανιώτατον καὶ τιμιώτατον θεσάμενοι δὲ καὶ τὸ δεσμωντήριον, ἐθέσαντο καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἥλίου λεγομένην τράπεζαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην, τελευταίας ἐθε- 24 ἥσαντο τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν, αἱ λέγονται σκευάζεσθαι ἐξ ὑέλου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐπεὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἰσχυήνωσι, εἴτε δὴ κατάπερ Αἰγύπτῳ εἴτε ἄλλως κως, γυψώσαντες ἅπαντα αὐτὸν γραφῇ κοσμέουσι, ἑξομοιούμεντες τὸ εἶδος ἐς τὸ δυνατόν· ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ περιύστασι στήλην ἐξ ὑέλου πεποιημένην κοίλην ἢ δὲ σφί πολλή καὶ εὐεργὸς ὀρύσσεται· ἐν μέσῃ δὲ τῇ στήλῃ ἐνεὼν διαφάνεται ὁ νέκυς, οὔτε ὁδμήν οὔδεμίαν ἄχαριν παρεχόμενος οὔτε ἄλλο ἀεκέες οὔδεν, καὶ ἔχει πάντα φανερά ὁμοίως αὐτῷ [τῷ νέκυι<sup>66</sup>]. ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν δὴ ἔχουσι τὴν στήλην ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοις οἱ μάλιστα<sup>67</sup> προσήκοντες, πάντων τε ἀπαρχόμενοι καὶ θυσίας οἱ προσάγοντες· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκομίσαντες ἰσάσι περὶ τὴν πόλιν.

Θεσάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα οἱ κατάσκοποι, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω 25 ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ ταῦτα τούτων, αὐτίκα ὁ Καμβύσης ὀργήν<sup>68</sup> ποιησάμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς Λιβύας, οὔτε παρασκευὴν σίτου οὔδεμίαν παραγγείλας οὔτε λόγον ἐωυτῷ δοὺς ὅτι ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς γῆς ἐμελλε στρατεύεσθαι· οἳ δὲ ἐμμανὴς τε ἐὼν καὶ οὐ φρενίρης, ὥς ἤκουε τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, ἐστρατεύετο Ἑλλήνων μὲν τοὺς παρεόντας αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ<sup>69</sup> τάξας ὑπομένειν, τὸν δὲ πεζὸν πάντα ἅμα ἀγόμενος· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ στρατεύομενος ἐγένετο ἐν Θήβῃσι, At Thebes he detaches 50,000 men ἀπέκρινε τοῦ στρατοῦ ὥς πέντε μυριάδας· καὶ τούτοις μὲν ἐνετέλ-

<sup>66</sup> [τῷ νέκυι.] These words appear to me to be a gloss from a misunderstanding of the meaning of the passage, which I should render, "and yet has every feature distinct like *the man himself*," i. e. when he was alive.

<sup>67</sup> οἱ μάλιστα. One MS (R) adds the words αὐτῷ τῷ νέκυι, which Wesseling adopts, and strikes out the same two lines back. I should rather conjecture that after τῷ νέκυι in that place had become incorporated with the text, a subsequent transcriber shifted them to this position. On the transcript being collated by a different person, the change would

be observed, and a marginal note would be added to show where they ought to have been. Then would come the transcriber of R, or its archetype, and put them in both places.

<sup>68</sup> ὀργήν. The manuscripts S and V have ἀρχήν, which is perhaps the true reading.

<sup>69</sup> αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ. The same expression occurs i. 214; iv. 135. But it seems doubtful whether it does not here arise from an aggregation of two alternative readings. Here only S has αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ, while M, V have αὐτῷ, and P, K, F αὐτοῦ without ταύτῃ.

Cambyses invades the Ethiopians without any commiserat.

At Thebes he detaches 50,000 men

against Am-  
mon.

The main  
army is  
baffled by  
want of sup-  
plies, and  
suffers ter-  
ribly.

The detach-  
ment  
reaches the  
Oasis (*El  
Wak*), but  
perishes  
midway  
between that  
place and  
Ammon.

λετο Ἀμμωνίους ἐξανδραποδισαμένους τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἐμπρήσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν ἄγων στρατὸν ἦϊε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας· πρὶν δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος διεληλυθέναι τὴν στρατὴν, αὐτίκα πάντα αὐτοὺς τὰ εἶχον σιτίων ἐχόμενα ἐπελελοίπες· μετὰ δὲ τὰ σιτία, καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐπέλυπε κατεσθιόμενα· εἰ μὲν νυν μαθὼν ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐγνωσιμάχῃ, καὶ ἀπῆγγε ὀπίσω τὸν στρατὸν, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇθεν γενομένη ἀμαρτάδι ἦν<sup>70</sup> ἀνὴρ σοφός· νῦν δὲ οὐδένα λόγον ποιεύμενος ἦϊε αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται, ἕως μὲν τι εἶχον ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνειν ποιηφαγέοντες διέζωνον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον ἀπίκοντο, δεινὸν ἔργον αὐτῶν τινὲς ἐργάσαντο· ἐκ δεκάδος γὰρ ἓνα σφέων αὐτῶν ἀποκληρώσαντες κατέφαγον. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης, δέισας τὴν ἀλληλοφαγίην, ἀπείς τὸν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας στόλον ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο· καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Θήβας πολλοὺς ἀπολέσας τοῦ στρατοῦ· ἐκ Θηβῶν δὲ καταβὰς ἐς Μέμφιν, τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἀπῆκε ἀποπλέειν<sup>71</sup>. ὁ μὲν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας 26 στόλος οὕτω ἔπρηξε. Οἱ δ' αὐτῶν ἐπ' Ἀμμωνίους ἀποσταλέντες στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπεὶ τε ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες ἄγωγους, ἀπικόμενοι μὲν φανοροὶ εἰσι ἐς Ὅασιν πόλιν, τὴν ἔχουσι μὲν Σάμιοι<sup>72</sup> τῆς Διοσχυριωνίης φυλῆς λεγόμενοι εἶναι· ἀπέχουσι δὲ ἑπτὰ ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Θηβῶν<sup>73</sup> διὰ ψάμμου οὖνο· μάζεται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος κατὰ Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Μακάρων νῆσος· ἐς μὲν δὴ τοῦτον τὸν χώρον λέγεται ἀπικέσθαι τὸν στρατὸν· τὸ ἐνθεύτεν δὲ, ὅτι μὴ αὐτοὶ Ἀμμωνιοὶ καὶ οἱ τούτων ἀκούσαντες, ἄλλοι οὐδένες οὐδὲν ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τοὺς Ἀμμωνίους ἀπίκοντο οὔτε ὀπίσω ἐνόστησαν· λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀμμωνίων· ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῆς Ὀάσιος ταύτης ἰέναι διὰ τῆς ψάμμου ἐπὶ σφέας, γενέσθαι τε αὐτοὺς μεταξύ κου

<sup>70</sup> ἦν. Gaisford, with the majority of MSS, adds *ἔν*.

<sup>71</sup> τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἀπῆκε ἀποπλέειν. This is extraordinary, as by such a proceeding he would appear to have been entirely left without troops, the main army having suffered so much, and the detached division of 50,000 having totally perished.

<sup>72</sup> τὴν ἔχουσι μὲν Σάμιοι. There is no means of saying when this settlement took place, but it will probably have been coincident with the extension of Samian enterprise to Egypt. For evi-

dence of a commercial connexion between Samos, Elis, Cyrene, and Egypt, see notes 296 b on ii. 86 and 564 on ii. 182.

<sup>73</sup> ἑπτὰ ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Θηβῶν. It is nearly in the same latitude with Thebes, and lies in the caravan track from that city to the Oasis of Ammon. Its modern name is *El Wak* (the habitation), and it really consists of two oases, *El Kargeh* and *El Dakel*. It may be observed from the varying account of the distances that it is unlikely this story belongs to the same cycle as the one in iv. 181.

μάλιστα αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῆς Ὀάσιος, ἄριστον αἶρεομένοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐπιπνεῦσαι νότον μέγαν τε καὶ ἐξάλσιον, φορέοντα δὲ θίνας τῆς ψάμμου καταχῶσαι σφεας· καὶ τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ ἀφανισθῆναι. Ἀμμώνιοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι περὶ τῆς στρατῆς ταύτης.

Ἀπυγμένον δὲ Καμβύσειω ἐς Μέμφιν ἐφάνη Αἰγυπτίοισι ὁ 27

Ἄπις, τὸν Ἕλληνες Ἐπαφον καλέουσι<sup>76</sup>. ἐπιφανέος δὲ τούτου Cambyzes, on occasion of the appearance of Apis, is angry at the festivities of the people. γενομένου, αὐτίκα οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι εἴματά τε ἐφόρεον τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ἦσαν ἐν θαλίῃσι· ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ποιεῦντας ὁ Καμβύσης, πᾶνχρυσας καταδόξας ἐωντοῦ κακῶς πρήξαντος χαρμόσυνα ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐκάλεε τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους<sup>77</sup> τῆς Μέμφιος· ἀπικομένους δὲ ἐς ὕψιν εἶρετο ὃ τι πρότερον μὲν ἐόντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Μέμφι, ἐποίουν τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτιοι, τότε δὲ, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς παρείη τῆς στρατῆς πλήθός τι ἀποβαλὼν; οἱ δὲ ἐφράζον ὥς σφι θεὸς εἴη φανείς διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ ἐωθὼς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, καὶ ὥς ἐπεὰν φανῇ, τότε πάντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι κεχαρηκότες ὁρτάζοιεν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμβύσης ἔφη ψεύδεσθαι σφεας· καὶ ὥς ψευδομένους θανάτῳ ἐξήμιον. Ἀποκτείνας δὲ τοὺτους, δεύτερα τοὺς 28 ἱρέας ἐκάλεε ἐς ὕψιν λεγόντων δὲ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῶν ἱρέων, οὐ λήσειν ἔφη αὐτὸν εἰ θεὸς τις χειροσῆθης ἀπυγμένος εἴη Αἰγυπτίοισιν· τοσαῦτα δὲ εἶπας, ἐπάγειν ἐκέλευε τὸν Ἄπιν τοὺς ἱρέας· οἱ μὲν δὴ μετήϊσαν ἄζοντες (ὁ δὲ Ἄπις οὗτος [ὁ Ἐπαφος<sup>78</sup>,] γίνεταί Description of Apis. μόσχος ἐκ βοῶς ἦτις οὐκέτι οἷη τε γίνεταί ἐς γαστέρα ἄλλον βάλ- λεσθαι<sup>79</sup> γόνον· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ λέγουσι σέλας ἐπὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ<sup>80</sup> κατίσχειν, καὶ μιν ἐκ τούτου τίκτειν τὸν Ἄπιν· ἔχει δὲ

<sup>76</sup> τὸν Ἕλληνας Ἐπαφον καλέουσι. The meaning of this is that the Egyptian Apis is, as regards his ritual, identical with the Hellenic Epaphus. Above (ii. 153) the author expresses the same thing in other words, on which passage see the note 467. See also the note 32 on i. 7.

<sup>77</sup> τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους. See note 105, below.

<sup>78</sup> [ὁ Ἐπαφος.] These words appear to be a gloss. The manuscripts S and V omit the word οὗτος, and thus show this more distinctly. See § 27.

<sup>79</sup> βάλλεσθαι. This is the reading adopted by Gaisford from the majority of MSS. But S and V have βαλέσθαι, which seems to suggest λαβέσθαι as the original reading.

<sup>80</sup> ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. It does not seem likely, judging from this expression, that

in the time of Herodotus the generic beam was regarded as proceeding from any especial luminary. But in the time of PLUTARCH it was said to come from the Moon, and a strange myth appears to have been connected with the notion; viz. that Osiris was both the son and the husband of Isis. (*De Isid. et Os.* p. 368.) Another legend, in reference to the same notion, attached to Isis an androgynous character. These two myths are undoubtedly of late growth and obviously coined for the purpose of connecting together diverse rituals. There was in Egypt a festival (kept on the new-moon in the month *Phamenoth*), of which the name interpreted was "the entrance of Osiris into the Moon." (PLUTARCH, l. c.) This seems not unlikely to have had regard to

- ὁ μόσχος οὗτος, ὃ Ἄπις καλεόμενος, σημήϊα τοιάδε ἔων μέλας ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ μετώπῳ λευκὸν τετράγωνον<sup>79</sup>, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ νώτου<sup>80</sup> αἰετὸν εἰκασμένον, ἐν δὲ τῇ οὐρῇ τὰς τρίχας διπλᾶς, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ γλώσση κύνθαρον<sup>81</sup>.) Ὡς δὲ ἤγαγον τὸν Ἄπιον οἱ ἱρέες, ὁ Καμβύσης οἷα ἔων ὑπομαργότερος σπασάμενος τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον, θέλων τύψαι τὴν γαστέρα τοῦ Ἄπιος παῖε τὸν μηρόν γελάσας δὲ, εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς ἱρέας· “ὦ κακαὶ κεφαλαί, τοιοῦτοι θεοὶ γίνονται, ἔναί μοι τε καὶ σαρκώδεις καὶ ἐπαίνοντες σιδηρίων<sup>82</sup>; ἄξιός μὲν Αἰγυπτίων οὗτός γε ὁ θεός· ἀτάρ τοι ὑμεῖς γε οὐ χαίροντες γέλωτα ἐμὲ θήσεσθε.” ταῦτα εἶπας, ἐντετεῖλατο τοῖσι ταῦτα πρήσσουσι, τοὺς μὲν ἱρέας ἀπομαστιγῶσαι, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν ἂν λάβωσι ὀρτάζοντα κτείνειν. ὀρτὴ μὲν δὴ διελέλυτο Αἰγυπτίοισι· οἱ δὲ ἱρέες ἐδικαίειντο· ὁ δὲ Ἄπις πεπληγμένος τὸν μηρόν, ἔφθιβε ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ κατακείμενος. καὶ τὸν μὲν, τελευτήσαντα ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος ἔθαψαν οἱ ἱρέες λάθρῃ Καμβύσει· Καμβύσης δὲ, ὥς λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι, αὐτίκα διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἀδίκημα ἐμάνη, ἔων οὐδὲ πρότερον φρενιήρης· καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῶν κακῶν ἐξεργάσατο τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σμέρδιον<sup>83</sup> ἔοντα πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς, τὸν ἀπέπεμψε εἰς Πέρσας<sup>84</sup> φθόνῳ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ὅτι τὸ τόξον μόνος Περσέων ὄσον

29  
Cambyses' sacrilego.

30  
From this time his madness comes to a head.

that phenomenon which our old ballad calls “the new Moon with the auld Moon in her arm,” the dark portion of the planet being taken for the Sun, which had been seen to set. Again, the influence of the Moon on the growth of various productions was a firm belief in Egypt. (PLUTARCH, *De Is. et Os. passim*.) Nothing therefore could be more easy than to derive the emanation by which the mother of Apis was supposed to be impregnated from thence.

<sup>79</sup> τετράγωνον. CATLUS conjectures *τι τρίγωνον*.

<sup>80</sup> ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου, “over his back,” not “on the top of his back,” which would be denoted by the dative case.

<sup>81</sup> ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ γλώσσῃ κύνθαρον. The scarabæus was probably regarded as a sacred symbol from the same cause as the shrewmouse. (See note 422 on ii. 141.) It appeared to be produced from the earth. As in the case of the other animal, the ingenuity of later times suggested a variety of mystical reasons.

<sup>82</sup> ἐπαίνοντες σιδηρίων. See note on i. 71.

<sup>83</sup> τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σμέρδιον. This name,

in its milder form *Merdis* (=Μέρδης=Μάρδης), is identical etymologically with the *Bartius* (=Βάρδης=Βέρδης) of the Behistun Inscriptions, who is there represented as having had the same father and mother as Cambyses (*Kambyjys*), as having excited troubles in the state, and as having been slain by Cambyses. But the inscription expressly goes on to say that it was *after this* that Cambyses went to Egypt. For the difference in the chronology of the Egyptian accounts see note 107, below.

<sup>84</sup> εἰς Πέρσας. The seat of the troubles excited by the brother of Cambyses is by Herodotus supposed to be Persia. This country does not however appear to have been the seat of the imperial government before the reign of Darius. That was *Agbatana* in the time of Cyrus (i. 153), and of Cambyses (iii. 64). Smerdis therefore was sent to Persia as to a province, perhaps in the position of a viceroy. And this is in harmony with a notice in CRESIAS, who represents the younger brother (though he gives him the name Tanyoxarces) as being left by his father with independent authority over certain pro-

τε ἐπὶ δύο δακτύλους εἴρυσε, τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ἤνειακον οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Περσέων οὐδεὶς οἴος τε ἐγένετο. ἀποικομένον ὦν ἐς Πέρσας τοῦ Σμέρδιος, ὅψιν εἶδε ὁ Καμβύσης ἐν τῷ ὑπνῳ τοιήνδε· ἔδοξε οἱ ἄγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐκ Περσέων ἀγγέλλειν, ὡς ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ βασιλεὺς ἱζόμενος Σμέρδις, τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ψαύσειε πρὸς ὦν ταῦτα, δέσας περὶ ἐαυτοῦ μή μιν ἀποκτείνας ὁ ἀδελφεὸς ἄρχῃ, πέμπει Πρηξάσπεα ἐς Πέρσας<sup>85</sup>, ὃς ἦν οἱ ἀνὴρ Περσέων πιστότατος, ἀποκτενέοντά μιν ὁ δὲ ἀναβὰς ἐς Σούσα ἀπέκτεινε Σμέρδιν, οἱ μὲν λέγουσι ἐπ' ἄγρῳ ἐξαγαγόντα, οἱ δὲ, ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν προσαγαγόντα<sup>86</sup> καταποντῶσαι.

He first causes the death of his brother :

Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι Καμβύσῃ τῶν κακῶν ἄρξαι τοῦτο<sup>87</sup>. 31  
δεύτερα δὲ ἐξεργάσατο τὴν ἀδελφεὴν, ἐπισπομένην οἱ ἐς Αἴγυπτον, τῇ καὶ συνοίκῃ· καὶ ἦν οἱ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφεῇ· ἔγχετο δὲ αὐτὴν ὥδε· οὐδαμῶς γὰρ ἐώθεσαν πρότερον τῇσι ἀδελφεῇσι συνοικεῖν Πέρσαι· ἡράσθη μὲν τῶν ἀδελφεῶν<sup>88</sup> Καμβύσης, καὶ ἔπειτα βουλόμενος αὐτὴν γῆμαι (ὅτι οὐκ ἐωθότα ἐπένοε ποιήσειν) εἶρετο καλέσας τοὺς βασιλεῖς δικαστὰς<sup>89</sup>· εἰ τίς ἐστι κωλύων<sup>90</sup> νόμος

Next, of his sister, with whom he had cohabited.

vines, although the title βασιλεὺς was confined to Cambyse.

<sup>85</sup> ἐς Πέρσας. These words are omitted in S and V.

<sup>86</sup> προσαγόντα. Bekker conjectures προαγόντα, which would render the construction more regular; but there is no occasion to alter the reading of the MSS. Translate: "And he went up to Susa and slew Smerdis, some say while going out to hunt, but others, that he took him to the Erythraean sea and drowned him in it." The participle ἐξαγαγόντα has for its subject Smerdis, and is used as a neuter verb, while προσαγαγόντα has for its subject Prexaspes, and is an active verb.

<sup>87</sup> πρῶτον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι Καμβύσῃ τῶν κακῶν ἄρξαι τοῦτο. The article before κακῶν is to be remarked. The miseries of Cambyse,—acts wrought in a madness supposed to be inspired by the gods, an idea which the Greeks expressed by the word κακοδαμονία,—were matters of notoriety; all the difference was in the details, which the Egyptians represented in one way and the Persians in another. The sentence is to be translated, "The first beginning now of his woes to Cambyse, they say, was this." Cleomenes, the Spartan king, was a parallel instance of notorious insanity, accounted for very

differently by different people (see vi. 75). That the pure Persian traditions represented by the Behistun Inscriptions put the death of Smerdis on quite other grounds is plain from what is cited in the note 84, above.

<sup>88</sup> μὲν τῶν ἀδελφεῶν. Possibly this was Atossa, his sister by the father's side, if not the mother's also. See note on § 68, below.

<sup>89</sup> τοὺς βασιλεῖς δικαστὰς. See above, § 14.

<sup>90</sup> κωλύων. All the MSS have κελύων, and a few lines below κελύει, and Gaisford follows them. But the gist of the story is lost by this reading. Cambyse wished to violate the common law (οὐκ ἐωθότα ποιῆν), and asked his advisers whether there was a positive statute against the crime he meditated. They were able to answer in the negative; and they further salved the king's conscience by suggesting to him another positive statute which gave him absolute authority formally, although of course no such matter was contemplated by it. A similar dishonesty was exhibited by Anaxarchus,—a pagan precursor of Hobbes and Filmer,—who endeavoured to comfort the conscience-stricken Alexander after the death of Clitus, by telling him that Δίκη and Θέμις were represented as the assessors



Tempo-  
rising con-  
duct of the  
Persian  
lawyers in  
this matter.

τὸν βουλόμενον ἀδελφεῇ συνοικέειν; οἱ δὲ βασιλῆϊοι δικασταὶ κεκριμένοι ἄνδρες γίνονται Περσέων, ἐς οὐ ἀποθάνωσι ἢ σφί παρευρεθῇ τι ἄδικον, μέχρι τούτου οὗτοι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι δίκας δικάζουσι καὶ ἐξηγγαται τῶν πατρίων θεσμῶν γίνονται· καὶ πάντα ἐς τούτους ἀνακείμεναι· εἰρομένου ὦν τοῦ Καμβύσεω, ὑπεκρίνοντο αὐτῷ οὗτοι καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἀσφαλέα, φάμενοι νόμον οὐδένα ἐξευρίσκειν ὃς κωλύει ἀδελφεῇ συνοικέειν ἀδελφεὸν ἄλλον μέντοι ἐξευρηκέναι νόμον, τῷ βασιλεύοντι Περσέων ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν τὸ αὐβούληται. οὕτω οὔτε τὸν νόμον ἔλυσαν δέισαντες Καμβύσεα, ἵνα τε μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλωνται τὸν νόμον περιστέλλοντες<sup>91</sup> παρεξέυρον ἄλλον νόμον σύμμαχον τῷ θέλοντι γάμειν ἀδελφεάς. τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης ἔγχευε τὴν ἐρωμένην μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἔσχε ἄλλην ἀδελφεήν· τούτων δὴτα τὴν νεωτέραν, ἐπισπομένην οἱ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, κτείνει. Ἀμφὶ δὲ τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτῆς διζὼς, ὥσπερ περὶ Σμέρδιος, λέγεται λόγος. Ἕλληνες μὲν λέγουσι, Καμβύσεα συμβαλέειν σκύμνον λέοντος σκύλακι κυνὸς, θεωρέειν δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ταύτην νικωμένου δὲ τοῦ σκύλακος, ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ ἄλλον σκύλακα ἀπορρήξαντα τὸν δεσμὸν παραγενέσθαι οἱ δύο δὲ γενομένους οὕτω δὴ τοὺς σκύλακας ἐπικρατῆσαι τοῦ σκύμνου καὶ τὸν μὲν Καμβύσεα ἡδεσθαι θεώμενον, τὴν δὲ παρημένην δακρύειν· Καμβύσεα δὲ μαθόντα τούτο, ἐπείρεσθαι διότι δακρύει<sup>92</sup>; τὴν δὲ εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἰδοῦσα τὸν σκύλακα τῷ ἀδελφεῷ τιμωρήσαντα δακρύσειε, μνησθεῖσά τε Σμέρδιος καὶ μαθοῦσα ὡς κείνῳ οὐκ εἴη ὁ τιμωρήσων. Ἕλληνες μὲν δὴ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος φασὶ αὐτὴν ἀπολέσθαι ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ, ὡς τραπέζῃ περικατημένον, λαβοῦσαν θριδακα τὴν γυναῖκα περιτίλαι, καὶ ἐπανείρεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα κότερον περιτετιλμένη ἢ δασεῖα ἢ θριδαξ εἶδουσα εἴη καλλίων; καὶ τὸν φάναι, δασεῖαν τὴν δ' εἰπεῖν “ταύτην μέντοι κοτὲ σὺ τὴν θριδακα ἐμμήσας, τὸν Κύρου οἶκον ἀποφιλώσας” τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα ἐμπηδῆσαι αὐτῇ ἐχούσῃ ἐν γαστρὶ, καὶ μιν ἐκτρώσασαν ἀποθανεῖν.

33 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς οἰκητοὺς ὁ Καμβύσης ἐξεμάνη, εἶτε δὴ<sup>93</sup> διὰ

of Zeus, to signify that whatever the mighty did was lawful and right. (PLUTARCH, *Alex.* § 52.)

<sup>91</sup> τὸν νόμον περιστέλλοντες. See note 347 on i. 98.

<sup>92</sup> δακρύει. Gaisford, with some of the MSS, has δακρύοι. But several have the reading in the text.

<sup>93</sup> δὴ. The force of this particle is to refer the reader back to what has been

τὸν Ἀπιῦ, εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως, οἷα πολλὰ ἐώθεε<sup>33</sup> ἀνθρώπους κακὰ Cambyes  
καταλαμβάνειν καὶ γάρ τινα καὶ ἐκ γενεῆς νοῦσον μεγάλην λέγε- is said to  
ται ἔχειν ὁ Καμβύσης, τὴν ἰρὴν οὐνομάζουσί τινες· οὐ νῦν τοι have been  
ἀεικὲς οὐδὲν ἦν, τοῦ σώματος νοῦσον μεγάλην νοσέοντος, μηδὲ τὰς subject to  
φρένας ὑγιαίνειν. Τάδε δ' ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρσας ἐξεμάνη λέγε- epilepsy  
ται γὰρ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς Πρηξάσπεα, τὸν ἐτίμα τε μάλιστα καὶ from his  
οἱ τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐφόρεε οὗτος<sup>34</sup>, τούτου τε ὁ παῖς οἰνοχόος ἦν τῷ birth.  
Καμβύσῃ τιμὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ οὐ σμικρὴ· εἰπεῖν δὲ λέγεται τάδε· 34  
“Πρηξάσπεες, κοῖόν μέ τινα νομίζουσι Πέρσαι εἶναι ἄνδρα; τίνας His ruf-  
τε λόγους περὶ ἐμέ<sup>35</sup> ποιεῖνται;” τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν “ὦ δέσποτα, fanly con-  
τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα μεγάλως ἐπαινεῖ, τῇ δὲ φιλοινίῃ σέ φασι duct to  
πλεόνως προσκείσθαι” τὸν μὲν δὴ λέγειν ταῦτα περὶ Περσέων others than  
τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα τοιάδε ἀμείβεσθαι “νῦν ἄρα μέ φασι Πέρσαι his own re-  
οἷνφ προσκείμενον παραφρονέειν, καὶ οὐκ εἶναι νοήμονα; οὐδ' ἄρα lations.  
σφένων οἱ πρότεροι λόγοι ἦσαν ἀληθείες.” πρότερον γὰρ δὴ ἄρα, An anecdote  
Περσέων οἱ συνέδρων ἐόντων καὶ Κροίσου, εἶρετο Καμβύσης κοῖός of Croesus.  
τις δοκεῖο ἀνὴρ εἶναι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τελέσαι<sup>36</sup> Κύρον; οἱ δὲ  
ἀμείβοντο, ὡς εἴη ἀμείνων τοῦ πατρός· τά τε γὰρ ἐκείνου πάντα  
ἔχειν αὐτὸν, καὶ προσεκτῆσθαι Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν  
Πέρσαι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔλεγον· Κροῖσος δὲ παρεών τε καὶ οὐκ ἀρε-  
σκόμενος τῇ κρίσει, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Καμβύσεα τάδε· “ἐμοὶ μὲν νυν,  
ὦ παῖ Κύρου, οὐ δοκεῖς ὁμοῖος εἶναι τῷ πατέρι· οὐ γάρ κω τοι ἐστί  
υἱὸς οἷόν σε ἐκείνος κατελπίετο” ἦσθη τε ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμ-  
βύσης καὶ ἐπαίνειε τὴν Κροίσου κρίσιν. Τούτων δὴ ὦν ἐπιμνη-

35

said above, § 30: αὐτίκα διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἀδίκημα ἐμάνη. See the note 6 on i. § 1.

<sup>33</sup> ἐώθεε. The manuscripts S and V have ἐώθε. See note 186 on ii. 69.

<sup>34</sup> καὶ οἱ τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐφόρεε οὗτος. This function is not to be confused with that of the ἐσαγγελεὺς, who was an eunuch (see below, § 77), and regarded as holding a servile office; but it rather is that of a commissioner armed with a firman for special important services,—as for instance those performed by Prexaspes in the matter of Smerdis (above, § 30.)

<sup>35</sup> περὶ ἐμέ. The manuscripts S and V have the form ἐμεῦ. But in i. 128 they give the open form, and likewise in vi. 85f.

<sup>36</sup> τελέσαι. This word is omitted by one

MS, and several others have the alternative καλέσαι. It seems almost certain that the text as it stands must be corrupt; but it seems rash to correct it by the expulsion of this word, for such an emendation offers no explanation of the way in which the corruption arose. I should be inclined rather to suppose that Herodotus wrote κοῖός τις δοκεῖο ἀνὴρ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τελέσαι; “what kind of man they thought he turned out in comparison with his father;” and that εἶναι, from being a marginal gloss in explanation of the unusual phrase τελέσαι, crept into the text. The ellipse is of βίον or some such word, and the sense is easily deducible from such expressions as εἰς Ἑλληνας τελεῖν (ii. 51); εἰς Βοιωτοὺς τελεῖν (vi. 108).

Murder of  
the son of  
Prexaspea.

σθάντα ὀργῇ λέγειν πρὸς τὸν Πρηξάσπεα· “σὺ νῦν μάθε” εἰ  
λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀληθῆα, εἴτε αὐτοὶ λέγοντες ταῦτα παραφρονέουσι·  
εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ σοῦ τοῦδε ἐστῶτος ἐν τοῖσι προθύροις  
βαλὼν τύχοιμι” μέσης τῆς καρδίας, Πέρσαι φανέονται λέγοντες  
οὐδέν ἦν δὲ ἀμάρτω, φάναι Πέρσας τε λέγειν ἀληθῆα καὶ μὲ μὴ  
σωφρονέειν” ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντα καὶ διατείναντα τὸ τόξον, βαλέειν  
τὸν παῖδα· πεσόντος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς, ἀνασχίξαι αὐτὸν κελεύειν καὶ  
σκέψασθαι τὸ βλήμα· ὥς δὲ ἐν τῇ καρδίῃ εὐρεθῆναι ἐκόντα τὸν  
οἰστὸν, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδὸς, γελάσαντα καὶ περι-  
χαρὰ γενόμενον· “Πρήξασπες, ὥς μὲν ἔγωγε οὐ μαίνομαι τε”  
Πέρσαι τε παραφρονέουσι, δῆλὰ τοι γέγονε νῦν δέ μοι εἰπὲ, τίνα  
εἶδες ἤδη πάντων ἀνθρώπων οὕτως ἐπίσκοπα<sup>97</sup> τοξεύοντα;” Πρή-  
ξασπεα δὲ ὀρέοντα ἄνδρα οὐ φρενῆρεα, καὶ περὶ ἑωυτῷ δειμαίνοντα,  
εἰπεῖν· “δέσποτα, οὐδ’ ἂν αὐτὸν ἔγωγε δοκέω τὸν θεὸν οὕτω ἂν  
καλῶς βαλέειν<sup>98</sup>.” τότε μὲν ταῦτα ἐξεργάσατο· ἑτέρωθι δὲ ὁμοῖα  
τοῖσι πρώτοις, Περσέων<sup>99</sup> δυνάδεκα ἐπ’ οὐδεμῇ αἰτίῃ ἀξίωχρεφ  
ἐλὼν ζώνοντας ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν κατέρυξε<sup>100</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> μάθε. Gaisford adds αὐτὸς on the authority of S and V.

<sup>98</sup> εἰ . . . τύχοιμι. The manuscripts S and V have ἦν . . . τύχω.

<sup>99</sup> οὐ μαίνομαι τε. I have adopted this reading from the single manuscript S. The words οὐ μαίνομαι are to be regarded as a single verb nearly equivalent to ὀργίζω, and the particles τε—τε couple together the clauses ἔγωγε οὐ μαίνομαι and Πέρσαι παραφρονέουσι. Translate: “Prexaspea, that I for my part am no madman and that the Persians are drivellers, here you have proof; and now tell me,” &c., &c.

<sup>100</sup> ἐπίσκοπα, “to the mark.”

<sup>101</sup> αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν οὕτω ἂν καλῶς βαλέειν. This expression is an allusion to the mode in which Ormuzd was represented by the Persians, as an *archer*, by a figure which appears in the Behistun Inscriptions, and which is identical with one found on many of the Nineveh marbles. This belongs to a mythological cycle essentially different from the one described in i. 131. See the note 460 on i. 132. It is curiously illustrative of the manner in which the ancients identified strange gods with their own analogous deities, that SENECA, describing this incident, quotes the answer of Prexaspea thus: “Negavit

Apollinem potuisse certius dimittere.” (*De ira*, iii. 14.)

<sup>102</sup> Περσέων. The words ὁμοῖα (or *homolous* or *homolous*) τοῖσι πρώτοις come after Περσέων in all the MSS, and so they are printed by Gaisford. The explanations of none of the commentators are to me satisfactory if ὁμοῖα be taken, which can certainly not be a correction from either of the other readings; but the slight transposition renders the sentence easy. “These atrocities he then committed, and at another time what matched the first;—twelve Persians, convicted of no sufficient offence, did he bury alive head downwards.”

<sup>103</sup> ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν κατέρυξε. There are unfortunately no means of ascertaining the spirit in which Cambyes committed this outrage. Some may be disposed to combine the circumstance with what is related of *Amestris* (vii. 114), and to regard it as a confirmation of the assertion that ‘burial alive was a Persian practice.’ But if Cambyes acted here in the spirit of Amestris, one would hardly expect the words ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν, the action expressed by which seems to indicate contempt. Moreover Cambyes is throughout represented as a sort of Mezentius, a despiser of the gods as well as a cruel tyrant. This was

Ταῦτα δέ μιν ποιῶντα ἐδικαίωσε Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς νουθετῆσαι 36  
 τοῖσιν τοῖσι ἔπеси "ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ πάντα ἡλικίῃ καὶ θυμῷ Intention to  
 ἐπίτρεπε, ἀλλ' ἴσχε καὶ καταλάμβανε σεωντόν. ἀγαθόν τι, πρό kill Croesus.  
 νοον εἶναι σοφὸν δὲ ἢ προμηθίῃ. σὺ δὲ κτείνεις μὲν ἄνδρας  
 σεωντοῦ πολίτας<sup>104</sup>, ἐπ' οὐδεμῇ αἰτίῃ ἀξιοχρεῶ ἑλὼν κτείνεις δὲ  
 παῖδας. ἦν δὲ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ποιήεις, ὅρα ὅπως μὴ σευ ἀποστή-  
 σονται Πέρσαι. ἐμοὶ δὲ πατήρ σὸς Κύρος ἐνετέλλετο πολλὰ  
 κελεύων σὲ νουθετεῖν, καὶ ὑποτίθεσθαι ὅ τι ἂν εὐρίσκῃς ἀγαθόν."  
 ὁ μὲν δὴ εὖνοιαν φαίμων συνεβούλευέ οἱ ταῦτα· ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο  
 τοῖσδε "σὺ καὶ ἐμοὶ τολμᾷς συμβουλεύειν, ὃς χρηστῶς μὲν τὴν  
 σεωντοῦ πατρίδα ἐπετρόπευσας<sup>105</sup>, εὖ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἐμῷ συν-  
 εβούλευσας, κελεύων αὐτὸν Ἀράξῃα ποταμὸν διαβάντα ἵκναι ἐπὶ  
 Μασσαγέτας, βουλομένων ἐκείνων διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν ;  
 καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν σεωντὸν ὤλεσας τῆς σεωντοῦ πατρίδος κακῶς προ-  
 στάς· ἀπὸ δὲ ὤλεσας Κύρον, πειθόμενόν σοι· ἀλλ' οὐ τι χαίρων  
 ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ πάλας ἐς σὲ προφάσιός τευ ἐδέομην ἐπιλαβέσθαι."  
 ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας ἐλάμβανε τὸ τόξον ὥς κατατοξεύσων αὐτόν·  
 Κροῖσος δὲ ἀναδραμὼν ἔθεε ἔξω· ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε τοξεύσαι οὐκ εἶχε,  
 ἐνετεῖλετο τοῖσι θεράπουσιν λαβόντας μιν ἀποκτείνειν· οἱ δὲ θερά-  
 ποντες ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ, κατακρίπτουσι τὸν Κροῖσον  
 ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ, ὥστε εἰ μὲν μεταμελήσει τῷ Καμβύσῃ καὶ ἐπι-

only a natural view in Egypt, for the early Persians were, like the Mussulmans, thorough iconoclasts and intolerant of all religions but their own. It seems not impossible that the punishment spoken of in the text may have been a summary one inflicted by the passionate king upon certain individuals whom he had detected in the worship of *the buried Osiris*, so prevalent in Egypt;—he sent them, as it were, to *search* for the object of their devotion, as the Thracians used to send a messenger to Zalmoxis (iv. 94). ARISTOPHANES, in a somewhat similar manner, brings before the Athenian public in a ridiculous attitude those philosophers whom he chooses to describe as prying into the bowels of the earth.

ΣΤΡΕΨΙΑΔΗΣ, τί γὰρ εἶδε δρῶσιν οἱ σφόδρ' ἐγκεκυφότες ;  
 ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ, οἷτοι δ' ἐρεβοδιφῶσιν ὑπὲρ τὸν Τάρταρον. (Nuβ. 191.)

<sup>104</sup> ἄνδρας σεωντοῦ πολίτας. This phrase bespeaks the Hellenic origin of

this moral essay of Croesus's. Such an idea as it rests upon is entirely alien to Asiatic modes of thought. See the notes 113 and 126 on i. 32. and i. 37.

<sup>105</sup> ἐπετρόπευσας. This word properly implies a deputed government. Camby-ses seems to treat Croesus as if he had been even in his best days merely the satrap of some foreign sovereign. But it can hardly be supposed that this expression is dramatically used, as if arising out of the overweening insolence of the monarch. Darius uses it, with equal impropriety (below, § 82), where no such explanation is possible. It would rather seem that both here and in the other passage the narrative is one which has come to Herodotus through a Hellenic channel. And as the only oriental governors known personally to the Greeks were *viceroy*s, possibly the term ἐπιτροπεύειν applied to such became in common parlance equivalent to ἀρχεῖν. See the use of the word ἐπιτρόπους in § 27, above.

ζητήσῃ τὸν Κροῖσον, οἱ δὲ ἐκφύναυτες αὐτὸν δῶρα λάμβνουνται  
ζωάγρια Κροίσου ἦν δὲ μὴ μεταμελῆται μηδὲ ποθῇ μιν, τότε  
καταχρήσθαι· ἐπόθησέ τε δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης τὸν Κροῖσον οὐ πολλῶ  
μετέπειτα χρόνῳ ὕστερον, καὶ οἱ θεράποντες μαθόντες τοῦτο,  
ἐπήγγελλον αὐτῷ ὡς περιέηγ Καμβύσης δὲ Κροίσῳ μὲν συν-  
ῆδασθαι ἔφη περιέοντι· ἐκείνους μέντοι τοὺς περιποιήσαντας οὐ  
καταπροΐξεσθαι<sup>106</sup>, ἀλλ' ἀποκτενέειν καὶ ἐποίησε ταῦτα.

37 Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους  
ἐξεμαίνετο, μένων ἐν Μέμφι<sup>107</sup> καὶ θήκας τε παλαιὰς ἀνοήγων καὶ  
σκεπτόμενος τοὺς νεκροὺς<sup>108</sup>. ἐς δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρὸν  
ἦλθε<sup>109</sup>, καὶ πολλὰ τῷ ἀγάλματι κατεγέλασε (ἔστι δὲ<sup>110</sup> τοῦ Ἡφαί-  
στου τῶγαλμα τοῖσι Φοινικητοῖσι Παταῖκοις<sup>111</sup> ἐμπεφύεσθαι, τοὺς

Other atrocities of  
Cambyses during his  
sojourn at  
Memphis,  
insulting

<sup>106</sup> οὐ καταπροΐξεσθαι. This phrase appears to have been a colloquial one at Athens. It is used several times by ARISTOPHANES, and always in an oath. Thus *Theophrast.* 566: οὐ τοι μὰ τὰ θεὰ σὺ καταπροΐξει λέγουσα ταυτί. The origin of the expression is to be sought in the use of *προΐκα* as an euphemism for ἀζημίως. Translate: "not however that those who saved him should do their work for nothing." See v. 105, ἐδ εἰδότες ὡς οὐτοί γε οὐ καταπροΐζονται ἀποστάτες, "well knowing that these at any rate would not fail to get something by having revolted." Of course the euphemistic expression becomes in such cases a bitter irony.

<sup>107</sup> μένων ἐν Μέμφι. These words show that in the Egyptian accounts all the atrocities of Cambyses were represented as consequent upon his violation of Apis, which itself followed his return from the unsuccessful expedition to Ethiopia. It seems scarcely possible to doubt that they rest upon the local traditions of Memphis, and especially of the Hephæsteum there, the priests of which were fearfully oppressed by him and all their superstitions insulted. If so, it is not surprising that the account should confine itself to the atrocities and the punishment which followed them, and should pass over all the particulars of Cambyses's movements not connected with these. Accordingly, on the next notice of Cambyses, he appears to be at Agbatana in Syria (§ 62), where he dies about twenty days after his arrival, and after receiving the first intelligence of the revolt of the Pseudo-Smerdis.

<sup>108</sup> σκεπτόμενος τοὺς νεκροὺς. A simi-

lar outrage is recorded on the part of Darius (or, according to Ctesias, of Xerxes) at Babylon. See i. 187, and the note 631 there.

<sup>109</sup> ἐς δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρὸν ἦλθε. See the note 6 on i. 1.

<sup>110</sup> ἔστι δὲ. Gaisford and the MSS have *ἔστι γάρ*. But the two particles are continually interchanged by transcribers. See Pearson on *Eurip. Orest.* 779. 815, *Phæn.* 205, and above all on *Med.* 34.

<sup>111</sup> Παταῖκοις. This name is applied to those Phœnician idols which, when transplanted to Imbros, Lemnos, and Samothrace, went by the name of *Cabiri*, and which are probably identical with the earliest form of the *Dioscuri*; perhaps also with the Etruscan *Lares* and the Latin *Penates*. In those countries in which the connexion with Phœnicia remained most undisturbed, they appear in the historical times most distinctly connected with the arts of metallurgy and the worship of Hephæstus; but it seems doubtful whether this does not arise from the circumstance that in those places these arts had acquired a decided predominance. (See note 130 on ii. 44.) If it were certain to what family of languages the word Παταῖκος belonged, so that a guess might be formed as to its signification, much light might be thrown upon the subject. I should be inclined to believe that the name was not that given by the Phœnicians themselves to the idols, but by those persons who had commercial intercourse with them; or that if the word is Phœnician, it is an *epithet* of the tutelary deity Melec or Baal, not an actual name. If it be the term applied to the Phœnician

οἱ Φοίνικες ἐν τῇσι πρῶρῃσι τῶν τριήρων περιάγουσι· ὃς δὲ τοίτους the religion of the country.  
μὴ ὀπώπες, ἐγὼ δὲ οἱ σημαῖων πυγμαίου ἀνδρὸς μῆμησις ἔστι.)

ἔσῃλθε δὲ καὶ ἐς τῶν Καβείρων τὸ ἱρὸν, ἐς τὸ οὐ θεμιτὸν ἔστι  
ἔσιέναι ἄλλον γε ἢ τὸν ἱεραῖ· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἐνέπρησε,  
πολλὰ κατασκώψας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁμοία τοῦ Ἡφαίστου  
τούτου δὲ σφεας παῖδας λέγουσι εἶναι. Πανταχῇ ὧν μοι δηλὰ 38  
ἔστι ὅτι ἐμάνη μεγάλως ὁ Καμβύσης· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἱροῖσί τε καὶ  
νομαίοισι ἐπεχέλησε καταγελᾶν· εἰ γὰρ τις προβεῖη πᾶσι ἀνθρώ-  
ποισι ἐκλέξασθαι κελεύων νόμους τοὺς καλλίστους ἐκ τῶν πάντων  
νόμων, διασκεψάμενοι ἂν ἐλοίατο ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἐωυτῶν οὕτω νομί-  
ζουσι πολὺ τι καλλίστους τοὺς ἐωυτῶν νόμους ἕκαστοι εἶναι· οὐκ ἔστι  
οἰκὸς ἔστι ἄλλον γε δὴ ἢ μαινόμενον ἄνδρα γέλωτα τὰ τοιαῦτα  
τίθεσθαι. ὥς δὲ οὕτω νενομίκασι τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους οἱ πάντες  
ἄνθρωποι, πολλοῖσί τε καὶ ἄλλοισι τεκμηρίοισι πάρεστι σταθμώ-  
σασθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε Δαρεῖος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἀρχῆς καλέσας  
Ἑλλήνων τοὺς παρεόντας εἶρετο ἐπὶ κόσμῳ ἂν χρήματι βουλοίατο  
τοὺς πατέρας ἀποθνήσκοντας κατασιτέεσθαι; οἱ δὲ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ  
ἔφασαν ἔρδειν ἂν τοῦτο· Δαρεῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καλέσας  
Ἰνδῶν τοὺς καλεομένους Καλλατίας, οἱ τοὺς γονέας κατεσθί-  
ουσι <sup>112</sup>, εἶρετο, παρεόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ δι' ἐρμηνέος μαυθα-  
ρόντων τὰ λεγόμενα, ἐπὶ τίνι χρήματι δεξαίατ' ἂν τελευτέοντας  
τοὺς πατέρας κατακαλεῖν πυρί; οἱ δὲ ἀμβώσαντες μέγα εὐφημέειν  
μιν ἐκέλευον. οὕτω μὲν νυν ταῦτα νενόμισται καὶ ὀρθῶς μοι  
δοκεῖ Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι <sup>113</sup>, ΝΟΜΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ  
φήσας εἶναι.

The tena-  
city with  
which all  
nations hold  
to their  
religious  
tenets was  
shown by  
Darius.

Καμβύσει δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατευομένον <sup>114</sup>, ἐποίησαντο καὶ 39

deities by the Hellenes who came into contact with them, it probably has the same etymology with the *Pata*, which entered into the Scythian name of the Amazons. (See iv. 110.) In this case the term Παναῖκοι would be equivalent to λαπέρσαι (slayers of the host), an actual name of the Dioscuri (DIDYMUS, *ap. Hesychium* v. λαρ.) and a most appropriate title for gods who went forth to war with the armies of their worshippers. It will be observed that Herodotus speaks of these figures as appearing on the prows of the Phœnician *triremes*, not of their *merchant ships*.

<sup>112</sup> οἱ τοὺς γονέας κατεσθίουσι. See

note on § 99 below, καλέονται δὲ Παδαῖοι.

<sup>113</sup> ὀρθῶς μοι δοκεῖ Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι. This passage is quoted by PLATO (*Gorgias*, p. 484), where by the use the speaker makes of it and its context, *ἄγει βίαιως τὸ δικαῖο* *ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν*, it would seem that the poet used the word as equivalent to τὸ νομιζόμενον,—positive law in direct opposition to natural law.

<sup>114</sup> Καμβύσει ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατευομένου. The thread of the narrative relative to Cambyses is resumed in § 61. In what intervenes there is nothing to fix the chronology of the events the author describes except the account relative to the auxiliaries having been despatched by

Expedition of the Lacedaemonians against Polycrates of Samos, who after becoming tyrant made an alliance with Amasis.

Among other great successes he conquers the Lesbians, and makes the prison-

40 ers dig a ditch round the fortifications of Samos. Advice of Amasis to him,

Λακεδαιμόνιοι στρατηγὴν ἐπὶ Σάμῳ τε καὶ Πολυκράτεια τὸν Αἰά-  
κεος, ὃς ἔσχε Σάμον ἐπαναστάς<sup>115</sup>. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρότα τριχῇ δασά-  
μενος τὴν πόλιν τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι Πανταγνώτῳ καὶ Σύνλοσῳντι  
ἐνειμε· μετὰ δὲ, τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας τὸν δὲ νεώτερον Συλο-  
σῶντα ἐξελάσας ἔσχε πᾶσαν τὴν Σάμον, ἴσχεον δὲ, ξεινήτην  
Ἀμάσι τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῖ συνεθήκατο, πέμπων τε δῶρα καὶ  
δεκόμενος ἄλλα παρ' ἐκείνου. ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὀλίγῳ αὐτίκα τοῦ  
Πολυκράτους τὰ πρήγματα αὖξεται, καὶ ἦν βεβωμένα ἀνά τε τὴν  
Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα· ὅκου γὰρ ἰθύσει στρατεύεσθαι  
πάντα οἱ ἔχοντες εὐτυχέως ἐκτητο δὲ πεντηκοντέρους τε ἑκατὸν<sup>116</sup>  
καὶ χιλίους τοξότας<sup>117</sup>. ἔφερε δὲ καὶ ἤγε πάντας, διακρίνων οὐ-  
δένα· τῷ γὰρ φίλῳ ἔφη χαριεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἀποδοῦναι τὰ ἔλαβε ἢ  
ἀρχὴν μηδὲ λαβῶν. συχνὰς μὲν δὴ τῶν νήσεων αἰρήκεε πολλὰ δὲ  
καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἄσπετα, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Λεσβίου πανστρατιῇ βοη-  
θούντας Μιλησίοισι ναυμαχίῃ κρατήσας εἶλε οἱ τὴν τάφρον περὶ  
τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Σάμῳ πᾶσαν δεδεμένοι ὥρυξαν. Καί κως τὸν  
Ἀμασιν εὐτυχέων μεγάλως ὁ Πολυκράτης οὐκ ἐλάνθανε, ἀλλὰ οἱ  
τοῦτ' ἦν ἐπιμελές· πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι πλεονός οἱ εὐτυχίης γινομένης,  
γράφας ἐς βιβλίον τάδε ἐπέστειλε ἐς Σάμον· "Ἀμασις Πολυ-  
κράτει ὧδε λέγει<sup>118</sup>. ἦδὺ μὲν πυνθάνεσθαι ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ ξεῖνον  
εὐ πρήσσοντα, ἐμοὶ δὲ αἱ σοὶ μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι τὸ  
θεῖον ἐπισταμένῳ ὥς ἔστι φθονερόν<sup>119</sup>. καὶ κως βούλομαι—καὶ

Polycrates to the aid of Cambyses (§ 44). The account of the fate of Polycrates is united with the narrative of the Persian monarchy by the disaster of Orontes, below, §§ 121—128.

<sup>115</sup> ὃς ἔσχε Σάμον ἐπαναστάς. According to some accounts, with a force of only 15 hoplites to back him. (See below, § 120.)

<sup>116</sup> πεντηκοντέρους τε ἑκατόν. See notes on § 44 and § 45.

<sup>117</sup> χιλίους τοξότας. Apparently these were independent of his mercenaries, as a little further on (§ 45) the author speaks of the numbers of the τοξόται οἰκῆται. It seems very probable that one of the measures by which Polycrates acquired his power was (just as in the case of Pisistratus, see note 194 on i. 59), the organizing the commons as a new military arm. See note 115, above.

<sup>118</sup> Ἀμασις Πολυκράτει ὧδε λέγει. This simple style of address recurs in the de-

spatch of Orontes, below, § 122: Ὀροῖτης Πολυκράτει ὧδε λέγει. viii. 140: Μαρδόνιος τάδε λέγει. Its genuine oriental character is shown by the parallel form used by Rabshakeh (2 Kings xviii. 19 and 29). But the historical authority of the letter here is quite another matter. In point of sentiment it runs exactly parallel to the speech of Solon, i. 32.

<sup>119</sup> τὸ θεῖον ἐπισταμένῳ ὥς ἔστι φθονερόν. The notion of the envy of the deity appears in several passages of Herodotus, but is perhaps most fully developed in the mouth of Artabanus (vii. 10 and 46). It is apparently an idea of Asiatic origin, suggested by the despotic forms of government which universally prevailed in that part of the world. A large portion of the propitiatory sacrifices of the ancients rested upon this feeling. (See note 676 on i. 199.) In the time of Herodotus it had become grafted on to an idea nearly akin to it, but of Achæan origin,—that of

αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν ἂν κήδωμαι—τὸ μὲν τι εὐτυχεῖν τῶν πρηγμάτων  
 τὸ δὲ προσπταίειν, ἐναλλάξ πρήσσων καὶ οὕτω διαφέρειν τὸν  
 αἰῶνα ἢ εὐτυχεῖν<sup>120</sup> τὰ πάντα· οὐδένα γὰρ κω λόγῳ οἶδα ἀκούσας,  
 ὅστις ἐς τέλος οὐ κακῶς ἐτελεύτησε πρόρραξος εὐτυχεῶν τὰ πάντα.  
 σὺ δὲ νῦν ἐμοὶ πειθόμενος ποιήσον πρὸς τὰς εὐτυχίας τοιάδε  
 φροντίδας τὸ ἂν εὖρης ἐόν τοι πλείστου ἀξίον καὶ ἐπ' ᾧ σὺ ἀπολο-  
 μένῳ μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλγήσεις, τοῦτο ἀπόβαλε οὕτω ὅπως  
 μηκέτι ἤξει ἐς ἀνθρώπους· ἦν τε μὴ ἐναλλάξ ἤδη τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου αἰ-  
 εὐτυχίαι τοι ταῖσι πάθασι προσπίπτωσι, τρόπῳ τῷ ἐξ ἐμεῦ ὑπο-  
 κειμένῳ ἀκέο<sup>121</sup>.” Ταῦτα ἐπιλεξάμενος ὁ Πολυκράτης καὶ νόφ 41  
 λαβὼν ὡς οἱ εὐ ὑπετίθετο "Δμασις, ἐδίζητο ἐπ' ᾧ ἂν μάλιστα τὴν  
 ψυχὴν ἀσθηεῖν ἀπολομένην τῶν κειμηλίων διζήμενος ὃ εὗρισκε  
 τόδε· ἦν οἱ σφρηγὶς τὴν ἐφόρει χρυσόδετος σμαράγδου μὲν λίθου  
 ἐούσα· ἔργον δὲ ἦν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τηλεκλέος<sup>122</sup> Σαμίου ἐπεὶ ὦν

which he  
 takes, and  
 casts a very  
 precious  
 ring into  
 the sea.

the divine *νέμεσις*, or wrath of the gods called forth by the commission of a crime. This was conceived as exerting itself mainly by the agency of the criminal himself. His mind became deluded, and he entered upon a perverse course of action which sooner or later ended in his ruin. ÆSCHYLUS expresses the links in the chain of necessity by the words he puts into the mouth of the *Shade of Darius* (*Pers.* 821):

ἔθρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦς' ἐκάρπωσε στάχυν  
 ἔτης, δδεν πάγκλαυτον ἐξαμῇ θέρος.

Of human criminality there were two great divisions;—acts injurious to the deity either of a positive character, as arrogance, or of a negative, as the neglect of the public worship,—and acts injurious to men *if of the same state*. The sense of wrong arising from these in the injured party was regarded as acquiring a distinct personal existence, and becoming a *νέμεσις* or *ἐρινὸς*, an avenging deity,—an *ἀδραστεία* or *μοῖρα* as being absolutely inevitable,—a *ποιῶν* as being stirred to action by an injury previously inflicted,—an *ἔτη* as operating through the infatuation of the criminal.

<sup>120</sup> *εὐτυχεῖν*. Several MSS have *εὐ-  
 τυχεῶν*, which looks like an arbitrary  
 correction to produce a correspondence  
 with the clause *ἐναλλάξ πρήσσων*. But  
 even then the sentence will not run on all-  
 fours without some change. I apprehend  
 that the words *ἐναλλάξ πρήσσων* have  
 slipped out of their proper place; and by put-

ting them before *καὶ οὕτω διαφέρειν τὸν  
 αἰῶνα* (which they follow in Gaisford and  
 all the MSS), a regular construction will  
 result. Translate: "And I may say I  
 wish—both for myself and my connexions  
 —to speed here and to fail there in my  
 doings, with chequered fortune; and (I  
 hold) that so one's life is better than that  
 one should have luck in every thing."  
 There is no ellipse before ἢ *εὐτυχεῖν*, but  
*διαφέρειν*, which is equivalent to *βελτιοῦνα  
 εἶναι*, is employed in the regimen of these  
 words. The infinitive *διαφέρειν* again de-  
 pends on the *sense νομίζω*, which is implied  
 in the word *βούλομαι*.

<sup>121</sup> *ἀκέο*. See note 314 on i. 90.

<sup>122</sup> τοῦ Τηλεκλέος. S and V have Τιμε-  
 κλέος and Τημακλέος severally. PAUSANIAS  
 (viii. 14. 8) must have found the  
 reading Τηλεκλέος, for it is from the com-  
 bination of this passage with i. 51 (where  
 see the note 160), that he asserts the iden-  
 tity of "Theodorus the Samian," the al-  
 leged inventor of bronze-casting, with the  
 artist here spoken of. A further assumption  
 on the part of Pausanias is, that Theodorus  
 here spoken of was the "engraver" of the  
 signet. But the words of Herodotus are  
 compatible with the view that he was the  
 "setter" of the emerald stone in a gold  
 ring,—an operation more analogous to  
 metallurgy than the engraving of a  
 design would be. Nevertheless, it should  
 be remembered that the ring (whether  
 regarded as curious from its setting or  
 for its engraving) is not spoken of as



ταύτην οἱ ἐδόκεε ἀποβαλλέειν, ἐποίησε τοιάδε πεντηκόντερον<sup>123</sup> πληρώσας ἀνδρῶν ἐσέβη ἐς αὐτήν μετὰ δὲ ἀναγαγεῖν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος· ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου ἐκὰς ἐγένετο, περιμελόμενος τὴν σφρηγίδα πάντων ὁρέοντων τῶν συμπλόων ρίπτει ἐς τὸ πέλαγος· τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἀπέπλεε, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς

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A few days afterwards, a fish is brought to him as a present, and the ring is found in its maw.

τὰ οἰκία συμφορῇ ἐχρήτο. Πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἑκτη ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τούτων τάδε οἱ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ ἁλιεὺς λαβὼν ἰχθύν μέγαν τε καὶ καλόν, ἧξιον μιν Πολυκράτει δῶρον δοθῆναι· φέρων δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας Πολυκράτει ἔφη ἐθέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς ὕψιν χωρήσαντος δὲ οἱ τοῦτου, ἔλεγε διδούς τὸν ἰχθύν· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ τόνδε ἐλὼν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσα φέρειν ἐς ἀγορὴν, καί περ γε ἔων ἀποχειροβίωτος· ἀλλὰ μοι ἐδόκεε σεῦ τε εἶναι ἄξιος καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς· σοὶ δὲ μιν φέρων δίδωμι.” ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς τοῖσι ἔπεσι ἀμείβεται τοῖσδε· “κάρτα τε εὖ ἐποίησας καὶ χάρις διπλή τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ δώρου· καὶ σε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέομεν<sup>124</sup>.” ὁ μὲν δὲ ἁλιεὺς μέγα ποιούμενος ταῦτα ἦιε ἐς τὰ οἰκία· τὸν δὲ ἰχθύν τὰ μνοντες οἱ θεράποντες εὐρίσκουσι ἐν τῇ νηδύϊ αὐτοῦ ἐνεοῦσαν τὴν Πολυκράτεος σφρηγίδα· ὡς δὲ εἶδόν τε καὶ ἔλαβον τάχιστα, ἔφερον κεχαρηκότες παρὰ τὸν Πολυκράτεια, δίδόντες δὲ οἱ τὴν σφρηγίδα ἔλεγον ὅτεφ τρόπῳ εὐρέθη· τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐσῆλθε θεῖον εἶναι τὸ πρῆγμα, γράφει ἐς βιβλίον πάντα τὰ ποιήσαντά μιν οἷα

43

καταλελαβήκεε, γράψας δὲ, ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐπέθηκε<sup>125</sup>. Ἐπιλεξά-

actually existing any where. It is a mere feature in a story, the object of which is to illustrate the inevitable character of Destiny; and therefore its compatibility with what is known of the history of the Arts must be of secondary importance. See note 104 on i. 30.

<sup>123</sup> πεντηκόντερον. See note 131, below.

<sup>124</sup> καὶ σε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέομεν. This invitation from a prince to a man who lived by the work of his hands is at first sight remarkable. It is probably not to be accounted for on the same principle as a similar proceeding occurring in the east would be, where the arbitrary favour of the sovereign is the source of all conventional rank, and no sense of incongruity is produced by its falling upon a fisherman or a barber. Neither is it a piece of ultra-democratic equalization, such as might be practised a century later at Athens. The true explanation seems to be that Polycrates, although

a crusher of the power of the aristocratic families, was regarded as the champion of the commonalty. Hence the compliments between him and the fisherman, who was as proud of his prince and the *ἀρχή*, as a Frenchman of Napoleon in the first year of the empire; and for a *τύραννος* under such circumstances nothing could be a more popular act than to invite the donor of the fish to partake of it. He of course went home, *μέγα ποιούμενος ταῦτα*, calling it ‘the proudest moment of his life.’

<sup>125</sup> ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐπέθηκε, “he sent it to Egypt.” The literal meaning would be, “he put on it the address ‘To Egypt,’” and this is probably the origin of the idiom. Compare v. 96, *ἐπιτίθει ἐς Μυτιλήνην*, where perhaps the poem referred to was in the form of a lyrical despatch, of which Melanippus was regarded as the bearer.

μενος δὲ ὁ Ἀμασις τὸ βιβλίον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἦκον, ἄμασε, on hearing of the portent, renounces the alliance of Polycrates.  
 ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐκκομίσαι τε ἀδύνατον εἶη ἀνθρώπῳ ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τοῦ μέλλοντος γίνεσθαι πρήγματος, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εὖ τελευτήσῃν μέλλει Πολυκράτης εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἀποβάλλει εὐρίσκει πέμψας δὲ οἱ κήρυκα ἐς Σάμον διαλύεσθαι ἔφη τὴν ξεινίην. [τοῦ δὴ εἵνεκα ταῦτα ἐποίησε<sup>126</sup>. ἵνα μὴ, συντυχίης δεινῆς τε καὶ μεγάλης Πολυκράτεια καταλαβούσης, αὐτὸς ἀλγήσειε τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς περὶ ξείνου ἀνδρός<sup>127</sup>.]

Ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ ὦν τὸν Πολυκράτεια εὐτυχέοντα τὰ πάντα ἐστρατεύοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπικαλεσαμένων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ<sup>128</sup> κτισάντων Σαμίων. Πολυκράτης δὲ πέμψας<sup>129</sup> παρὰ Καμβύσεια τὸν Κύρου συλλέγοντα στρατὸν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, ἐδεήθη ὅπως ἂν καὶ παρ' ἑωυτὸν πέμψας ἐς Σάμον δέοιτο στρατοῦ Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας τούτων<sup>130</sup> προθύμως ἔπεμψε ἐς Σάμον, δεόμενος Πολυκράτεος στρατὸν ναυτικὸν ἅμα πέμψαι ἑωυτῷ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ὃ δὲ ἐπιλέξας τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς ὑπώπτευε μάλιστα ἐς ἐπανάστασιν, ἀπέπεμπε τεσσαεράκοντα τριήρεσι<sup>131</sup>, ἐντειλάμενος

<sup>126</sup> τοῦ δὴ εἵνεκα ταῦτα ἐποίησε: Gaisford and the MSS have τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκα ταῦτα ἐποίησε.

<sup>127</sup> [τοῦ δὴ εἵνεκα . . . ξείνου ἀνδρός.] I have enclosed these words between brackets, because they appear to me to be an interpolated note, not from the hand of the author, but from that of a grammarian of the time of the Roman empire, when Herodotus (as is clear from the treatise of Dionysius of Halicarnassus) was much read in the schools. The sentiment is one appropriate to Cicero, but not to Amasis, or to any one near his time. The prevailing motive with him would have been to avoid by all means sharing the ruin of a man on whom Destiny had set its mark; and this risk would, according to the feeling of the age, be run by every one connected with him in any solemn relation whatever. There was no formal *ξείνα* without participation in a common sacrifice to a common deity; if, therefore, this deity was bent on the destruction of one of the contracting parties, the renunciation of the contract by the other became an act of self-preservation.

<sup>128</sup> Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ. See note on § 59.

<sup>129</sup> Πολυκράτης δὲ πέμψας. So Gaisford reads with most of the MSS. But

S, V, α, and ε have πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα λῶσθαι Σαμίων Πολυκράτης. Bekker proposes to change δὲ into γάρ. These words are so continually substituted for one another in MSS, that wherever such a change seems required it may be made without scruple. But in this instance there seems a *lacuna* in both classes of MSS.

<sup>130</sup> τούτων. This word seems to indicate that Polycrates notoriously sent *more than one* ambassador. Perhaps the mention of them occurred in the *lacuna* above-mentioned.

<sup>131</sup> ἀπέπεμπε τεσσαεράκοντα τριήρεσι. It is remarkable that this force should be represented as sent off in *triremes*, while, when Polycrates himself embarked to go to Oroetes, it was not in a *trireme*, but in a *penteconter* (§ 124). If it be objected that a smaller vessel was selected for the sake of convenience in this particular expedition and in that described § 41, it may be asked in reply, how in the enumeration of Polycrates's resources (§ 39) comes his fleet to consist not of *triremes*, but of *penteconters*? It is not easy to conceive a more satisfactory explanation than that the incident of the expedition of the Samians to Egypt belongs to a different cycle of traditions from the general for-

45  
 Various accounts are given of their fortunes; but at any rate they invaded Samos, and afterwards sought aid at Lacedaemou.

45 *Καμβύση ὀπίσω τούτους μὴ ἀποπέμπειν. Οἱ μὲν δὲ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας Σαμίων [ὑπὸ Πολυκράτους<sup>133</sup>] οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένοντο ἐν Καρπάθῳ πλέοντες, δοῦναι σφίσι<sup>133</sup> λόγον καὶ σφί ἀδεῖν τὸ προσωτέρω μηκέτι πλέειν οἱ δὲ λέγουσι ἀπικομένους τε ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ φυλασσομένους, ἐνθεύτην αὐτοὺς ἀποδρῆναι· καταπλέουσι δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμον Πολυκράτης νηυσὶ ἀντιάσας ἐς μάχην κατέστη<sup>134</sup>. κηῆσαντες δὲ οἱ κατιόντες ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὴν νῆσον πεζομαχήσαντες δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐσώθησαν καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἔπλεον ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. (εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου κηῆσαι Πολυκράτεια, λέγοντες, ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔδεε σφέας Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπικαλέεσθαι, εἴπερ αὐτοὶ ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν Πολυκράτεια παραστήσασθαι<sup>135</sup>. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, οὐδὲ λόγος αἰρέει, τῷ ἐπικούρῳ τε μισθωτοὶ καὶ τοξόται οἰκῆιοι ἦσαν πλήθει πολλοὶ τούτων ὑπὸ τῶν κατιόντων Σαμίων, ἐόντων ὀλέγων<sup>136</sup>, ἐσσωθῆναι.) τῶν δὲ ὑπ' ἐαυτῶ ἐόντων ποληητέων τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὁ Πολυκράτης ἐς τοὺς νεωσοίκους συνεκλήσας, εἶχε ἐτοίμους, ἦν ἄρα προδιδῶσι αὐτοὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατιόντας, ὑποπρῆσαι αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι νεωσοίκοις.*

46  
 Anecdote of the Samians illustrating Spartan taciturnity.

46 Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οἱ ἐξελασθέντες Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτους ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην, καταστάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἔλεγον πολλὰ, οἷα κάρτα δεόμενοι· οἱ δὲ σφί τῇ πρώτῃ καταστάσει ὑπεκρίναντο, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα λεχθέντα ἐπιλεληθῆναι τὰ δὲ ὕστερα οὐ συνιέναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, δεύτερα καταστάντες ἄλλο μὲν εἶπον οὐδὲν, θύλα-

tunes of Polycrates. See also note 136, below.

<sup>133</sup> [ὕπὸ Πολυκράτους.] These words are omitted in four MSS.

<sup>133</sup> σφίσι. Gaisford reads σφί. Matthiae lays it down that in Herodotus this distinction exists between σφίσι and σφί, that the former is equivalent to *sibi*, the latter to *illis* (or *eis*). According to Matthiae, the manuscript S reads σφίσι here.

<sup>134</sup> καταπλέουσι δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμον Πολυκράτης . . . κατέστη. The transition from the oblique to the direct form is not to be passed over without observation. Whether the detachment arrived in Egypt or not was a matter of uncertainty; some gave one account of the matter and some another, but all agreed that there was a debarkation on the island Samos and a battle, which was followed by a retreat of Polycrates's enemies to Lacedaemon.

<sup>135</sup> παραστήσασθαι. For the use of *παρίστημι* see the note 41, above, and § 155, below. The middle voice, which is commonly used, has nearly, but not exactly, the force of *παραστήσαι ποιῆσαι*, just as *παῖδα διδάσκειν* means 'to bring about the teaching of one's child.' Translate: "if they were strong enough to bring Polycrates to terms."

<sup>136</sup> ἐόντων ὀλέγων. This expression seems strange; for if the complement of the triremes be taken at 200, the number of the invaders would be 8000, a formidable force as against the resources of Polycrates, such as they are described § 39. It is possible that the numbers in that passage are corrupt, or that those of the triremes (§ 44) are so. But it is also possible that an entirely different solution of the difficulty is to be sought. See the note 131, above.

κον δὲ φέροντες ἔφασαν τὸν θύλακον ἀλφίτων δέεσθαι· οἱ δὲ σφι ὑπεκρίναντο τῷ θυλάκῳ περιεργάσθαι<sup>137</sup>. βοηθέειν δ' ὧν ἔδοξε αὐτοῖσι. Καὶ ἔπειτα παρασκευασάμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ Σάμιον ὥς μὲν Σάμιοι λέγουσι εὐεργεσίας ἐκτίνοντες, ὅτι σφι πρότεροι αὐτοὶ νηυσὶ ἐβοήθησαν ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους<sup>138</sup>. ὥς δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, οὐκ οὕτω τιμωρῆσαι δεόμενοισι Σαμίοις ἐστρατεύοντο, ὥς τίσασθαι βουλόμενοι τοῦ κρητήρος τῆς ἀρπαγῆς τὸν ἦγον Κροίσῳ, καὶ τοῦ θώρηκος τὸν αὐτοῖσι Ἀμασις ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἐπέμψε δῶρον<sup>139</sup>. καὶ γὰρ θώρηκα ἐληΐσαντο τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει ἢ τὸν κρητήρα<sup>140</sup> οἱ Σάμιοι, ἔοντα μὲν λίνεον καὶ ζῶων ἐνυφασμένων συγχρῶν, κεκοσμημένον δὲ χρυσῷ καὶ εἰρίοις ἀπὸ ξύλου. τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα θαυμάσαι ἄξιον ἀρπεδόνῃ ἐκάστη τοῦ θώρηκος ποιέει· ἐοῦσα γὰρ λεπτή, ἔχει ἀρπεδόνας ἐν ἑωυτῇ τριηκοσίας καὶ ἐξήκοντα πάσας φανερὰς. τοιοῦτος ἑτερός ἐστι καὶ τὸν ἐν Δίνδῳ ἀνέθηκε τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ Ἀμασις.

47

The Lacedæmonians give a different reason for their expedition against Samos.

<sup>137</sup> τῷ θυλάκῳ περιεργάσθαι. The force of this reply will be better seen by putting the observation of the Samians into the direct construction. They having been censured for their long speech on the first audience, determined on the second to outdo the Spartans in brevity, and accordingly, as a trial of skill, held up an empty wallet and said: ὁ θύλακος ἀλφίτων δέεται, on which the others remarked that they had done more than was necessary in using the words ὁ θύλακος, i. e. that the gesture would have served for a nominative case.

<sup>138</sup> ἐβοήθησαν ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους. This is, I believe, the only passage in the whole of Herodotus's work (with the exception of ix. 25, where the reading is doubtful) in which he makes any allusion to the wars of the Spartans and Messenians. (See note 219 on i. 66.) It was no doubt a very sore subject at Lacedæmon; from which locality a large portion of the history of Herodotus appears to be directly or indirectly derived. It was above all things disagreeable to them to be thought to owe their success to the aid of their neighbours. See the way in which they treated the Athenian contingent (THUCYDIDES i. 102). The Athenians on the other hand were delighted to exaggerate the obligations under which they had laid Sparta in this matter. ARISTOPHANES coolly speaks of Cimon having saved the very existence of the state. (*Leucistrata*, 1137—1144):

ἐγ', ὁ Λάκωνες, πρὸς γὰρ ὁμᾶς τρέφομαι, οὐκ ἴσθ' ὅτ' ἐλθὼν δεῦρο Περικλείδας ποτὲ ὁ Λάκων Ἀθηναίων ἱκέτης καθέετο ἐπὶ τοῖσι βωμοῖς ἀγρὸς ἐν φουνικίῳ, στρατιὰν προσαιτῶν; ἡ δὲ Μεσσήνη τότε ὑμῶν ἐπέκειτο χῶ θεὸς σείων ἡμᾶ· ἐλθὼν δὲ σὺν ὀπλίταισι τετρακισχιλίοις Κίμων δλην ἔσωσε τὴν Λακεδαίμονα.

CLINTON, after his usual manner, endeavours to reconcile contradictory statements by the hypothesis of more than one expedition (*Fasti Hellenici*, s. 461). It should not be overlooked that the Spartan account of the expedition to Samos avoids even by implication allowing the service of the Samians, by denying that the expedition was undertaken for the purpose of aiding the exiles at all. The part taken by Lacedæmon in the expulsion of the Pisistratids was an equally unpalatable topic at Athens. See note 213 on i. 63, and that on v. 65, παρέστησαν . . . ἐκχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

<sup>139</sup> τὸν αὐτοῖσι Ἀμασις . . . ἐπέμψε δῶρον. This would imply an alliance with the Egyptian king; and it is strange that Herodotus, where he is enumerating the Hellenic connexions of Amasis (ii. 178—182), does not give the least hint of such a thing.

<sup>140</sup> ἢ τὸν κρητήρα. See the description of this bowl above, i. 76. Of the *thoras* PLINY speaks as if each thread was a composite twist of 365 smaller ones (*N. H.* xix. 1). It was celebrated in song as being proof against the blow of a weapon. (*ÆLIAN*, *H. A.* ix. 17.)

48

The Corinthians readily assist in the expedition, from an old quarrel with the Samians, who rescued some children sent by Perianther to the Sardinian slave-market; which rescue is still commemorated by a festival at Samos.

Συνεπελάβοντο δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμον, ὥστε γενέσθαι, καὶ Κορίνθιοι προθύμως<sup>141</sup>. ὕβρισμα γὰρ καὶ ἐς τούτους εἶχε ἐκ τῶν Σαμίων γενόμενον γενεῇ πρότερον τοῦ στρατεύματος τούτου [κατὰ δὴ<sup>142</sup> τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦ κρητήρος τῇ ἀρπαγῇ γεγονός.] Κερκυραίων γὰρ παῖδας τρηκοσίους ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Περιάνδρος ὁ Κυψέλου ἐς Σάρδεις ἀπέπεμψε παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα ἐπ' ἐκτομῇ προσχόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμον τῶν ἀγόντων τοὺς παῖδας Κορινθίων, πυθόμενοι οἱ Σάμοι τὸν λόγον ἐπ' οἷσι ἀγοίατο ἐς Σάρδεις, πρώτα μὲν τοὺς παῖδας ἐδίδαξαν ἱροῦ ἄψασθαι Ἀρτέμιδος<sup>143</sup>, μετὰ δὲ, οὐ περιορέοντες ἀπέλκειν τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ, σιτίων δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἐργόντων Κορινθίων, ἐποίησαντο οἱ Σάμοι ὀρθὴν τῇ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρέωνται κατὰ ταῦτά· νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐπυγνομένης, ὅσον χρόνον ἱκέτευον οἱ παῖδες ἴστασαν χοροὺς παρθένων τε καὶ ἡθέων, ἱστάντες δὲ, τοὺς χοροὺς τρωκτὰ σησάμον τε καὶ μέλιτος ἐποίησαντο νόμον φέρεσθαι, ἵνα ἀρπάζοντες οἱ τῶν Κερκυραίων παῖδες ἔχοιεν τροφήν. ἐς τοῦτο δὲ τότε ἐγίνετο<sup>144</sup>, ἐς δ' οἱ Κορίνθιοι, τῶν παιδῶν οἱ φύλακοι, οἶχοντο ἀπολιπόντες, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἀπήγαγον ἐς Κέρκυραν οἱ Σάμοι. Εἰ μὲν νυν Περιάνδρου τελευτήσαντος τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι φίλα ἦν πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους, οἶδε οὐκ ἂν συνελάβοντο τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμον ταύτης εἵνεκεν τῆς αἰτίας· νῦν δὲ αἰεὶ, ἐπεὶ τε ἔκτισαν τὴν νῆσον, εἰσὶ ἀλλήλοισι διάφοροι ἔοντες ἐωυτοῖσι τούτωνδ' εἶνεκεν

49

Feud between Corinth and Corcyra.

<sup>141</sup> καὶ Κορίνθιοι προθύμως. It seems likely that at this time *Anaxandrides* was king of Sparta, and that the party of which the Herodotean Sosicles (v. 92) is the representative was in the ascendant at Corinth. This party would favour the aristocratic Dorian as opposed to the Achæan blood. See note on v. 75, *Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι σφὶ ἀντοῖσι δόντες λόγον*.

<sup>142</sup> κατὰ δὴ. Two MSS have κατὰ δὲ, and Gaisford follows them. But the sentence appears to be a note by a later hand, and to result from a conjecture founded upon the expression *γενεῇ πρότερον τοῦ στρατεύματος τούτου*. Hence the origin of the word *γεγονός*, which if Gaisford's reading be followed, becomes not merely superfluous after *γενόμενον*, but also inelegant from the causeless change of tense.

<sup>143</sup> Ἀρτέμιδες. The Artemis of Samos appears to have been a goddess identical in character with the one in the *Limnæum* at Sparta, at whose altar boys were

scourged. The temple was called *Ταυροπόλιον*. If the existing MSS of STRABO are to be trusted, it was not in the island Samos itself, but in the little islet Icaria, 80 stades distant (xiv. p. 172). But STRAPHANUS BYZANTINUS (sub v. *Ταυροπόλιον*) appeals to Strabo, and speaks of it as in the island itself. From the circumstance that the *Here* in the great temple bore also the name of *Parthenia* (which indeed was said to be her earliest; see SPANHEIM on *Callimachus, Hymn. Del.* 48), it seems not unlikely that an early Artemis-ritual was taken up into the worship at the Heræum, and that Herodotus is here speaking of some chapel in that building.

<sup>144</sup> ἐς τοῦτο δὲ τότε ἐγίνετο. Most of the MSS have *ei* after *δὲ*, which gives no sense, but appears to be a relic of some various reading, it being impossible to conceive how such a corruption could arise out of the present text.

ἀπεμνησικάκεον τοῖσι Σαρμίοισι οἱ Κορίνθιοι<sup>145</sup>. ἀπέπεμπε δὲ ἐς  
 Σάρδις ἐπ' ἑκτομῇ Περίανδρος τῶν πρώτων Κερκυραίων ἐπιλέξας  
 τοὺς παῖδας, τιμωρεύμενος· πρότεροι γὰρ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἥρξαν ἐς  
 αὐτὸν πρῆγμα ἀτάσθαλον ποιήσαντες. Ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ 50  
 γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν<sup>146</sup> Περίανδρος ἀπέκτεινε, συμφορὴν τοιγύνη οἱ  
 ἄλλην συνέβη πρὸς τῇ γεγονυῖᾳ γενέσθαι ἥσαν οἱ ἐκ Μελίσσης  
 δύο παῖδες, ἡλικίην ὃ μὲν ἑπτακαίδεκα ὃ δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεα  
 γεγονώς· τούτους ὁ μητροπάτωρ Προκλῆς ἔων Ἐπιδαύρου τύραν-  
 νος<sup>147</sup> μεταπεμψάμενος παρ' ἑωυτὸν ἐφιλοφρονέετο, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν  
 θυγατρὸς ἔοντας τῆς ἑωυτοῦ παῖδας· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ σφεας ἀπεπέμπετο,  
 εἶπε προπέμπων αὐτούς· “ἄρα ἴστε, ὦ παῖδες, δς ὑμέων τὴν  
 μητέρα ἀπέκτεινε;” τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὃ μὲν πρεσβύτερος αὐτῶν ἐν  
 οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποίησατο· ὃ δὲ νεώτερος τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λυκόφρων, Bitterness  
 ἤλγησε ἀκούσας οὕτω ὥστε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον αἶτε φονέα of his second  
 τῆς μητρὸς τὸν πατέρα οὔτε προσεῖπε, διαλεγόμενῳ τε οὔτε προσ- son Lycop-  
 διελέγετο ἱστορέοντί τε λόγον οὐδένα ἐδίδου· τέλος δὲ μιν πέρι φaron (the  
 θυμῷ ἐχόμενος ὁ Περίανδρος ἐξελαύνει ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων. Ἐξελάσας 51 wolf-  
 δὲ τοῦτον, ἰστόρειε τὸν πρεσβύτερον τά σφι ὁ μητροπάτωρ διελέχθη· hearted).  
 ὃ δὲ οἱ ἀπηγγέετο ὥς σφεας φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο· ἐκείνου δὲ τοῦ  
 ἔπεος τό σφι ὁ Προκλῆς ἀποστέλλων εἶπε, αἶτε οὐ νόψ λαβὼν, οὐκ  
 ἐμέμνητο· Περίανδρος δὲ οὐδεμίαν μηχανὴν<sup>148</sup> ἔφη εἶναι μὴ οὐ σφι  
 ἐκείνῳ ὑποθέσθαι τι, ἐλπιδάρεε τε ἱστορέων· ὃ δὲ ἀναμνησθεὶς εἶπε  
 καὶ τοῦτο· Περίανδρος δὲ νόψ λαβὼν καὶ τοῦτο καὶ μαλακὸν ἐνδι-  
 δόναι βουλόμενος οὐδὲν<sup>149</sup>, ἧ ὁ ἐξελασθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παῖς δίαταιν

<sup>145</sup> νῦν δὲ αἰεὶ . . . οἱ Κορίνθιοι. The text as it stands is obviously corrupt, but it is not easy to correct it with any thing like certainty. Schaefer and Schweighauser consider that ἀλλήλοισι is a gloss of ἑωυτοῖσι, and simply discard it. But even then the sentence does not run well. I am inclined to think the text an union of two different readings:

νῦν δ' αἰεὶ, ἐπεὶ τε ἔκτισαν τὴν νῆσον { εἰς ἀλλήλοισι διάφοροι· τοῦτων δ' ἕνεκεν } ἀ-  
 μεμνησικάκεον κ.τ.λ.

<sup>146</sup> τὴν ἑωυτοῦ γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν. DIOGENES LAERTIUS (i. 94) gives *Lysida* as the real name of Periander's wife, but says that he himself called her *Melissa*. It may be doubted whether the story of his wife being called by that name did not arise from a misunderstanding of an equivocal phrase (συνεῖναι). See note on v. 92. Diogenes does not give his authority for the above fact, but immediately afterwards he quotes Heraclides Ponticus for the ex-

tent of the sovereignty of Lysida's father Procles.

<sup>147</sup> Ἐπιδαύρου τύραννος. The tomb of *Melissa* at Epidaurus is mentioned by PAUSANIAS (ii. 28. 4). A *Procles*, too, was the leader of the colonists of Samos which came from Epidaurus.

<sup>148</sup> οὐδεμίαν μηχανήν. See the note 698 on i. 209.

<sup>149</sup> μαλακὸν ἐνδιδόναι βουλόμενος οὐδέν. See below, § 106.

and drives  
him from  
place to  
place;

52

relents on  
seeing him  
reduced to  
extremity,

but the son  
does not.

Periander  
sends him  
Corcyra,

ἐποίετο ἐς τούτους πέμπων ἄγγελον, ἀπηγόρευε μὴ μιν δέκεσθαι οἰκίοισι· ὁ δὲ ὅπως ἀπελυνόμενος ἔλθοι ἐς ἄλλην οἰκίην, ἀπελύνει· ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης, (ἀπειλούντός τε τοῦ Περιάνδρου τοῖσι δεξαμένοισι καὶ ἐξέργειν κελεύοντος,) ἀπελυνόμενος δ' ἂν ἦι<sup>150</sup> ἐπ' ἐτέρην τῶν ἐταίρων οἱ δὲ ἅτε Περιάνδρου ἔοντα παῖδα καίπερ δειμαίνοντες ὁμῶς ἐδέκοντο. Τέλος δὲ ὁ Περιάνδρος κήρυγμα ἐποίησατο, ὃς ἂν ἡ οἰκίοισι ὑποδέξηται μιν<sup>151</sup> ἢ προσδιαλεχθῇ, ἱρὴν ζημίην τούτου τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὀφείλειν, ὅσῃν δὴ εἶπας<sup>152</sup>. πρὸς ὧν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα, οὔτε τις οἱ διαλέγεσθαι οὔτε οἰκίοισι δέκεσθαι ἤθελε· πρὸς δὲ, οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐδουλοῦν πειράσθαι ἀπειρημένον, ἀλλὰ διακαρτερέων ἐν τῇσι στοῇσι ἐκαλινδέετο τετάρτη δ' ἡμέρῃ ἰδὼν μιν ὁ Περιάνδρος ἀλουνσίησί τε καὶ ἀσιτήσι συμπεπτωκότα, οἰκτερεῖ ὑπεῖς δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ἦιε ἄσسون καὶ ἔλεγε “ὦ παῖ, κότερα τούτων αἰρετώτερά ἐστι, ταῦτα τὰ νῦν ἔχων πρήσεις, ἢ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ ἀγαθὰ τὰ νῦν ἐγὼ ἔχω, [ταῦτα,] ἔοντα τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιτήδεον παραλαμβάνειν; ὃς ἔων ἐμός τε παῖς καὶ Κορῶθου τῆς εὐδαίμονος βασιλεὺς, ἀλήτην βίον εἴλευ ἀντιστατέων τε καὶ ὀργῇ χρεώμενος ἐς τὸν σε ἡκιστα ἐχρήν· εἰ γὰρ τις συμφορὴ ἐν αὐτοῖσι\* ἐγεγόνεε ἐξ ἧς ὑποψίην ἐς ἐμὲ ἔχεις, ἐμοὶ τε αὕτη γέγονε καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτῆς τὸ πλεῦν μέτοχος εἰμι ὅσῃ αὐτὸς σφε ἐξεργασάμην· σὺ δὲ μαθὼν ὅσῃ φθονέεσθαι κρέσσον ἐστὶ ἢ οἰκτεῖσθαι<sup>153</sup>, ἅμα τε ὁκοῖόν τι ἐς τοὺς τοκέας καὶ ἐς τοὺς κρέσσονας τεθυμῶσθαι, ἀπιθὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκία.” Περιάνδρος μὲν τούτοις αὐτὸν κατελάμβανε· ὁ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἀμείβεται τὸν πατέρα, ἔφη δὲ μιν ἱρὴν ζημίην ὀφείλειν τῷ θεῷ ἑωυτῷ ἐς λόγους ἀπικόμενον· μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Περιάνδρος ὥς ἀπορὸν τι τὸ κακὸν εἶη τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἀνίκητον, ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν μιν ἀποπέμπεται στεῖλας πλοῖον ἐς Κέρ-

<sup>150</sup> ἂν ἦι. See note 338 on ii. 120, and note 406, below.

<sup>151</sup> ὃς ἂν ἡ οἰκίοισι ὑποδέξηται μιν. Dr. Donaldson points out in this and the following section several expressions which he conceives to be distinct imitations of the phraseology of Sophocles. (*Transactions of the London Philological Society*, i. p. 164.) In my opinion the similarity is adequately explained on the principle indicated in note 116 on i. 32.

<sup>152</sup> ὅσῃν δὴ εἶπας, “having specified the amount, whatever it was.” See note 525

on i. 157.

\* αὐτοῖσι. Schweighæuser attempts to defend this reading by showing that αὐτὸς is not uncommonly used for ἑαυτοῦς, and ἑαυτοῦς sometimes in the sense of ἐμαυτός. But such reasoning is very unsatisfactory; and it is more likely that the word is a corruption for οἰκοῖσι, ἐν οἴκοις meaning “in the family.”

<sup>153</sup> ὅσῃ φθονέεσθαι κρέσσον ἐστὶ ἢ οἰκτεῖσθαι. A reference to a proverbial expression κρέσσον γὰρ οἰκτιρῶν φθόνος. (PINDAR, *Pyth.* i. 164.)

κυραν ἐπεκράτεε γὰρ καὶ ταύτης· ἀποστείλας δὲ τοῦτον ὁ Περίας- and making  
 δρος, ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν πενθερὸν Προκλέα ὡς τῶν παρεόντων οἱ  
 πρηγμάτων ἔοντα αἰτιώτατον καὶ εἶλε μὲν τὴν Ἐπίδαιρον, εἶλε  
 δὲ αὐτὸν Προκλέα· [καὶ ἐξώγησε<sup>154</sup>.] Ἐπεὶ δὲ, τοῦ χρόνου προ- 53  
 βαίνοντος, ὃ τε Περίαςδρος παρηβήκεε καὶ συνεγινώσκετο ἐωυτῷ captures  
 οὐκέτι εἶναι δυνατὸς τὰ πρήγματα ἐπορᾶν τε καὶ διέπειν, πέμψας Epidaurus.  
 ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀπεκάλεε τὸν Λυκόφρονα ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα· ἐν  
 γὰρ δὴ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν παίδων οὐκ ἐνέωρα, ἀλλὰ οἱ κατεφαί-  
 νετο εἶναι νωθέστερος· ὃ δὲ Λυκόφρων οὐδὲ ἀνακρίσιος<sup>155</sup> ἤξιωσε  
 τὸν φέροντα τὴν ἀγγελίην. Περίαςδρος δὲ περιεχόμενος τοῦ νεηνίω, Some time  
 δευτέρα ἀπέστειλε ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὴν ἀδελφεὴν ἐωυτοῦ δὲ θυγατέρα, afterwards,  
 δοκέων μιν μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἂν πείθεσθαι ἀπικομένης δὲ ταύτης Periander,  
 καὶ λεγούσης· “ὦ παῖ, βούλει τὴν τε τυραννίδα ἐς ἄλλους πεσέ- after vain  
 ειν καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς διαφορηθέντα<sup>156</sup> μᾶλλον, ἢ αὐτὸς σφε attempts to  
 ἀπελθὼν ἔχειν; ἄπιθι ἐς τὰ οἶκία· παῦσαι σεωντὸν ζημιῶν φιλο- bring Lyco-  
 τιμὴν κτῆμα σκαίον· μὴ τῷ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰδῶ πολλοὶ τῶν δικαίων phron back  
 τὰ ἐπιεικέστερα προτιθέασιν· πολλοὶ δὲ ἤδη τὰ μητρῴα διζήμενοι to Corinth  
 τὰ πατρῴα ἀπέβαλον τυραννὶς χρῆμα σφαλερόν· πολλοὶ δὲ to himself,  
 αὐτῆς ἐρασταὶ εἰσι, ὃ δὲ γέρων τε ἤδη καὶ παρηβηκώς· μὴ δῶς τὰ prepares to  
 σεωντοῦ ἀγαθὰ ἄλλοισιν.” ἢ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπαγωγότατα διδαχθεῖσα exchange  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὃ δὲ ὑποκρινάμενος ἔφη οὐδαμὰ govern-  
 ἤξειν ἐς Κόρινθον ἔστ' ἂν πυνθάνηται περιέοντα τὸν πατέρα· ments; and  
 ἀπαγγειλᾶσης δὲ ταύτης ταῦτα τὸ τρίτον Περίαςδρος κήρυκα the Corcy-  
 πέμπει, βουλόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς Κέρκυραν ἦκειν, ἐκείνους δὲ reans, in  
 ἐκέλευε ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικόμενον διάδοχον γίνεσθαι τῆς τυραννίδος· hopes of  
 καταινέσαντος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῦ παιδός, ὃ μὲν Περίαςδρος ἐστέλ- keeping him  
 λετο ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν ὃ δὲ παῖς οἱ ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον μαθόντες δὲ οἱ away, kill  
 Κερκυραῖοι τούτων ἕκαστα, ἵνα μὴ σφί Περίαςδρος ἐς τὴν χώραν his son.  
 ἀπίκηται κτείνουσι τὸν νεηνίσκον. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν Περίαςδρος  
 Κερκυραῖος ἐτιμωρέετο.

<sup>154</sup> [καὶ ἐξώγησε.] These words appear to me to have crept into the text from the margin, where ἐξώγησε was probably placed, not as a gloss, but as an alternative reading of the second εἶλε.

<sup>155</sup> ἀνακρίσιος. The manuscripts S and V have ἀποκρίσιος, which is adopted by Bekker. No doubt it is the better reading, if the meaning of the text be that the son did not deign even to answer the messenger.

But ἀνακρίσιος would give a very good sense, viz., ‘that the son did not think it worth while to put any question to him,’ i. e. as to the circumstances of the case, in order that he might judge how far it would be necessary for him to have any dealings with his father.

<sup>156</sup> τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς διαφορηθέντα. See note 118 on i. 34.



54

Attack on  
Samos by  
the Lacedæ-  
monians,

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ὡς ἀπίκοντο, ἐπολιόρκεον Σάμον. προσβαλόντες δὲ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ μὲν πρὸς θαλάσση ἐστεῶτος πύργου κατὰ τὸ προόστειον τῆς πόλιος ὑπερέβησαν· μετὰ δὲ, αὐτοῦ βοηθήσαντος Πολυκράτεος χειρὶ πολλῇ, ἀπηλάσθησαν κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐπάνω πύργον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ῥάχιος τοῦ οὐρεος ἐπεόντα, ἐπεξήλθον οἱ τε ἐπίκουροι καὶ αὐτῶν Σαμίων συχνοὶ, δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἔφευγον ὀπίσω οἱ δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἔκτεινον. Εἰ μὲν νυν οἱ παρ-  
εόντες Λακεδαιμονίων ὁμοιοὶ ἐγένοντο<sup>157</sup> ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην Ἀρχίῃ

55

in which  
Archias,  
the grand-  
father of a  
Lacedæ-  
monian  
known to  
Herodotus,  
was highly  
distinguish-  
ed.

τε καὶ Λυκάπῃ, αἰρέθη ἂν Σάμος· Ἀρχίης γὰρ καὶ Λυκάπης μούνοι συνεσπεσόντες φεύγουσι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τοῖσι Σαμίοισι καὶ ἀποκλιθισθέντες τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ, ἀπέθανον ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ Σαμίων. τρίτῳ δὲ ἀπ' Ἀρχίῳ τούτου γεγονότι ἄλλῳ Ἀρχίῃ, τῷ Σαμίου τοῦ Ἀρχίῳ, αὐτὸς ἐν Πιτάνῃ συνεγενόμην<sup>158</sup>, (δήμου γὰρ τούτου ἦν,) ὃς ξείνων πάντων μάλιστα ἐτίμα τε Σαμίους, καὶ οἱ τῷ πατρὶ ἔφη Σάμιον τοῦνομα τεθῆναι ὅτι οἱ ὁ πατὴρ Ἀρχίης ἐν Σάμῳ ἀριστεύσας ἐτελεύτησε· τιμᾶν δὲ Σαμίους ἔφη, διότι ταφῆναί οἱ τὸν πάππον δημοσίῃ ὑπὸ Σαμίων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ὥς σφι τεσ-  
σεράκοντα ἐγεγόνεσαν ἡμέραι πολιορκέουσι Σάμον ἐς τὸ πρόσω τε οὐδὲν προεκόπτετο τῶν πρηγμάτων, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Πελοπόν-  
νησον ὡς δὲ ὁ ματαιότερος λόγος ὤρμηται, λέγεται Πολυκράτεα

56

After forty  
days' inef-  
fectual  
siege of  
Samos, the  
Lacedæ-

monians, after forty days' ineffectual siege of Samos, the Lacedæ-

<sup>157</sup> ἐγένοντο. Gaisford has ἐγίνοντο, with some of the MSS.

<sup>158</sup> ἐν Πιτάνῃ συνεγενόμην. Pitane was a small deme of Laconia on the banks of the Eurotas. It is quite plain that the details of the assault upon Samos are due to the Archias spoken of as belonging to it. Perhaps it may also be thought that the chronology of the transaction rests upon the same authority. The anecdote of the Samian failure in Laconicism can hardly come from any other source than a Lacedæmonian one, and its date is fixed by the recollection of a man whose grandfather was killed in the expedition which followed the embassy. But there are one or two circumstances in the story which are very instructive with reference to the composition of Herodotus's work. The description of the site of the action is given in the terms which would be employed by a person quite familiar with the spot. A question arises, does this accuracy come from Archias or from his auditor? It can

scarcely be doubted that it comes from the latter. Archias (the distinguished soldier) would not have his wife with him on service, and his son Samius seems to have been a posthumous child. In the way of oral tradition therefore it is not likely that the topography of Samos would have been transmitted to the second Archias. But Herodotus himself probably resided long in Samos and was familiar with the place; hence he could supply a topographical skeleton to the Laconian's narrative. On the other hand, the younger Archias is obviously the sole authority for the distinction of a public funeral having been bestowed on his grandfather. Herodotus most unmistakably intimates that in Samos he never heard of such a thing, by putting forward, as he does, the two facts which the other accounted for in a way so creditable to his family,—those of his father having been named Samius and he himself paying particular attention to inhabitants of that island.

ἐπιχώριον νόμισμα κόψαντα πολλὸν μολύβδου, καταχρυσώσαντα monians  
return  
home.  
δοῦναί σφι· τοὺς δὲ δεξαμένους οὕτω δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. ταύτην  
πρώτην στρατηγὴν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δωριεὺς <sup>159</sup> ἐποίη-  
σαντο.

Οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα στρατευσάμενοι Σαμίῳν, ἐπεὶ οἱ 57  
Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολείπειν ἔμελλον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπέπλεον ἐς The Samian  
exiles being  
deserted by  
the Laco-  
dæmonians,  
proceed to  
Siphnos,  
Σίφνον χρημάτων γὰρ ἐδέοντο, τὰ δὲ τῶν Σιφνίων πρήγματα then a most  
wealthy  
island,  
ἤκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον· καὶ νησιωτέων μάλιστα ἐπλούτεον (ἅτε  
ἐόντων αὐτοῖσι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ χρυσέων καὶ ἀργυρέων μετάλλων) οὕτω  
ᾧστε ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν γινομένων αὐτόθεν χρημάτων θησαυρὸς  
ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀνακέεται, ὁμοῖα τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοις <sup>160</sup>. αὐτοὶ δὲ  
τὰ γινόμενα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκάστῳ χρήματα διενέμοντο. ὅτε ὦν  
ἐποιεῦντο τὸν θησαυρὸν, ἐχρέωντο τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, εἰ αὐτοῖσι τὰ  
παρέοντα ἀγαθὰ οἷά τε ἐστὶ πολλὸν χρόνον παραμένειν; ἡ δὲ Πυθίη  
ἔχρησέ σφι τάδε·

Ἄλλ' ὅταν ἐν Σίφνῳ πρυτανῆϊα λευκὰ γένηται  
λεῖκοφρὸς τ' ἀγορῇ, τότε δὴ δεῖ φράδμονος ἀνδρὸς,  
φράσσεσθαι <sup>161</sup> ξύλινον τε λόχον κήρυκα τ' ἐρυθρόν.

τοῖσι δὲ Σιφνίοισι ἦν τότε ἡ ἀγορὴ καὶ τὸ πρυτανῆϊον Παρίῳ λίθῳ  
ἡσκημένα. Τοῦτον τὸν χρησμὸν οὐκ οἶοί τε ἦσαν γινῶναι, οὔτε 58  
τότε ἰθὺς οὔτε τῶν Σαμίων ἀπυγμένων ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ τάχιστα πρὸς  
τὴν Σίφνον προσίσχον οἱ Σάμιοι, ἔπεμπον τῶν νεῶν μίαν πρέσ-  
βεας ἄγουσαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἅπασαι αἱ νῆες ἦσαν  
μυληλιφέες· καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἡ Πυθίη προηγόρευε τοῖσι Σιφνίοισι, and levy  
a heavy  
impost on  
the people.  
φυλάξασθαι τὸν ξύλινον λόχον κελεύουσα καὶ κήρυκα ἐρυθρόν  
ἀπικόμενοι ὦν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐδέοντο τῶν Σιφνίων δέκα τάλαντά σφι

<sup>159</sup> Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δωριεὺς. This phrase is a very extraordinary one, and it is not impossible that Λακεδαιμόνιοι has crept in from being a marginal annotation to limit Δωριεὺς. But possibly the expression is used to denote the Lacedæmonians since they became Dorized, as contradistinguished from the old Achæo-Minyæan Lacedæmonians. Thus PAUSANIAS says that the Achæans at a subsequent time, proud of their achievements against the Trojans, Λακεδαιμονίους Δωριεὺς ἀπηξίουσιν ἡγείσθαι (vii. 6. 3). As Menelaus was at the siege of Troy with his troops, this fact by itself would prevent Λακεδαιμόνιοι from standing alone in the text without some qualification. And perhaps

there is another reason for putting in the expression Δωριεὺς. See note on v. 41.

<sup>160</sup> ὁμοῖα τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοις. Compare § 8, above: ὁμοῖα τοῖσι μάλιστα.

<sup>161</sup> φράσσεσθαι. This is the reading of all the MSS but three, which have φράσασθαι. Perhaps the true reading is φράξασθαι. "Then indeed a man of intelligence is wanted, to get them fenced in against wooden regiment and scarlet herald." The meaning of the oracle of course was that their wealth would expose them to the descents of pirates upon them, when there was such evidence of it afforded by the facing their public edifices with Parian marble.

59

They purchase the island Hydria off the coast of Peloponnesus of the Hermionians, and put the Træzenians in possession of it. Then they form a settlement in Crete, but in the sixth year are made slaves by the Æginætae out of an ancient feud.

60

Three great works in Samos.

χρήσαι· οὐ φασκόντων δὲ χρήσειν τῶν Σιφνίων αὐτοῖσι οἱ Σάμιοι τοὺς χώρους αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ὁρθεον πυθόμενοι δ' ἰθὺς ἦκον οἱ Σίφνιοι βοηθέοντες, καὶ συμβαλόντες αὐτοῖσι ἐσώσθησαν καὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἀπεκλητίσθησαν τοῦ ἄστεος ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἔπρηξαν. Παρὰ δὲ Ἑρμιονέων νῆσον ἀντὶ χρημάτων παρέλαβον, Ἐδρέην τὴν ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσῳ, καὶ αὐτὴν Τροιζηνίοισι παρακατέθεντο· αὐτοὶ δὲ Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ ἔκτισαν<sup>103</sup>, οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πλέοντες, ἀλλὰ Ζακυνθίους ἐξελοῦντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἔμειναν δ' ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ εὐδαιμόνησαν ἐπ' ἕτεα εἵτε· [ὥστε τὰ ἱρὰ τὰ ἐν Κυδωνίῃ ἑόντα νῦν οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες καὶ τὸν τῆς Δικτύνης νηόν<sup>104</sup>]· ἔκτῳ δὲ ἔτει Αἰγινῆται<sup>104</sup> αὐτοὺς ναυμαχίῃ νικήσαντες ἠνδραποδίσαντο μετὰ Κρητῶν καὶ τῶν νηῶν καπρίλους ἐχουσέων τὰς πρώρας ἠκρωτηρίασαν, καὶ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐν Αἰγίνῃ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίησαν ἔγκοτον ἔχοντες Σαμίοισι Αἰγινῆται· πρότεροι γὰρ Σάμιοι ἐπ' Ἀμφικράτεος βασιλεύοντος ἐν Σάμῳ στρατευσάμενοι ἐπ' Αἰγίαν, μεγάλα κακὰ ἐποίησαν Αἰγινῆτας καὶ ἔπαθον ὑπ' ἐκείνων. ἡ μὲν αἰτία αὕτη.

Ἐμήκυνα δὲ περὶ Σαμίων μᾶλλον, ὅτι σφί τρὶα ἐστὶ μέγιστα ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐξεργασμένα· οὐρέος τε ὑψηλοῦ ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυῖας, τούτου ὄρυγμα κάτωθεν ἀρξάμενον ἀμφίστομον. τὸ μὲν μήκος τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἑπτὰ στάδιοι εἰσι, τὸ δὲ ὕψος

<sup>103</sup> αὐτοὶ δὲ Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ ἔκτισαν. This can hardly be the foundation of a city where none existed before; for the origin of Cydonia is referred by various traditions to a much earlier time, and indeed it was by some regarded as the most ancient of all the Cretan cities ("ut Græci dicere solent, urbium matrem Cydoniam," FLORUS, iii. 7). It would seem most likely that the settlement formed by these Samians was in the immediate neighbourhood of the harbour of *Khania*, a most favourable situation for a nest of pirates, the mouth of the port being very narrow, and capable of being closed by a chain. SCYLAX calls Cydonia *Λιμὴν κλειστός*, and another geographer describes it as having *βράχην* at the entrance of the harbour. These are recognized in some sunken rocks running half a mile from the western point. (PASHLEY, *Travels in Crete*, i. p. 14.) The ancient city would probably be on the mountain Tityrus, the site of the Dictynæan temple

(STRABO, x. p. 377). This is, according to Pococke, about 5 miles s.s.w. of the modern *Khania*, and some ruins still exist there. Strabo makes it 30 stades from the sea. *Khania* is situated in lat. 35° 28', long. 24° 1'.

<sup>104</sup> [ὥστε τὰ ἱρὰ . . . Δικτύνης νηόν.] These words appear to me to be a note by a person much subsequent to the time of Herodotus, and an inference on his part from the expression *Κυδωνίην ἔκτισαν*. (See the last note.) No Samians of a century before Herodotus would come bringing with them the Dictynæ-worship, which was indigenous in Crete. STRABO indeed describes the Dictynæum as being not within the territory of the Cydonians, but of their immediate neighbours the *Polyrrhenians*.

<sup>104</sup> Αἰγινῆται. STRABO (viii. c. 6. p. 207) mentions the Æginætae as having sent colonists to Cydonia. Perhaps this was after the destruction of the Samian pirates described in the text.

καὶ εὖρος ὁκτὼ ἐκάτερον πόδες· διὰ παντὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ὄρυγμα εἰκοσίπηχυν βάθος ὁράσκειται, τρίπουν δὲ τὸ εὖρος· δι' οὗ τὸ ὕδωρ ὀχετεύμενον διὰ σωλήνων παραγίνεται ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἀγόμενον ἀπὸ μεγάλης πηγῆς· ἀρχιτέκτων δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος τούτου ἐγένετο Μεγαρεὺς Εὐπαλίνος Ναυστρόφου. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐν τῶν τριῶν ἐστὶ· δεύτερον δὲ, περὶ λιμένα χώμα ἐν θαλάσῃ βάθος κατὰ εἴκοσι ὀργυιῶν μῆκος δὲ τοῦ χώματος μέζον δύο σταδίων. τρίτον δὲ σφί ἐξέργασται νηὸς μέγιστος πάντων νηῶν τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτων πρώτος ἐγένετο Ῥοίκος Φίλεω ἐπιχώριος. τούτων εἵνεκεν μᾶλλον τι περὶ Σαμίων ἐμήκυνα.

Καμβύση δὲ τῷ Κύρου, χρονίζοντι περὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ παρα- 61  
φρονήσαντι<sup>165</sup>, ἐπανιστέεται ἄνδρες Μάγοι δύο ἀδελφεοί· τῶν τὸν *Revolt of the Magians against Cambysea, one of them pretending to be Smerdis.*  
ἕτερον καταλελοίπεε τῶν οἰκίων μελεδωνὸν ὁ Καμβύσης· οὗτος δὴ ὢν οἱ ἐπ' ἀνέστη, μαθὼν τε τὸν Σμέρδιος θάνατον ὡς κρύπτοιο γενόμενος, καὶ ὡς ὀλίγοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτῶν<sup>166</sup> Περσέων, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ περιεόντα μιν εἰδείσαν<sup>167</sup>. πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευσας τάδε ἐπεχείρησε τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι· ἦν οἱ ἀδελφεὸς, τὸν εἰπά οἱ συνεπαναστήναι, οἰκῶς μάλιστα τὸ εἶδος Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρῳ τὸν ὁ Καμβύσης, ἔοντα ἐωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὸν, ἀπέκτεινε· ἦν τε δὴ ὁμοῖος<sup>168</sup> εἶδος τῷ Σμέρδι καὶ δὴ καὶ οὐνομα τῶντ' εἶχε Σμέρδιν τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἀναγνώσας ὁ Μάγος Πατιζείθης<sup>169</sup> ὥς οἱ αὐτὸς πάντα διαπρήξει, εἰσε ἄγων ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον<sup>170</sup>. ποιήσας δὲ

<sup>165</sup> χρονίζοντι περὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ παραφρονήσαντι. This would be, according to the Egyptian accounts, after the return from Ethiopia. See note 107, above.

<sup>166</sup> αὐτῶν. Gaisford, with the majority of the MSS, has αὐτόν. But the reading in the text is sanctioned by one MS, and is not likely to have grown out of the other by an arbitrary alteration. The αὐτοὶ Πέρσαι appear rather as an aristocracy contradistinguished from οἱ πολλοί.

<sup>167</sup> εἰδείσαν, "made sure," as ἐπίστασθαι is used elsewhere. See note 421 on i. 122.

<sup>168</sup> ἦν τε δὴ ὁμοῖος . . καὶ δὴ καί. See note 6 on i. 1. The sentence is to be translated: "Now, not only was he like this Smerdis in person, but he even had the same name Smerdis." The Behistun inscription gives *Gomates* as his real name.

<sup>169</sup> Πατιζείθης. DIONYSIUS of Miletus,

(who wrote contemporaneously with Hecataeus,) related that the name of this individual was *Panzuthes*. Perhaps Herodotus wrote Πατιζείθης. The *ν* was probably silent in the Persian equivalent form, as in Vidafrana, the equivalent of Intaphernes. See note 201, below.

<sup>170</sup> εἰσε ἄγων ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον. This picturesque feature in the narrative, expressing the intention that there should be ocular evidence of Smerdis being alive, existed also in the story related by Ctesias, although in every historical detail except that of the likeness of the pretender to the real son of Cyrus, the accounts differ. (See note 9, above.) Ctesias (*sp. Photium*, p. 37) says that the Magian Sphendadates, who had been scourged by Tanyoxarces (see note 84, above), fled to Cambyzes, and accused his brother of meditating revolt. This charge was confirmed by Tanyoxarces

62

A herald from the pseudo-Smerdis reaches Cambyases at Agbatana in Syria.

τοῦτο, κήρυκας τῇ τε ἄλλῃ διέπεμπε καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον, προερέοντα τῷ στρατῷ, ὡς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἀκουστέα εἶη τοῦ λοιπού, ἀλλ' οὐ Καμβύσεια. Οἷ τε δὴ ὦν ἄλλοι κήρυκες προηγόρευον ταῦτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ταχθεὶς, (εὗρισκε γὰρ Καμβύσεια καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔοντα τῆς Συρίας ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι<sup>171</sup>), προηγόρευε στὰς ἐς μέσον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ κήρυκος, καὶ ἐλπίσας μιν λέγειν ἀληθέα αὐτὸς τε προδεδόσθαι ἐκ Πηρξάσπεος, (πεμφθέντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὡς ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν οὐ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα,) βλέψας ἐς τὸν Πηρξάσπεα εἶπε· “Πηρξάσπεες, οὕτω μοι διεκρήξαι τὸ τοι προσέθηκα πρήγμα;” ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ὦ δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀληθέα ὅπως κοτέ σοι Σμέρδις ἀδελφεὸς ὁ σὸς ἐπανεστῆκε, οὐδὲ ὅπως τι ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς νεῖκός τοι ἔσται ἢ μέγα ἢ συμπρόν· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς ποιήσας τὰ σύ με ἐκέλευες, ἔθαψά μιν χειρσὶ τῆσι ἐμεωυτοῦ<sup>172</sup>. εἰ μὲν νυν οἱ τεθνεώτες ἀνεστᾶσι, προσδέκεό τοι καὶ Ἀστυάγεα τὸν Μῆδον ἐπαναστήσεσθαι<sup>173</sup>. εἰ δ' ἔστι ὥσπερ

being casually prevented from obeying the summons of Cambyases to come to him. Amytis, the mother of the two brothers, suspecting the real state of the case, endeavoured to remove suspicions from the mind of Cambyases; but although professing to be convinced by her, he determined to kill his brother, who, at last, on the third summons, had come, and had been received in a friendly manner. In order to avoid the reproaches of his mother, Cambyases devised, at the suggestion of the Magian, an extraordinary scheme. He gave public orders that Spendadates should be slain for having defamed the king's brother; but really put the brother to death, and afterwards dressed the Magian in his robes and treated him as if he were Tanyoxarces. Artasyras, Bagapates, and Izabates were the only parties privy to this transaction. Labyzus (the chief of Tanyoxarces' eunuchs) was sent for by Cambyases, and shown the Magian sitting in state dressed out; and on being asked if he thought it was Tanyoxarces, answered 'Of course it was.' The pretender was sent to Bactria, and performed all the functions of government as Tanyoxarces until—five years afterwards—the circumstances of the case were related to Amytis by an eunuch whom the Magian had beaten, on which she demand-

ed of her son that he should be given up to her. He refused to do so; upon which she cursed him and poisoned herself. All sorts of evil omens now beset him; his mother appears to him at night threatening him with vengeance for his cruelty; and, finally, after arriving at Babylon, he wounds his thigh with his dagger while “whittling” a stick for amusement, and dies on the eleventh day, after reigning 18 years.

<sup>171</sup> ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι. For the etymology of this word see note 348 on i. 98. The Syrian Agbatana is perhaps Hamah on the Orontes (the Hamath of 2 Kings xvii. 24) which lay in the great military road out of the valley of the Euphrates to the coast of the Mediterranean. From Hamath to the Nile seems to be an expression including the whole extent of the territory under the influence of Solomon (2 Chron. vii. 8), and if so, Hamath is to be looked for far to the north.

<sup>172</sup> ἔθαψά μιν χειρσὶ τῆσι ἐμεωυτοῦ. These words seem compatible only with the former of the two accounts of Smerdis's death mentioned in § 30, above.

<sup>173</sup> Ἀστυάγεα τὸν Μῆδον ἐπαναστήσεσθαι. The mention of Astyages, under such circumstances, is remarkable. According to the main account followed by Herodotus, no violence appears to have

πρὸ τοῦ, οὐ μὴ τι τοι ἔκ γε ἐκείνου νεώτερον ἀναβλαστήσει. νῦν  
 ὦν μοι δοκεί, μεταδιώξοντας τὸν κήρυκα ἐξετάζειν εἰρωτεύοντας  
 παρ' ὅτεν ἦκων προαγορεύει ἡμῖν Σμέρδιος βασιλεὺς ἀκούειν;"  
 Ταῦτα εἶπαντος Πηξάσπεος, ἤρεσε γὰρ Καμβύση, αὐτίκα μετα- 63  
 δίδωκτος γενόμενος ὁ κήρυξ ἦκε· ἀπυγμένον δέ μιν εἶρετο ὁ Πηξάσπης  
 τάδε "ὦνθρωπε, φῆς γὰρ ἦκειν παρὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἄγγελος,  
 νῦν ὦν εἶπας τὴν ἀληθινήν ἀπιθι χαίρων· κότερα αὐτός τοι Σμέρδις  
 φαινόμενος ἐς ὅσιν ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, ἢ τῶν τις ἐκείνου ὑπηρετών;"  
 ὁ δὲ εἶπε "ἐγὼ Σμέρδιν μὲν τὸν Κύρου, ἐξ ὅτου βασιλεὺς Καμ-  
 βύσης ἤλασε ἐς Αἴγυπτον, οὐ κω ὅπωπα"<sup>174</sup>. ὁ δὲ μοι Μάγος, τὸν  
 Καμβύσης ἐπιτροπον τῶν οἰκίων ἀπέδεξε, οὗτος ταῦτα ἐνετείλατο,  
 φὰς Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενον εἶπαι πρὸς  
 ὑμέας." ὁ μὲν δὴ σφί ἔλεγε οὐδὲν ἐπικατεφυσμένους· Καμβύσης  
 δὲ εἶπε "Πηξάσπεες, σὺ μὲν οἶα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ποιήσας τὸ κελευό-  
 μενον αἰτήν ἐκπέφευγας· ἐμοὶ δὲ τίς ἂν εἴη Περσέων ὁ ἐπανεστῶς,  
 ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Σμέρδιος οὐνόματος;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "ἐγὼ μοι δοκέω  
 συνίεναι τὸ γεγονός τοῦτο, ὦ βασιλεῦ· οἱ Μάγοι εἰσὶ τοι οἱ ἐπανε-  
 στεῶτες, τὸν τε ἔλπιες μελεδωνόν τῶν οἰκίων, Πατιζείθης, καὶ ὁ  
 τούτου ἀδελφεὸς Σμέρδις." Ἐνθαῦτα ἀκούσαντα Καμβύσεα τὸ 64  
 Σμέρδιος οὐνομα, ἔτυψε ἡ ἀληθινή τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου  
 ὅς ἐδόκεε ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι τινὰ οἱ, ὡς Σμέρδις ἰζόμενος ἐς  
 τὸν βασιλῆϊον θρόνον ψαύσειε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· μαθὼν δὲ  
 ὡς μάτην ἀπολωλεκὼς εἶη τὸν ἀδελφεὸν, ἀπέκλαιε Σμέρδιν, ἀπο-  
 κλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιημεκτήςας<sup>175</sup> τῇ ἀπάσῃ συμφορῇ ἀναθρόσκει  
 ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Σοῦσα στρατεύεσθαι  
 ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγον καὶ οἱ ἀναθρόσκοντι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, τοῦ κουλεοῦ

Fulfilment  
 of the  
 dream of  
 Cambyses,  
 and of the  
 oracle re-  
 ceived by  
 him.

been offered to him. (See i. 130.) But there was also a very different narrative, preserved by Ctesias (*ap. Photium*, p. 36). According to this, Petesacas, an eunuch, is sent by Cyrus to fetch Astyages from the Barcanians to see his daughter Amytis, and by the advice of Oebaras leaves him in the desert to perish by hunger. His corpse remains uninjured and guarded by lions, until it is found and magnificently buried. It would almost seem that some such tradition of a death, similar in its mysteriousness to that of Smerdis, is referred to by Prexaspes. There is an especial propriety in the expectation of the

resurrection of Astyages, as he was the last sovereign of the Medians; and it is quite clear that the revolt headed by the Magians was, or at least went together with, a counter-revolution attempted by that nation against Persian supremacy. See note on § 65, below.

<sup>174</sup> ἐξ ὅτου βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης ἤλασε ἐς Αἴγυπτον, οὐ κω ὅπωπα. Here again there is a glimmering of the Persian tradition (see note 83, above), according to which Bartius was slain by Cambyses antecedently to the Egyptian expedition.

<sup>175</sup> περιημεκτήςας. See note 134 on i. 44.

τοῦ ξίφους ὁ μύκης ἀποπίπτει<sup>176</sup>. γυμνωθὲν δὲ τὸ ξίφος παίει τὸν μηρόν τρωματισθεὶς δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τῇ αὐτὸς πρότερον τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεὸν Ἄπιον ἐπληξε, ὥς οἱ καιρῇ<sup>177</sup> ἔδοξε τετύφθαι, εἶρετο ὁ Καμβύσης ὃ τι τῇ πόλι οὖνομα εἶη; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν ὅτι Ἀγβατάνα· τῷ δὲ ἐτι πρότερον ἐκέχρητο<sup>178</sup> ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος, ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐν τοῖσι Μηδικοῖσι Ἀγβατάνοισι ἔδωκε τελευτήσῃ γηραιὸς, ἐν τοῖσι οἱ ἦν πάντα τὰ πρήγματα<sup>179</sup>, τὸ δὲ χρηστήριον τοῖσι ἐν Συρίῃ Ἀγβατάνοισι ἔλεγε ἄρα· καὶ δὴ ὡς τότε ἐπειρεόμενος ἐπύθετο τῆς πόλιος τὸ οὖνομα<sup>180</sup>, ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορῆς τῆς τε ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου ἐκπεπληγμένος καὶ τοῦ τρώματος ἐσωφρόνησε συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ θεσπρόπιον εἶπε “ἐνθαῦτα Καμβύσεια τὸν Κύρου ἐστὶ πεπρωμένον τελευτᾶν.”

65

His dying  
confession,

Τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα· ἡμέρησι δὲ ὕστερον ὡς εἴκοσι<sup>181</sup> μεταπεμψάμενος Περσέων τῶν παρόντων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους, ἔλεγε σφι τάδε “ὦ Πέρσαι, καταλελάβηκέ με τὸ πάντων μάλιστα ἔκρυπτον πρηγμάτων τοῦτο ἐς ὑμέας ἐκφῆναι. ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, εἶδον ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τὴν μηδαμὰ ὄφελον ἰδεῖν· ἔδωκεον δέ μοι ἄγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐξ οἴκου<sup>182</sup> ἀγγέλλειν, ὡς Σμέρδης ἰζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ψαύσειε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· δέσας δὲ μὴ ἀπαιρεθῶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ, ἐποίησα ταχύτερα ἢ σοφώ-

<sup>176</sup> τοῦ κούλεοῦ τοῦ ξίφους ὁ μύκης ἀποπίπτει. Kenrick well remarks that the Persian dirk was worn on the *right* thigh, as appears from the sculptures. (See also vii. 61.) Hence, if the μύκης (the knob by which the scabbard was capped at the lower end) dropped off, the point of the weapon would be left bare, and a dangerous wound might readily be inflicted on the wearer in the action of leaping on to his horse.

<sup>177</sup> καιρῇ, sc. πληγῇ, “a mortal wound.” Thus ÆSCHYLUS makes Cassandra pray:

καιρίας πληγῆς τυχεῖν,  
ὡς ἀσφάδατος, αἱμάτων εὐθησίμων  
ἀπορρύντων, ὄμμα συμβάλω τόδε.

(*Agam.* 1293.)

<sup>178</sup> ἐκέχρητο. See note 437 on ii. 147.

<sup>179</sup> ἐν τοῖσι οἱ ἦν πάντα τὰ πρήγματα. See note 84 on § 30, above.

<sup>180</sup> ὡς τότε ἐπειρεόμενος ἐπύθετο τῆς πόλιος τὸ οὖνομα. The dramatic character of this story may be compared with the death of the Duke of Suffolk in Shak-

spear's 2nd Part of Henry VI., Act iv. Scene 1:

SUFFOLK. Look on my George: I am a gentleman:

Rate me at what thou wilt, thou shalt be paid.

WHITMORE. And so am I: my name is *Walter Whitmore*.

How now? why start'st thou? what, doth death affright?

SUFFOLK. *Thy name* affrights me, in whose sound is death.

A cunning man did calculate my birth, And told me that by *water* I should die.

<sup>181</sup> ὡς εἴκοσι. The manuscripts S and V omit ὡς. The account preserved by CTESIAS made him die on the *eleventh* day after his wound. See note 170, above.

<sup>182</sup> ἐξ οἴκου. Persia, although not the seat of the imperial government in the time of Cambyses, was the native country of the dynasty of Cyrus; and hence this expression is quite appropriate. Above, § 30, the phrase ἐκ Περσέων is used.

τερα· ἐν τῇ γὰρ ἀνθρωπότη φύσει οὐκ ἐνὴν ἄρα τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι ἀποτρέπειν ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ μάταιος Πηλεΐδης ἀποπέμψω ἐς Σοῦσα ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν ἐξεργασθέντος δὲ κακοῦ τοσούτου ἀδεῶς διαιτώμην, οὐδαμὰ ἐπιλεξάμενος μὴ κοτὲ τίς μοι, Σμέρδιος ὑπαραρημένος, ἄλλος ἐπανασταίῃ ἀνθρώπων παντὸς δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι ἀμαρτῶν, ἀδελφεοκτόνος τε, οὐδὲν δέον, γέγονα, καὶ τῆς βασιλῆως οὐδὲν ἥσσουν ἐστέρημαι. Σμέρδις γὰρ δὴ ἦν ὁ Μάγος, τὸν μοι ὁ δαίμων προέβαινε ἐν τῇ ὄψει ἐπαναστήσεσθαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔργον ἐξεργασταί μοι, καὶ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου μηκέτι ὑμῖν ἐόντα λογιζέσθε· οἱ δὲ ὑμῖν<sup>133</sup> Μάγοι κρατεύουσι τῶν βασιλῆων, τὸν τε ἔλιπον ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων καὶ ὁ ἐκείνου ἀδελφεὸς Σμέρδις. τὸν μὲν νυν μάλιστα χρῆν, ἐμεῦ αἰσχυρὰ πρὸς τῶν Μάγων πεπονητός, τιμωρέειν ἐμοί, οὗτος μὲν ἀνοσίφ' μόρφ τετελεύτηκε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐωυτοῦ οἰκησιότατων τούτου δὲ μηκέτι ἐόντος, δευτέρα τῶν λοιπῶν, ὑμῖν, ὦ Πέρσαι, γίνεται μοι ἀναγκαϊότατον ἐντέλλεσθαι τὰ θέλω μοι γενέσθαι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον καὶ δὴ ὑμῖν τάδε ἐπισκήπτω θεοὺς τοὺς βασιλῆους ἐπικαλέων, καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν καὶ μάλιστα Ἀχαιμενιδέων τοῖσι παρεούσι, μὴ περιῦδειν τὴν ἡγεμονίην αὐτῆς ἐς Μήδους περιελθούσαν<sup>134</sup>· ἀλλ', εἴτε δόλῳ ἔχουσι αὐτὴν κτησάμενοι δόλῳ ἀπαιρεθῆναι ὑπὸ ὑμέων· εἴτε καὶ σθένει τερφ κατεργασάμενοι, σθένει κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν ἀνασώσασθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ποιεῦσι ὑμῖν γῇ τε καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν, καὶ γυναῖκές τε καὶ ποίμνια τίκτοιεν, εἴουσι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐλευθέρουσι· μὴ ἀνασώσασθαι νοιοῖσι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴδ' ἐπιχειρήσασι ἀνασώζειν τὰ ἐναντία τοῖτοισι ἀρέομαι ὑμῖν γενέσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἔτι τοῖτοισι, τὸ τέλος Περσέων ἐκάστω ἐπυγενέσθαι οἷον ἐμοὶ ἐπυγέγονε." ἅμα τε εἰπας ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπέκλαιε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ πρῆξιν Πέρσαι δ' ὡς 66 τὸν βασιλέα εἶδον ἀνακλαύσαντα<sup>135</sup>, πάντες τὰ τε ἐσθῆτος ἐχόμενα εἶχον ταῦτα κατηρεῖκοντο, καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἀφθόνην διεχρέωντο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὡς ἐσφακέλισέ τε τὸ ὀστέον καὶ ὁ μηρὸς τάχιστα ἐσάπη,

and death,  
after having  
reigned  
seven years  
and five  
months.

<sup>133</sup> ὑμῖν. For this use of the dative of the pronoun see note 318 on ii. 113. The interests of the pure Persian blood were affected by the succession passing to a Magian. Translate: "and you have the Magians masters of the royal palace."

<sup>134</sup> μὴ περιῦδειν τὴν ἡγεμονίην αὐτῆς ἐς Μήδους περιελθούσαν. For an explanation of this phrase see note on § 126, below.

<sup>135</sup> ὡς τὸν βασιλέα εἶδον ἀνακλαύσαντα. ÆSCHYLUS presents on the stage a similar scene of the Persian nobles sympathizing with the grief of their monarch by wailing, tearing the hair, and the specially oriental practice of "rending the clothes:" πέπλον δ' ἔρεικε κολπίαν ἀκμῇ χερσὶν (Pers. 1060).



ἀπήνεκε<sup>186</sup> Καμβύσεια τὸν Κύρου, βασιλεύσαντα μὲν τὰ πάντα ἑπτὰ ἔτεα καὶ μῆνας πέντε<sup>187</sup>, ἅπαιδα δὲ τὸ παράπαν ἔοντα ἔρσηνος καὶ θήλεος γόνου. Περσέων δὲ τοῖσι παρεούσι ἀπιστίη πολλή ὑπεκέχυτο, τοὺς Μάγους ἔχειν τὰ πρήγματα· ἀλλ' ἥπιστάτο ἐπὶ διαβολῇ εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεια τὰ εἶπε περὶ τοῦ Σμέρδιος θανάτου, ἵνα οἱ ἐκπολεμωθῇ πᾶν τὸ Περσικόν· οὗτοι μὲν νυν ἥπιστάτο<sup>188</sup> Σμέρδιω τὸν Κύρου βασιλέα ἀνεστῶτα· δεινῶς γὰρ καὶ ὁ Πηρξάσπης ἔξαρνος ἦν μὴ μιν<sup>189</sup> ἀποκτείνειν Σμέρδιω· οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἱ ἀσφαλές, Καμβύσειω τετελευτηκότος, φάναι τὸν Κύρου υἱὸν ἀπολωλεκέναι αὐτοχειρίῃ.

67  
The Magian usurpation lasts for seven months.

67 Ὁ μὲν δὴ Μάγος τελευτήσαντος Καμβύσειω ἀδεῶς ἐβασίλευσε, ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ὁμωνύμου Σμέρδιος<sup>190</sup> τοῦ Κύρου, μῆνας ἑπτὰ τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους Καμβύσειῃ ἐς τὰ ὀκτῶ ἔτεα [τῆς πληρώσεως]. ἐν τοῖσι ἀπεδέξατο ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους πάντας εὐεργεσίας μεγάλας, ὥστε ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ πόθον ἔχειν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ παρέξ αὐτῶν Περσέων· διαπέμψας γὰρ ὁ Μάγος ἐς πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ἤρχε, προεῖπε ἀτελετήν εἶναι στρατηγῆς καὶ φόρου ἐπ' ἔτεα τρία. προεῖπε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα αὐτίκα ἐνιστάμενος ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν.

68  
In the eighth month Otanes discovers the pretender by a stratagem.

68 Ὁ γδοῦν δὲ μηνὶ ἐγένετο κατάδηλος τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· Ὀτάνης<sup>191</sup> ἦν Φαρνάσπεω μὲν παῖς, γένει δὲ καὶ χρήμασι ὁμοίους τῷ πρώτῳ Περσέων<sup>192</sup>. οὗτος ὁ Ὀτάνης πρώτος ὑπόπτευσεν τὸν Μάγον, ὥς οὐκ εἶναι ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις ἀλλ' ὅσπερ ἦν, τῇδε συμβαλλόμενος, ὅτι τε οὐκ ἐξεφοίτα ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐκάλεε ἐς δῆλιν ἐωυτῷ

<sup>186</sup> ἀπήνεκε, "carried off." In the Behistun inscription Cambyzes is made to die of grief upon the Magians obtaining the chief power. And it would seem that STRABO follows a similar tradition (xv. c. 3, fin.), where he says διαδεχόμενος δὲ τοῦτον [Κύρου] Καμβύσης υἱὸς ὑπὸ τῶν μάγων κατελύθη, a statement far more in harmony with the Behistun record than with the story of Herodotus. See note 218 on § 79, below.

<sup>187</sup> ἑπτὰ ἔτεα καὶ μῆνας πέντε. The traditions followed by Ctesias gave a much longer duration to his reign. See note 170, above.

<sup>188</sup> ἥπιστάτο, "they made sure." See note 167, above.

<sup>189</sup> μὴ μιν. Gaisford has μὴ μὲν with some of the MSS. But the reading in the text is that of S and V.

<sup>190</sup> ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ὁμωνύμου Σμέρδιος. Herodotus uses the more correct expression ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Σμέρδιος ὀνόματος, above, § 63.

<sup>191</sup> Ὀτάνης. The Behistun inscription gives the names of the conspirators who slew the Magian pretender nearly identical with the list of Herodotus. But Otanes (Utana) is in it made the son, not of Pharnaspes, but Socres (Thukra).

<sup>192</sup> ὁμοίους τῷ πρώτῳ Περσέων. The superior rank of Otanes is clear from the prerogatives reserved for him below, § 84. According to Herodotus's authorities, being the son of Pharnaspes, he would be brother of Cassandane, Cyrus's favourite wife (ii. 1), and consequently uncle of Cambyzes and Smerdis, and perhaps of Atossa. (See the notes 196 and 240, below.)

οὐδένα τῶν λογίων Περσέων ὑποπτεύσας δέ μιν, ἐποίηε τάδε·  
 ἔσχε αὐτοῦ ὁ Καμβύσης θυγατέρα, τῇ ὄνομα ἦν Φαίδιμη<sup>193</sup>. τὴν  
 αὐτὴν δὴ ταύτην εἶχε τότε ὁ Μάγος, καὶ ταύτῃ τε συνοικέε<sup>194</sup> καὶ  
 τῇσι ἄλλῃσι πάσῃσι τῇσι τοῦ Καμβύσεω γυναιξί· πέμπων δὴ ὦν  
 ὁ Ὀτάνης παρὰ ταύτην τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπυνθάνετο παρ' ὅτεφ  
 ἀνθρώπων κοιμῶτο, εἴτε μετὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, εἴτε μετὰ  
 ἄλλου τευ· ἡ δέ οἱ ἀντέπεμπε φαιμένη οὐ γινώσκειν οὔτε γὰρ τὸν  
 Κύρου Σμέρδιον ἰδέσθαι οὐδαμὰ, οὔτε ὅστις εἴη ὁ συνοικέων αὐτῇ  
 εἰδέναι· ἔπεμπε δεύτερα ὁ Ὀτάνης λέγων “εἰ μὴ αὐτῇ Σμέρδιον  
 τὸν Κύρου γινώσκεις, σὺ δὲ παρὰ Ἀτόσσης πύθου ὅτεφ τούτῳ<sup>195</sup>  
 συνοικέει αὐτῇ τε ἐκείνῃ καὶ σὺ πάντως γὰρ δὴ κου τὸν γε ἐωντῆς  
 ἀδελφεὸν<sup>196</sup> γινώσκει”· ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ θυγάτηρ· “οὔτε  
 Ἀτόσση δύναμαι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν, οὔτε ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν ἰδέσθαι  
 τῶν συγκατημένων γυναικῶν· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ τάχιστα οὗτος ὄνθρω-  
 πος, ὅστις κοτέ ἐστι, παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλεῖν, διέσπειρε ἡμέας  
 ἄλλην ἄλλῃ τάξας.” Ἀκούοντι δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Ὀτάνῃ μᾶλλον κατ-  
 εφαίνετο τὸ πρήγμα· τρίτην δὲ ἀγγελίην ἐσπέμπει παρ' αὐτὴν  
 λέγουσαν ταῦτα “ὦ θυγατερ, δεῖ σε γεγονυῖαν εὖ κίνδυνον ἀναλα-  
 βέσθαι τὸν ἄν ὁ πατὴρ ὑποδύειν κελεύῃ· εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ ἐστὶ ὁ  
 Κύρου Σμέρδις, ἀλλὰ τὸν καταδοκέω ἐγὼ, οὔτοι μιν σοὶ τε συγκοι-  
 μώμενον καὶ τὸ Περσέων κράτος ἔχοντα δεῖ χαίροντα ἀπαλλάσ-  
 σειν, ἀλλὰ δοῦναι δίκην νῦν ὦν ποιήσων τάδε· ἐπεὰν σοι συνεύδῃ  
 καὶ μάθῃς αὐτὸν κατυπνωμένον, ἄφασσον αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα· καὶ ἦν  
 μὲν φαίνεσθαι ἔχων ὦτα, νόμιζε σεωυτὴν Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου συνοικέ-  
 εω· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἔχων, σὺ δὲ τῷ μάγῳ Σμέρδι·” ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς  
 ταῦτα ἡ Φαίδιμη φαιμένη κινδυνεύσειν<sup>197</sup> μεγάλως, ἦν ποιῇ ταῦτα·  
 ἦν γὰρ δὴ μὴ τυγχάνῃ τὰ ὦτα ἔχων, ἐπίλαμπτος δὲ ἀφάσσουσα

69

<sup>193</sup> τῇ ὄνομα ἦν Φαίδιμη. This is perhaps a Hellenic equivalent of the Persian name which the daughter of Otanes bore. It is impossible to consider it as even a corruption of any Asiatic word.

<sup>194</sup> καὶ ταύτῃ τε συνοικέε. By this course of proceeding he did what was equivalent to proclaiming Cambyses as dead. Compare the counsel of Ahithophel to Absalom (2 Sam. xvi. 20). After such a step no reconciliation was possible. Thus Atossa was the sultana successively of Cambyses, the Magian, and Darius. (See below, § 88.)

<sup>195</sup> τούτῳ is omitted in S and V.

<sup>196</sup> τὸν γε ἐωντῆς ἀδελφεόν. If Smerdis had not been Atossa's brother by the same mother as well as father, the familiarity would not by any means have been so certain. If however they were whole brother and sister, they would also be nephew and niece of Otanes (see note 192, above), and hence there would be peculiar propriety in his referring his daughter to her cousin.

<sup>197</sup> κινδυνεύσειν. S and V have κινδυνεύειν.

ἔσται, εὖ εἶδέναι ὡς αἰστώσει μιν ὁμῶς μέντοι ποιήσῃν ταῦτα. ἡ μὲν δὴ ὑπεδέξατο ταῦτα τῷ πατρὶ κατεργάσεσθαι. (τοῦ δὲ Μάγου τούτου τοῦ Σμέρδιος Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω ἄρχων τὰ ὧτα ἀπέτεμε ἐπ' αἰτίῃ δὴ τινι οὐ σμικρῇ.) ἡ ὦν δὴ Φαιδίμη αὕτη, ἡ τοῦ Ὀτάνεω θυγάτηρ, πάντα ἐπιτελέουσα τὰ ὑπεδέξατο τῷ πατρὶ, ἐπεὶ τε αὐτῆς μέρος ἐγίνετο τῆς ἀπίξιος παρὰ τὸν Μάγον, (ἐν περιτροπῇ γὰρ δὴ αἱ γυναῖκες φοιτεύουσι<sup>198</sup> τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι,) ἐλθοῦσα παρ' αὐτὸν ἠὲ ὑπνωμένου δὲ καρτερῶς τοῦ Μάγου, ἤφασσε τὰ ὧτα· μαθοῦσα δὲ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀλλ' εὐπετέως οὐκ ἔχοντα τὸν ἄνδρα ὧτα, ὡς ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνεε, πέμψασα ἐσήμηνε τῷ πατρὶ τὰ γενόμενα.

70

Seven of  
the nobles  
conspire  
against him.

Ὁ δὲ Ὀτάνης παραλαβὼν Ἀσπαθίνην<sup>199</sup> καὶ Γωβρίην<sup>200</sup>, Περσέων τε πρώτους ἔοντας καὶ ἑωυτῷ ἐπιτηδεωτάτους ἐς πίστιν, ἀπηγγέλατο πᾶν τὸ πρῆγμα· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄρα ὑπόπτευν οὕτω τοῦτο ἔχειν, ἀνενεύκαντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀτάνεω τοὺς λόγους ἐδέξαντο καὶ ἔδοξε σφί ἐκαστον ἄνδρα Περσέων προσεταιρίσασθαι, τοῦτον τῷ πιστεύει μάλιστα. Ὀτάνης μὲν νυν εἰσάγεται Ἰνταφέρνεα<sup>201</sup>, Γωβρίης δὲ Μεγάβυζον<sup>202</sup>, Ἀσπαθίνης δὲ Ὑδάρνεα<sup>203</sup>. γεγονότων δὲ τούτων ἔξ, παραγίνεται ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα Δαρείος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος ἐκ Περσέων ἦκων<sup>204</sup>. τούτων γὰρ δὴ ἦν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ ὑπαρχος· ἐπεὶ ὦν

<sup>198</sup> ἐν περιτροπῇ γὰρ δὴ αἱ γυναῖκες φοιτεύουσι. See the *Book of Esther* iii. 11—14.

<sup>199</sup> Ἀσπαθίνην. The manuscripts S and V have Ἀσπαθίνην. This conspirator is the only one mentioned by Herodotus whose name does not appear in the Behistun inscription. In its place is Ardomanes (Ardumanish), son of Vacces (Vahuka). But on the tomb of Darius at *Naksh-e-Rustan* an *Aspachana* is mentioned in an inscription as the king's quiver-bearer, and a *Gobryas* as his bow-bearer.

<sup>200</sup> Γωβρίην. This name in its Persian form (Gaubaruwa) appears on the Behistun inscription. He is there made son of Mardonius (Marduniya).

<sup>201</sup> Ἰνταφέρνεα. S and V have Ἰνταφέρνεα. In the Behistun inscription he is called Vidafra, and made son of Vayaspares (Veispares).

<sup>202</sup> Μεγάβυζον. One MS has Μεγάβυζον. In the Behistun inscription he is called Bagabuksha (as Merdis becomes Bartius), and made son of Daduhya (Dadoes).

<sup>203</sup> Ὑδάρνεα. In the Behistun inscrip-

tion he is called Vidarna, and made son of Bagabigna (Megabignes).

<sup>204</sup> ἐκ Περσέων ἦκων. These words are very difficult to explain, as the locality from whence Darius came, and of which his father is represented as satrap, is obviously *here* regarded as something different from the district of which Susa (where Herodotus makes the murder of the Magian take place) was the centre. Yet elsewhere (see above, § 30) that district is expressed in exactly the same terms, and they are undoubtedly used to signify the region in which was the *stammesitz* of the family of Cyrus (see note 182, above). And the same place is certainly meant in i. 210, where it is said of Hystaspes, that he *ἦν ἐκ Πέρσας, φυλάξων Κύρου τὸν ταῦτα Δαρείον*. The solution of the difficulty is perhaps to be found in the supposition that Herodotus has inadvertently changed the locality of the death of the usurper. The Behistun inscription represents him to have been slain in the fort *Siktakhotes*, in the province of *Nisaea* in *Media*. To kill him there Darius might well have come *ἐκ Περσέων*.

οὗτος ἀπίκετο, τοῖσι ἔξ τῶν Περσέων ἔδοξε καὶ Δαρεῖον προσεται-  
ρίσασθαι. Συνελθόντες δὲ οὗτοι, ἔοντες ἑπτά, ἐδίδουσάν σφισι 71  
πίστις καὶ λόγους. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐς Δαρεῖον ἀπίκετο γνώμην ἀπο-  
φαίνεσθαι, ἔλεγε σφι τάδε· “ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἐδόκεον μὲν αὐτὸς μόνος  
ἐπίστασθαι<sup>295</sup>, ὅτι τε ὁ Μάγος εἴη ὁ βασιλεύων καὶ Σμέρδης ὁ  
Κύρου τετελεύτηκε· καὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου εἵνεκεν ἦκω σπουδῇ, ὥς  
συστήσω ἐπὶ τῷ Μάγῳ θάνατον· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ συνήνεκε ὥστε καὶ  
ὑμέας εἰδέναι καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐμὲ, ποιέειν αὐτίκα μοι δοκέει καὶ μὴ  
ὑπερβάλλεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον.” εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ὀτάνης·  
“ὦ παῖ Ὑστάσπεος, εἰς τε πατρός ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἐκφαίνειν ἔοικας  
σεωυτὸν ἔοντα τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἥσσω· τὴν μέντοι ἐπιχειρήσιν  
ταύτην μὴ οὕτω συντάχυνε ἀβούλως, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸ σωφρονέστερον  
αὐτὴν λάμβανε· δεῖ γὰρ πλεῖνας γενομένους οὕτω ἐπιχειρῆειν.”  
λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα Δαρεῖος· “ἄνδρες οἱ παρεόντες, τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρη-  
μένῳ ἔξ Ὀτάνεω εἰ χρήσεσθε, ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἀπολέεσθε κάκιστα·  
ἐξοίσει γὰρ τις πρὸς τὸν Μάγον, ἰδίῃ περιβαλλόμενος ἐωντῷ  
κέρδεα. μάλιστα μὲν νυν ὠφείλετε ἐπ’ ὑμέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι  
ποιέειν ταῦτα· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ὑμῖν ἀναφέρειν ἐς πλεῖνας ἐδόκεε καὶ  
ἐμοὶ ὑπερέθεσθε, ἢ ποιέωμεν σήμερον, ἢ ἴστε, ὑμῖν ὅτι ἦν ὑπερ-  
πέση ἡ νῦν ἡμέρη, ὥς οὐκ ἄλλος φθὰς ἐμεῦ κατήγορος ἔσται, ἀλλὰ  
σφεα αὐτὸς ἐγὼ κατερέω πρὸς τὸν Μάγον.” Λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα 72  
Ὀτάνης, ἐπειδὴ ὥρα σπερχόμενον Δαρεῖον· “ἐπεὶ τε ἡμέας συν-  
ταχύνειν ἀναγκάζεις καὶ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι οὐκ ἔῃς, ἴθι ἐξηγέο<sup>296</sup>  
αὐτὸς ὅτεφ τρόπῳ πάριμεν ἐς τὰ βασιλῆϊα, καὶ ἐπιχειρήσομεν  
αὐτοῖσι<sup>297</sup>. φυλακὰς γὰρ δὴ διεστεώσας οἰδᾷς κου καὶ αὐτὸς, εἰ μὴ  
ἰδὼν, ἀλλ’ ἀκούσας· ἄς τέφ τρόπῳ περήσομεν;” ἀμβιβεται Δαρεῖος  
τοῖσδε· “Ὀτάνη, ἡ πολλὰ ἔστι τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οὐκ οἶά τε δηλῶσαι,  
ἔργῳ δὲ ἄλλα δ’ ἔστι τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οἶά τε, ἔργον δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ’

*Darius's  
impetuosity  
overcomes  
the timid  
counsels of  
Otanes.*

<sup>295</sup> ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἐδόκεον μὲν αὐτὸς μόνος ἐπίστασθαι. There is nothing in the story as given by Herodotus to explain how Darius should come to entertain this belief, neither is there in the account of the transaction as recorded by Ctesias. Even the statement of the Behistun inscription affords no help unless we suppose that Darius was closely concerned with the death of Bardiys before the invasion of Egypt by Cambyzes; and that the termi-

nation of the troubles which the inscription speaks of as effected by his death was a benefit purchased at the price of his assassination. See note 212, below.

<sup>296</sup> ἐξηγέο. See note 314 on i. 90.

<sup>297</sup> αὐτοῖσι. This word refers not to any thing before expressed, but to what may be gathered by inference from what has preceded “them,” i.e. the Magian and his friends.

αὐτῶν λαμπρὸν γίνεται· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἴστε φυλακὰς τὰς κατεστέως εἰούσας οὐδὲν χαλεπὰς παρελθεῖν τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ, ἡμέων ἔοντων τοιῶνδε <sup>200</sup>, οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ παρήσει, τὰ μὲν κου καταιδέμενος ἡμέας τὰ δὲ κου καὶ δειμαίνων τοῦτο δὲ, ἔχω αὐτὸς σιγήψιν εὐπρεπεστάτην τῇ πάριμεν, φὰς ἄρτι τε ἤκειν ἐκ Περσέων καὶ βούλεσθαι τι ἔπος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς σημήναι τῷ βασιλεῖ· ἔνθα γὰρ τι δεῖ ψεῦδος λέγεσθαι, λεγέσθω. (τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλιχόμεθα, οἳ τε ψευδόμενοι καὶ οἱ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ διαχρεώμενοι· οἱ μὲν γε ψεύδονται τότε, ἐπεὰν τι μέλλωσι τοῖσι ψεύδεσι πείσαντες κερδήσεσθαι· οἱ δ' ἀληθίζονται, ἵνα τι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐπισπάσωνται κέρδος καὶ τι μᾶλλον σφι ἐπιτράπηται· οὕτω οὐ ταῦτα ἀσκεόντες, τούτου περιεχόμεθα. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν κερδήσεσθαι μέλλοιεν, ὁμοίως ἂν ὁ τε ἀληθιζόμενος ψευδῆς εἴη καὶ ὁ ψευδόμενος ἀληθής.) ὅς ἂν μὲν νῦν τῶν πυλουργῶν ἐκὼν παρή, αὐτῷ οἱ ἄμεινον ἐς χρόνον ἔσται· ὅς δ' ἂν ἀντιβαίνειν πειράται, διαδεικνύσθω ἐνθαῦτα ἔων πολέμιος καὶ ἔπειτα ὡσάμενοι ἔσω ἔργου ἐχόμεθα."

73

Gobryas  
supports  
Darius,

Λέγει Γωβρύης μετὰ ταῦτα· "ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἡμῖν κότε κάλλιον παρέξει ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἢ, εἰ γε μὴ οἶοι τε ἐσόμεθα αὐτὴν ἀναλαβέειν, ἀποθανέειν; ὅτε γε ἀρχόμεθα μὲν ἔοντες Πέρσαι ὑπὸ Μήδου ἀνδρὸς Μάγου<sup>200</sup>, καὶ τούτου ὧτα οὐκ ἔχοντος· ὅσοι τε ὑμῶν Καμβύση νοσέοντι παρεγένοντο, πάντως κου μέμνησθε τὰ ἐπέσκηψε Πέρσῃσι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον μὴ πειραμένοισι ἀνακτᾶσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τὰ τότε οὐκ ἐνεδεκόμεθα<sup>210</sup>, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαβολῇ ἐδοκέομεν εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεια. νῦν ὦν τίθεμαι ψῆφον<sup>211</sup> πείθεσθαι Δαρεῖω, καὶ μὴ διαλύεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου ἀλλ' ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγον ἰθέως." ταῦτα εἶπε Γωβρύης καὶ πάντες ταῦτα αἶνεον.

and the  
seven agree.

74

Confession  
of Pres-  
ages

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐβουλευόντο ἐγίνετο κατὰ συντυχίην ταδε· τοῖσι Μάγοις ἔδοξε βουλευομένοις Πηρξάσπεα φίλον προσθέσθαι, ὅτι τε ἐπεπόνθεε πρὸς Καμβύσειω ἀνάρσια, (ὅς οἱ τὸν παῖδα τοξεύσας ἀποκωλόκεε,) καὶ διότι μόνος ἡπίστατο τὸν

<sup>200</sup> τοιῶνδε. This reading rests on the manuscripts S and V. Gaisford reads τοίων. But the form in the text exists in all the MSS in viii 62.

<sup>200</sup> ἰόντες Πέρσαι ὑπὸ Μήδου ἀνδρὸς Μάγου. See note on § 126, ὑπὸ Μήδου ἀπαρημέρους τὴν ἀρχήν.

<sup>210</sup> τὰ τότε οὐκ ἐνεδεκόμεθα. See above, § 66.

<sup>211</sup> τίθεμαι ψῆφον. This expression seems to show that the history must have passed through a Hellenic channel to Herodotus. See note 126 on i. 27; note 268 on i. 77; and note 104, above.

Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θάνατον<sup>112</sup> αὐτοχειρή μιν ἀπολέσας· πρὸς δ' ἔτι, ἔοντα ἐν αἰνῇ μεγίστῃ τὸν Πρηξάσπεα ἐν Πέρσῃσι. τούτων δὴ μιν εὐνεκεν καλέσαντες φίλον προσεκτέωντο, πῶς τε λαβόντες καὶ ὀρκίοισι, ἢ μὴν ἔξω παρ' ἑωυτῷ μὴδ' ἐξοίσειν μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀπὸ σφέων ἀπάτην ἐς Πέρσας γεγονυῖαν ὑπισχνεύμενοι τὰ πάντα οἱ μυρία δώσειν<sup>113</sup>. ὑποδεκομένον δὲ τοῦ Πρηξάσπεος ποιήσιν ταῦτα, ὡς ἀνέπεισάν μιν οἱ Μάγοι, δεύτερα προσέφερον, αὐτοὶ μὲν φάμενοι Πέρσας πάντας συγκαλέειν<sup>114</sup> ὑπὸ τὸ βασιλῆϊον τεῖχος, κείνον δ' ἐκέλευον ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ πύργον ἀγορεύσαι<sup>115</sup>, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου Σμέρδιος ἄρχονται καὶ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου. ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω ἐνετέλλοντο, ὡς πιστοτάτου δῆθεν ἔοντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃσι, καὶ πολλάκις ἀποδεξαμένου γνώμῃν ὡς περιεῖη ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις, καὶ ἐξαρησαμένου τὸν φόνον αὐτοῦ· Φαμένου δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐτοίμου εἶναι ποιέειν τοῦ Πρηξάσπεω, συγκαλέσαντες Πέρσας οἱ Μάγοι, ἀνεβίβασαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πύργον καὶ ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευον ὁ δὲ τῶν μέντοι ἐκείνοι προσεδέοντο αὐτοῦ, τούτων μὲν ἐκὼν ἐπελήθετο· ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀχαιμένεος ἐγενεηλόγησε τὴν πατρίην<sup>116</sup> τὴν Κύρου μετὰ δὲ, ὡς ἐς τοῦτον κατέβη, τελευτῶν

75

sealed by a voluntary death.

<sup>112</sup> καὶ διότι μόνος ἠπίστατο τὸν Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θάνατον. From Herodotus's story it does not appear how the Magian usurpers should be aware that Prexaspes was the only person cognizant of the real state of the case; although according to the account of the transaction by Ctesias they might very well be so. (See note 170, above.) The very mysterious character of the proceeding appears from the circumstance that Darius too fancied he himself was the only party aware of the death of Smerdis (see note 205, above), although Prexaspes had killed him (§§ 30. 66) and buried him (§ 62) with his own hands. (See *Excursus*.)

<sup>113</sup> τὰ πάντα οἱ μυρία δώσειν, "that they would give him ten thousand of every thing." After the battle of Platæa Pausanias was rewarded with *ten* of each of the several articles of the spoil. Πανσανίη δὲ πάντα δέκα ἐξαίρεθη τε καὶ ἐδόθη, γυναῖκες, ἵπποι, τάλαντα, κάμηλοι, ὥς δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα χρήματα (ix. 81). So Croesus, when auspicing the war he proposed to make against Cyrus by a sacrifice to Apollo, offered up 3000 of every kind of animal κτήνηα τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τριαχίλια ἔθυσσε (i. 50), probably a hecatomb of each kind

every day for a month. STRABO speaks of a similar practice among the mountaineers of Lusitania: ποιοῦσι ἑκατόμβας ἑκάστου γένους Ἑλληνικῶς· ὡς καὶ Πίνδαρος φησὶ 'πάντα θύειν ἑκατόν' (iii. p. 248). The practice alluded to in the text probably arose among the Persians while they were in a barbarous condition, and unfamiliar with a metallic currency; but perhaps was continued in the case of royal largesses after the necessity for it had ceased; just as the high officials at an English coronation are rewarded with the furniture used. Thus Darius gave Mandrocles, the builder of the bridge over the Bosphorus, "ten of every thing:" ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα (iv. 88). The royal gifts would probably be such things as had been, during the nomad state of the Persians, necessities of life: robes, armour, horses, asses, drinking cups, and domestic slaves.

<sup>114</sup> συγκαλέειν. This word is here the future, not the present tense.

<sup>115</sup> ἀγορεύσαι. The technical Hellenic phrase for addressing the popular assembly. See note 211, above.

<sup>116</sup> τὴν πατρίην, "the house" or "clan." See i. 200, εἰς αὐτῶν πατρίαν

ἔλεγε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ Κύρος Πέρσας πεποιήκοι· διεξελθὼν δὲ ταῦτα, ἐξέφαινε τὴν ἀληθειάν, φάμενος πρότερον μὲν κρίπτειν οὐ γὰρ οἱ εἶναι ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν τὰ γενόμενα· ἐν δὲ τῷ παρεόντι ἀναγκαίην μιν καταλαμβάνειν φαίνειν. καὶ δὴ ἔλεγε τὸν μὲν Κύρου Σμέρδιν ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Καμβύσῳ ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀποκτείνειε, τοὺς Μάγους δὲ βασιλεύειν Πέρσῃσι δὲ πολλὰ ἐπαρησάμενος, εἰ μὴ ἀνακτῆσαι αὐτοὺς ὅπισω τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τοὺς Μάγους τισαίητο, ἀπῆκε ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν φέρεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου κάτω. Πρηξάσπης μὲν νυν, ἔων τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε.

76

The conspirators are interrupted in their course, but confirmed by an augury.

Οἱ δὲ δὴ ἑπτὰ τῶν Περσέων, ὡς ἐβουλεύσαντο αὐτίκα ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖσι Μάγοις καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι, ἦσαν εὐξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, τῶν περὶ Πρηξάσπεα πρηχθέντων εἰδότες οὐδέν. ἔν τε δὴ τῇ ὁδῷ μέσῃ στείχοντες ἐγίνοντο, καὶ τὰ περὶ Πρηξάσπεα γεγονότα ἐπυνθάνοντο· ἐνθαῦτα ἐσπῶντες τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐδίδουσαν αὐτὶς σφισι λόγους, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ὀτάνην πάγχυ κελεύοντες ὑπερβαλέσθαι, μηδὲ οἰδεύοντων τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐπιτίθεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον αὐτίκα τε ἵεναι καὶ τὰ δεδογμένα ποιέειν, μηδὲ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι· ὠθιζομένων δ' αὐτῶν, ἐφάνη ἱρήκων ἑπτὰ ζεύγη διὰ αἰγυπῶν ζεύγη διώκοντά τε καὶ τίλλοντα καὶ ἀμύσσοντα· ἰδόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἑπτὰ, τὴν τε Δαρείου πάντες αἶνεον γνώμην καὶ ἔπειτα

77

They are admitted without opposition within the walls of the palace, and unsuccessfully resisted afterwards by the eunuchs.

ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλῆα, τεθαρσχηκότες τοῖσι ὄρνισι. Ἐπιστάσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγίνετο οἷον τι Δαρεῖφ ἢ γνώμη ἔφερε· καταιδέμενοι γὰρ οἱ φύλακοι ἄνδρας τοὺς Περσέων πρώτους, καὶ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ὑποπτεύοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι, παρέσαν θείῃ πομπῇ χρωμένους<sup>217</sup>. οὐδ' ἐπειρώτα οὐδεὶς· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ παρήλθον ἐς τὴν αὐλήν, ἐνέκυρσαν τοῖσι τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρουσι εὐνούχοις, οἱ σφέας ἰστορέον ὅ τι θέλοντες ἤκοιεν καὶ ἅμα ἰστορέοντες τούτους τοῖσι πυλouroῖσι ἀπέειπον, ὅτι σφέας παρήκαν, ἰσχον τε βουλομένους τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἐς τὸ πρόσω παρίεναι· οἱ δὲ διακελευσάμενοι καὶ σπασάμενοι τὰ ἐγχειρίδια, τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἰσχοντας αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ

78

Resistance of the Ma-

συγκεντέουσι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἦσαν δρόμῳ ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεῶνα. Οἱ δὲ Μάγοι ἔτυχον ἀμφοτέρω τῇ καὶ ἐόντες τε ἔσω, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ

τρεῖς. In reciting the genealogy of Cyrus it would be quite natural for Prexaspes to show the proximity of Darius to the throne. See vii. 11, and *Excursus* on iii. 74.

<sup>217</sup> θείῃ πομπῇ χρωμένους. A proverbial expression to describe that which is done without the least let or hindrance.

Πρηξάσπεος γενόμενα ἐν βουλῇ ἔχοντες· ἐπεὶ ὦν εἶδον τοὺς <sup>gian brothers,</sup> εὐνούχους τεθορυβημένους τε καὶ βοῶντας, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον πάλιν ἀμφοτέροι καὶ, ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ ποιούμενον, πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο· ὁ μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν φθάσει τὰ τόξα κατελόμενος, ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν αἰχμὴν ἐτράπετο· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοισι· τῷ μὲν δὴ τὰ τόξα ἀναλαβόντι αὐτῶν, ἐόντων τε ἀγγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ προσκειμένων, ἦν χρηστὰ οὐδέν· ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῇ αἰχμῇ ἡμύνετο, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Ἀσπαθίην παίει ἐς τὸν μηρὸν, τοῦτο δὲ Ἰνταφέρνεα ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν καὶ ἐστερήθη μὲν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος ὁ Ἰνταφέρνης, οὐ μέντοι ἀπέθανέ γε. τῶν μὲν δὴ Μάγων οὔτερος τρωματίζει τούτους· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος, ἐπεὶ τέ οἱ τὰ τόξα οὐδὲν χρηστὰ ἐγένετο, ἦν γὰρ δὴ θάλαμος ἐσέχων ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεῶνα, ἐς τοῦτον καταφεύγει, θέλων αὐτοῦ προσθεῖναι τὰς θύρας· καὶ οἱ συνεσπίπτουσι τῶν ἐπτά δύο, Δαρειὸς τε καὶ Γωβρύης· συμπλακέντος δὲ Γωβρύνω τῷ Μάγῳ, ὁ Δαρειὸς ἐπεστεῶς ἠπόρει, οἷα ἐν σκότει προμηθεόμενος μὴ πλήξῃ τὸν Γωβρύνην ὀρέων δέ μιν ἄργον ἐπεστεῶτα ὁ Γωβρύης, εἶρετο δ' τι οὐ χράται τῇ χειρί; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “προμηθεόμενος σέο, μὴ πλήξω” Γωβρύης δὲ ἀμείβετο· “ὦθι <sup>who are at last</sup> <sup>alain.</sup> καὶ δι' ἀμφοτέρων τὸ ξίφος” Δαρειὸς δὲ πειθόμενος, ὥσέ τε τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον καὶ ἐτυχέ κως τοῦ Μάγου.

Ἀποκτείναντες δὲ τοὺς Μάγους καὶ ἀποταμόντες αὐτῶν τὰς <sup>79</sup> κεφαλὰς, τοὺς μὲν τρωματίας ἐωυτῶν αὐτοῦ λείπουσι, καὶ ἀδυνασὶς εἵνεκεν καὶ φυλακῆς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος· οἱ δὲ πέντε αὐτῶν ἔχοντες τῶν Μάγων τὰς κεφαλὰς, ἔθειον ἕξω βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ χρεώμενοι· καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐξηγούμενοί τε τὸ πρῆγμα καὶ δεικνύοντες τὰς κεφαλὰς· καὶ ἅμα ἔκτεινον πάντα τινὰ τῶν Μάγων τὸν ἐν ποσὶ γινόμενον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι, μαθόντες τό τε γεγονός ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν ἀπάτην, ἐδικαίουν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν σπασάμενοι δὲ τὰ ἐγχειρίδια, ἔκτεινον ὅκου τινὰ Μάγον εὗρισκον· εἰ δὲ μὴ νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα ἔσχε, ἔλιπον ἂν οὐδένα Μάγον. ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην θεραπεύουσι Πέρσαι <sup>which is commemorated by a festival.</sup> <sup>218</sup> κοινῇ μάλιστα τῶν ἡμερέων καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ὀρτὴν μεγάλῃν

<sup>218</sup> ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην θεραπεύουσι Πέρσαι. It is likely that the account which Herodotus gives of the Magian usurpation springs primarily from the popular story which the travelling merchants who had been present at the Per-

sian festival would receive of its origin,—in which, naturally, the political character of the movement would vanish in comparison of the personal adventures of its principal agents. But in the inscription of Behistun the other side of the matter shows itself.



ἀνάγουσι, ἢ κέκληται ὑπὸ Περσέων Μαγοφόνια <sup>219</sup>. ἐν τῇ Μάγῳ οὐδένα ἔξεστι φανῆναι ἐς τὸ φῶς, ἀλλὰ κατ' οἴκους ἑαυτοὺς οἱ Μάγοι ἔχουσι τὴν ἡμέρην ταύτην.

80

Story of the political discussion between the conspirators.

Otanes advocates a commonwealth;

Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ κατέστη ὁ θόρυβος καὶ ἐκτὸς πέντε ἡμερέων ἐγένετο, ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μάγοισι περὶ τῶν πρηγμάτων πάντων καὶ ἐλέχθησαν λόγοι ἀπιστοὶ μὲν ἐνόιοι Ἑλλήνων, ἐλέχθησαν δ' ὦν <sup>220</sup>. Ὅτάνης μὲν ἐκέλευε ἐς μέσον Πέρσῃσι καταθεῖναι τὰ πρήγματα, λέγων τάδε "ἐμοὶ δοκέει, ἕνα μὲν ἡμέων μούναρχον μηκέτι γενέσθαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἡδὺ οὔτε ἀγαθὸν εἶδετε μὲν γὰρ τὴν Καμβύσειω ὕβριν ἐπ' ὅσον ἐπεξήλθε, μετεσχῆκατε δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Μάγου ὕβριος. κῶς δ' ἂν εἴη χρῆμα κατηρητῆμένον μουναρχίῃ, τῇ ἔξεστι ἀνευθύνῃ ποιεῖν τὰ βούλεται; καὶ γὰρ ἂν τὸν ἀριστον ἀνδρῶν πάντων, στάντα ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐωθότων νοσημάτων στήσσει· ἐγγίνεται μὲν γὰρ οἱ ὕβρις ὑπὸ τῶν παρεόντων ἀγαθῶν, φθόνος δὲ ἀρχήθεν ἐμφύεται ἀνθρώπῳ· δύο δ' ἔχων ταῦτα, ἔχει πᾶσαν κακότητα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὕβρις κεκορημένος ἔρδει πολλὰ καὶ ἀτάσθαλα, τὰ δὲ φθόνῳ. καίτοι ἄνδρα γε τύραννον ἀφθονον ἔδει εἶναι, ἔχοντά γε πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ· τὸ δ' ὑπεραντίον τούτου ἐς τοὺς πολήτας πέφυκε· φθονεῖ γὰρ τοῖσι ἀρίστοις περιουσί τε καὶ ζῶουσι, χαίρει δὲ τοῖσι κακίστοις τῶν ἀσπῶν, διαβολὰς δὲ ἀριστος ἐνδέκεσθαι. ἀναρμοστότατος δὲ πάντων ἦν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν μετρίως θωυμάζῃς, ἄχθεται ὅτι οὐ κάρτα θεραπεύεται· ἦν τε θεραπείῃ τις κάρτα, ἄχθεται ὅτε θωπὴ. τὰ δὲ διή

In it Gomates the Magian is represented as rising and heading a rebellion in which the whole state joined, and Cambyzes as dying of grief at the intelligence. The rebellion was of a religious character. "The state became heretical, the lie abounding both in Media and Persia and in the other provinces." After the death of Gomates, Darius becomes king, prohibits the Magian worship, and "restores the sacred chants and ritual of Ormuzd, entrusting it to the families which Gomates had dispossessed, and establishing the kingdom as in the days of old." Glimpses of this historical fact show themselves here and there in other portions of Herodotus's work, as has been repeatedly remarked. See note 439 on i. 130; note 204, above; note 238, below; and the Excursus at the end of this book on § 74.

<sup>219</sup> ἢ κέκληται ὑπὸ Περσέων Μαγοφόνια.

Called, that is, by a Persian name, of which Μαγοφόνια is the Greek equivalent. See note 490 on ii. 158.

<sup>220</sup> ἐλέχθησαν δ' ὦν, "nevertheless, spoken they were." So iv. 5, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, λέγουσι δ' ὦν, and 82, ἔλεξε, οὔτε εἰ ψευθόμενος οὔτε εἰ ἀληθέα λέγων ἔχω σαφηνέως εἶπαι, ἔλεξε δ' ὦν. Herodotus elsewhere (vi. 43) adduces the fact of Mardonius having established democracies in the Asiatic towns to remove the scepticism of those Greeks who disbelieved the story of Otanes recommending a popular government to the Persians. It is however scarcely to be conceived that he desired to impress on his auditors the belief that the speeches as he gives them were delivered. See the passage of PLATO cited in note 113 on i. 32.

μέγιστα ἔρχομαι ἐρέων νόμαί τε κινεῖ πάτρια, καὶ βιᾶται  
 γυναῖκας, κτείνει τε ἀκρίτους. πλῆθος δὲ ἄρχον πρῶτα μὲν οὐ-  
 νομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἔχει ἸΣΟΝΟΜΙΗΝ<sup>211</sup>. δεύτερα δὲ, τού-  
 των τῶν ὁ μούναρχος ποιεῖ οὐδὲν· πάλῃ μὲν ἀρχὰς ἄρχει, ὑπεύ-  
 θυνον δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχει, βουλευματα δὲ πάντα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρει.  
 τίθεμαι ὦν γνώμην, μετέντας ἡμέας μουναρχίην τὸ πλῆθος ἀέξειν  
 ἐν γὰρ τῷ πολλῷ ἐνὶ τὰ πάντα.” Ὀτάνης μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν  
 γνώμην ἐσέφερε. Μεγάβυζος δὲ ὀλυγαρχίῃ ἐκέλευε ἐπιτράπειν, 81  
 λέγων τάδε· “τὰ μὲν Ὀτάνης εἶπε τυραννίδα παύων, λελέχθω  
 καὶ μοὶ ταῦτα· τὰ δ’ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἀναγε φέρειν τὸ κράτος, γνώμης  
 τῆς ἀρίστης ἡμάρτηκε. ὁμίλου γὰρ ἀχρηστοῦ οὐδὲν ἐστὶ ἀξυνετώ-  
 τερον, οὐδὲ ὑβριστότερον· καὶ τοι τυράννου ὕβριν φεύγοντας ἀν-  
 δρας ἐς δῆμον ἀκολάστου ὕβριν πεσέειν ἐστὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν·  
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἴ τι ποιεῖ, γινώσκων ποιεῖ· τῷ δὲ οὐ γινώσκειν ἐν·  
 κῶς γὰρ ἂν γινώσκοι, ὃς οὐτ’ ἐδιδάχθη οὔτε οἶδε καλὸν οὐδὲν, οὐδ’  
 οἰκῆϊον; ὥθέει τε ἐμπεσὼν τὰ πρήγματα ἄνευ νόου, χειμάρρῳ  
 ποταμῷ ἵκελος. δῆμῳ μὲν νυν, οἱ Πέρσῃσι κακὸν νοέουσι, οἷτοι  
 χράσθων ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπιλέξαντες ὁμίλῃν,  
 τοῦτοις περιβέωμεν τὸ κράτος· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτοις καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 ἐνεσόμεθα· ἀρίστων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἶκος ἄριστα βουλευματα γίνε-  
 σθαι.” Μεγάβυζος μὲν δὴ ταύτην γνώμην ἐσέφερε. Τρίτος 82  
 δὲ Δαρεῖος ἀπεδείκνυτο γνώμην, λέγων· “ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν εἶπε  
 Μεγάβυζος ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἔχοντα δοκέει ὀρθῶς λέξει, τὰ δ’ ἐς  
 ὀλυγαρχίην οὐκ ὀρθῶς· τριῶν γὰρ προκειμένων, καὶ πάντων τῶν  
 λέγω ἀρίστων ἐόντων (δῆμου τε ἀρίστου καὶ ὀλυγαρχίης καὶ μουν-

Megabyzus,  
an aristoc-  
racy;

Darius, a  
monarchy.

<sup>211</sup> ὄνομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἔχει ἸΣΟ-  
 ΝΟΜΙΗΝ. The effect of a name, which is  
 always powerful over men's minds, was  
 especially strong with the Greeks from  
 the time at which dialectical pursuits  
 began to prevail. Instances continually  
 occur in the literature of this period  
 of false reasoning, arising simply from  
 the confusion between logical notions  
 and the objects in *rerum natura* from  
 which those logical notions were abstracted.  
 Hence certain political writers alluded to  
 by ARISTOTLE (*Politic.* iv. p. 1294, a)  
 maintained εἶναι τῶν ἀδυνάτων τὸ μὴ εὐ-  
 νομεῖσθαι τὴν ἀριστοκρατουμένην πόλιν,  
 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀριστοκρατεῖσθαι τὴν μὴ  
 εὐνομομένην. EURIPIDES expands the  
 sentiment expressed by Otanes in a way

which shows the attraction that the super-  
 ficial analogies derived from words pos-  
 sessed for his countrymen. (*Phæn.* 535):

κεῖνο κάλλιον, τέκνον,  
 ἸΣΟΤΗΤΑ τιμᾶν, ἢ φίλους ἀεὶ φίλοις  
 πόλεις τε πόλεις συμπάχους τε συμμά-  
 χους  
 ξυνδεῖ· ΤΟ γὰρ ἸΣΟΝ νόμιμον ἀνθρώποις  
 ἔφην·  
 καὶ γὰρ μέτρ’ ἀνθρώποις καὶ μέρῃ σταθμῶν  
 ἸΣΟΤΗΣ ἔταξε κἀριθμὸν διάρσις·  
 νυκτός τ’ ἀφεγγές βλέφαρον ἡλίου τε φῶς  
 ἸΣΟΝ βαδίζει τὸν ἐνιαύσιον κύκλον,  
 κούδτερον αὐτῶν φθόνον ἔχει νικώμενον.

Compare THUCYDIDES, vi. 39.

άρχου) πολλῶ τοῦτο προέχειν λέγω. ἀνδρὸς γὰρ ἑνὸς τοῦ ἀρίστου οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἂν φανείη· γνώμη γὰρ τοιαύτη χρεώμενος, ἐπιτροπέοι <sup>222</sup> ἂν ἀμωμήτως τοῦ πλήθεος· συγῆτό τε ἂν βουλευματα ἐπὶ δυσμενέας ἀνδρας οὕτω μάλιστα. ἐν δὲ ὀλυγαρχίᾳ, πολλοῖσι ἀρετὴν ἐπασκέουσι ἐς τὸ κοινόν, ἔχθρα ἴδια ἰσχυρὰ φιλέει ἐγγίνεσθαι· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἕκαστος βουλόμενος κορυφαῖος εἶναι γνώμησί τε νικᾷν, ἐς ἔχθρα μεγάλα ἀλλήλοισι ἀπικνέονται ἐξ ὧν στάσιες ἐγγίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στασιῶν φόνος, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φόνου ἀπέβη ἐς μουναρχίην καὶ ἐν τούτῳ διέδεξε ὅσῳ ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἀριστον. δήμου τε αὖ ἄρχοντος, ἀδύνατα μὴ οὐ κακότητα ἐγγίνεσθαι· κακότητος τοίνυν ἐγγινομένης ἐς τὰ κοινὰ, ἔχθρα μὲν οὐκ ἐγγίγνεται τοῖσι κακοῖσι φίλαι δὲ ἰσχυραί· οἱ γὰρ κακοῦντες τὰ κοινὰ συγκύψαντες ποιέουσιν· τοῦτο δὲ τοιοῦτο γίνεται, ἐς δ' ἂν προστάς τις τοῦ δήμου τοὺς τοιοῦτους παύσῃ· ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν θουμαῖζεται οὗτος δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου θουμαζόμενος δὲ, ἂν' ὧν ἐφάνη μούναρχος ἑὼν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δημοῖ καὶ οὗτος ὡς ἡ μουναρχίᾳ κράτιστον. ἐνὶ δὲ ἔπει πάντα συλλαβόντα εἰπεῖν, κόθεν ἡμῖν ἡ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἐγένετο; καὶ τευ δόντος; κότερα παρὰ δήμου, ἢ ὀλυγαρχίης, ἢ μουνάρχου; ἔχω τοίνυν γνώμην, ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθέντας διὰ ἓνα ἀνδρα, τὸ τοιοῦτο περιστέλλειν <sup>223</sup>. χωρὶς τε τούτου, πατρίους νόμους μὴ λύειν ἔχοντας εὖ· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον."

88

Four of the seven agree with Darius.

Γνώμαι μὲν δὴ τρεῖς αὗται προεκέατο· οἱ δὲ τέσσερες τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀνδρῶν προσέθεντο ταύτῃ. ὡς δὲ ἐσσώθη τῇ γνώμῃ ὁ Ὀτάνης Πέρσῃσι ἰσονομίην σπεύδων ποιῆσαι, ἔλεξε ἐς μέσον αὐτοῖσι τάδε· "ἀνδρες στασιῶνται, δήλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι δεῖ ἓνα γέ τινα ἡμέων βασιλέα γενέσθαι, ἥτοι κλήρῳ γε λαχόντα, ἢ ἐπιτρεψάντων <sup>224</sup> τῷ Περσέων πλήθει τὸν ἂν ἐκείνοι ἐλῶνται, ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ μηχανῇ· ἐγὼ μὲν νυν ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐναγωνιεύμαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἄρχειν οὔτε ἄρχεσθαι ἐθέλω· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ὑπεξίσταμαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπ' ᾧ τε ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ὑμέων ἄρξομαι, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὔτε οἱ ἀπ' ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ γινόμενοι." τοῦτου εἰπαντος ταῦτα, ὡς συνεχώρεον οἱ ἐξ ἐπὶ τούτοις, οὗτος μὲν δὴ σφί οὐκ ἐνηγωνίζετο ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ μέσου καθῆστο <sup>225</sup>. καὶ νῦν αὕτη ἡ οἰκὴ διατελεῖ μόνῃ ἐλευθέρῃ ἐούσα Περσέων, καὶ ἄρχεται

<sup>222</sup> ἐπιτροπέοι. See note 105, above.

<sup>223</sup> τὸ τοιοῦτο περιστέλλειν. See note 347 on i. 98.

<sup>224</sup> ἐπιτρεψάντων, sc. ἡμέων.

<sup>225</sup> καθῆστο. This is the reading of all

the MSS, as it also is in i. 45; but in the latter passage the important manuscripts B and V are not to be reckoned. Yet κᾶνθαι occurs below (§ 134), and κατ-ἡμενος (ix. 86) without any variant.

τοσαῦτα ὅσα αὐτὴ θέλει, νόμους οὐκ ὑπερβαίνουσα τοὺς Περσέων. Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐβουλεύοντο ὡς βασιλέα δικαιοτάτα στή-  
 σονται· καὶ σφί ἐδοξε, Ὅτάνη μὲν καὶ τοῖσι ἀπὸ Ὅτάνειω αἰεὶ  
 γινομένοισι, ἣν ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἔλθῃ ἡ βασιληΐη, ἐξαίρετα  
 δίδοσθαι ἐσθιῆτά τε Μηδικὴν<sup>226</sup> ἔτεος ἐκάστου, καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν  
 δωρεὴν<sup>227</sup> ἣ γίνεται ἐν Πέρσῃσι τιμιωτάτη. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκεν  
 ἐβουλεύσαντό οἱ δίδοσθαι ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐβούλευσέ τε πρῶτος τὸ  
 πρῆγμα καὶ συνέστησε αὐτούς. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ὅτάνη ἐξαίρετα,  
 τάδε δὲ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐβούλευσαν παριέναι ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα πάντα  
 τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν ἑπτὰ<sup>228</sup> ἄνευ ἐσαγγελέος, ἣν μὴ τυγχάνῃ  
 εὐδων μετὰ γυναῖκός βασιλεύς· γαμέειν δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἄλλοθεν τῷ  
 βασιλεῖ ἢ ἐκ τῶν συνεπαναστάτων<sup>229</sup>. περὶ δὲ τῆς βασιληΐης  
 ἐβουλεύσαντο τοιόνδε· ὅτεν ἂν ὁ ἵππος ἡλίου ἐπανατέλλοντος  
 πρῶτος φθέγγηται ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, αὐτῶν ἐπιβεβηκότων, τοῦτον  
 ἔχειν τὴν βασιληΐην.

Δαρεῖφ δὲ ἦν ἱπποκόμος ἀνὴρ σοφός, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Οἰβάρης·  
 πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπεὶ τε διελύθησαν, ἔλεξε Δαρεῖος τάδε·  
 “Οἰβάρης, ἡμῖν δέδοκται περὶ τῆς βασιληΐης ποικίην κατὰ τάδε·  
 ὅτεν ἂν ὁ ἵππος πρῶτος φθέγγηται ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι<sup>230</sup>, αὐτῶν  
 ἐπαναβεβηκότων, τοῦτον ἔχειν τὴν βασιληΐην· νῦν ὦν, εἴ τινα  
 ἔχεις σοφίην, μηχανῶ ὡς ἂν ἡμεῖς σχῶμεν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας, καὶ μὴ  
 ἄλλος τις” ἀμείβεται Οἰβάρης τοῖσδε· “εἰ μὲν δὴ, ὦ δέσποτα,  
 ἐν τούτῳ τοί ἐστι<sup>231</sup> ἡ βασιλέα εἶναι ἢ μὴ, θάρσσε τοῦτου εἵνεκεν

84

Exceptional  
condition of  
the family  
of Otanes.

Rights re-  
served for  
the seven  
magnates.

85

Stratagem  
of Oebares,  
the groom  
of Darius,

<sup>226</sup> ἐσθῆτα Μηδικήν. This mark of honour was bestowed by Xerxes on the Acanthians to show his sense of their zeal in his service (vii. 116).

<sup>227</sup> τὴν πᾶσαν δωρεήν. See note 213, above.

<sup>228</sup> πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν ἑπτὰ. In later times it was a point of heraldic honour with the sovereigns of Cappadocia to trace their descent from this aristocracy of seven, no less than from Achæmenes. They were said to be descended from an Atossa, the sister of Cambyses, father of Cyrus. She had (it was said) married Pharnaces, king of Cappadocia. The issue of this marriage was Gallus. He had a son Smerdis, and Smerdis a son Ariannes. Ariannes was the father of Anaphas, a man distinguished for personal prowess, who was one of the seven conspirators, and, as a reward for his

efforts, received Cappadocia free from tribute as a fief. (Diodorus *ap. Photium. Bibl.* p. 382.) JOSEPHUS (*Bell. Jud.* xxiv. 2) makes Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, speak of her descent from Darius, the son of Hystaspes,—possibly from a confusion of Atossa the sultana with her great-aunt. For a similar pedigree of Mithradates see APPIAN and POLYBIUS (cited in note 419 on i. 121).

<sup>229</sup> ἄλλοθεν ἢ ἐκ τῶν συνεπαναστάτων. In the same way the Bacchiads at Corinth ἐβίβον καὶ ἤγοντο ἐξ ἀλλήλων (v. 92).

<sup>230</sup> ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι. The time of sun-rise would of course be a sacred one with Fire-worshippers, and consequently fitted for the observance of an omen.

<sup>231</sup> ἐν τούτῳ ἐστι, “depends upon this.” Compare vi. 109: ἐν σοὶ νῦν, Καλλιμαχε, ἐστὶ ἡ καταδουλῶσαι Ἀθήνας ἢ ἐλευθερὰς ποιήσαντα μημήδουσα ληφέναι.

καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν· ὡς βασιλεὺς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος πρὸ σεῦ ἔσται τοιαῦτα ἔχω φάρμακα.” λέγει Δαρείος “εἰ τοῖων τι τοιοῦτον ἔχεις σόφισμα, ὦρῃ μηχανᾶσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθαι· ὡς τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρης ὁ ἀγὼν ἡμῖν ἐστί.” ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Οἰβάρης ποιεῖ τοιόνδε· ὡς ἐγίνετο ἡ νύξ, τῶν θηλέων ἵππων μίαν τὴν ὁ Δαρείου ἵππος ἔστεργε μάλιστα, ταύτην ἀγαγὼν ἐς τὸ προάστειον κατέδησε, καὶ ἐπήγαγε τὸν Δαρείου ἵππον καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ περιῆγε [ἀγχοῦ τῇ ἵππῳ<sup>222</sup>] ἐγχερίμπτων τῇ θηλέῃ, τέλος δὲ ἐπῆκε ὀχεύσαι τὸν ἵππον. “Ἀμ’ ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ, οἱ ἄλλοι, κατὰ συνεθήκαντο, παρήσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων διεξελαυνόντων δὲ κατὰ τὸ προάστειον, ὡς κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐγίνοντο ἵνα τῆς παροχομένης νυκτὸς κατεδέδετο ἡ θήλεα ἵππος, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Δαρείου ἵππος προσδραμὼν ἐχρεμέτισε· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ τοῦτο ποιήσαντι<sup>223</sup>, ἀστραπὴ ἐξ αἰθρίης<sup>224</sup> καὶ βροντὴ ἐγένετο. ἐπυγενόμενα δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Δαρείῳ ἐτελέωσε<sup>225</sup> μιν ὥσπερ ἐκ συνθέτου τευ γενόμενα, οἱ δὲ καταθρόνιζες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων προσεκύνηον [τὸν Δαρείον ὡς βασιλέα<sup>226</sup>].

86

which succeeds, and is followed by an omen from the heavens.

87

Another version of the artifice.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ φασὶ τὸν Οἰβάρην ταῦτα μηχανήσασθαι, οἱ δὲ τοιαύδε, (καὶ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρα λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων<sup>227</sup>.) ὡς τῆς ἵππου ταύτης τῶν ἄρθρων ἐπιψάσας τῇ χειρὶ, ἔχοι αὐτὴν κρίψας ἐν τῇσι ἀναξυρίσιν· ὡς δὲ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι ἀπίεσθαι μέλλειν τοὺς ἵππους, τὸν Οἰβάρην τοῦτον ἐξείραντα τὴν χεῖρα, πρὸς τοῦ Δαρείου ἵππου τοὺς μυκτῆρας προσενέεικεν τὸν δὲ αἰσθόμενον φριμάσασθαι τε καὶ χρεμετίσαι.

<sup>222</sup> [ἀγχοῦ τῇ ἵππῳ]. These words appear to me to be a gloss explanatory of the words ἐγχερίμπτων τῇ θηλέῃ, and I have therefore included them within brackets.

<sup>223</sup> ἅμα τῷ ἵππῳ τοῦτο ποιήσαντι. The more usual expression would be ἅμα τῷ τὸν ἵππον τοῦτο ποιήσασθαι. The use of the participle is exactly similar to that in i. 34, μετὰ πόλωνα οἰχόμενον, and i. 51, ὑπὸ τὸν νῆδον κατακείμενα.

<sup>224</sup> ἐξ αἰθρίης, “out of a clear sky.” This circumstance caused the incident to be regarded as supernatural. HORACE was induced to give up his physical theory of the cause of thunder by the same phenomenon. “Diespiter,” contrary to the usual course of things, “per purum tonantes Egit equos volucrumque currum.” (Od. i. 34. 7.) PLINY mentions a magis-

trate of Pompeii having been killed by lightning on a clear day as one of the portents which accompanied Catiline’s conspiracy. (Hist. Nat. ii. c. 51.)

<sup>225</sup> ἐτελέωσε, “perfected.” The same word is used in the same sense in Hebr. ii. 10.

<sup>226</sup> [τὸν Δαρείον ὡς βασιλέα]. Some of the MSS have μιν τὸν Δαρ. Others omit the words ὡς βασιλέα. Gaisford includes between brackets the last two words only.

<sup>227</sup> ὑπὸ Περσέων. It is not necessarily to be inferred from this expression that Herodotus derived the story direct from any Persians. All that it seems necessary to conclude is that it came primarily from a Persian locality. See note 338 on i. 95; note 471 on i. 139; note 128 on ii. 43; and note 241, below.

Δαρείος τε δὴ ὁ Ῥστιάσπεος βασιλεὺς ἀπεδέδεκτο· καὶ οἱ ἦσαν 88  
 ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ πάντες κατήκοοι πλὴν Ἀραβίων, Κύρου τε κατα- Extent of  
Darius's  
empire.  
 στρεφάμενοι καὶ ὕστερον αὖτις Καμβύσῃ<sup>230</sup>. Ἀράβιοι δὲ οὐ-  
 δαμὰ κατήκουσαν ἐπὶ δουλοσύνῃ Πέρσῃσι, ἀλλὰ ξεῖνοι ἐγένοντο  
 παρέντες Καμβύσεια ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον (ἀκόντων γὰρ Ἀραβίων οὐκ  
 ἂν ἐσβάλλοιεν<sup>230</sup> Πέρσαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον) γάμους τε τοὺς πρώτους His wives.  
 ἐγάμει Πέρσῃσι<sup>240</sup> ὁ Δαρείος, Κύρου μὲν δύο θυγατέρας, Ἀτοσσάν  
 τε καὶ Ἀρτυστῶνιν· τὴν μὲν Ἀτοσσάν προσνουκῆσασαν Καμ-  
 βύσῃ τε τῷ ἀδελφεῷ καὶ αὖτις τῷ Μάγῳ· τὴν δὲ Ἀρτυστῶνιν,  
 παρθένον· ἐτέρην δὲ, Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θυγατέρα, ἔγχε, τῇ  
 οὖνομα ἦν Πάρμυς· ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὀτάνεω θυγατέρα ἣ τὸν  
 Μάγον κατὰδελον ἐποίησε. δυνάμῳς τε πάντα οἱ ἐπιπλέατο. The monu-  
ment in  
memory  
of his ac-  
cession.  
 πρώτον μὲν νυν τύπον ποιησάμενος λίθινον ἔστησε<sup>241</sup>. ζῶον δὲ οἱ  
 ἐνὴν ἀνὴρ ἱππεύς· ἐπέγραψε<sup>242</sup> δὲ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε ΔΑ-

<sup>230</sup> ὕστερον αὖτις Καμβύσῃ. There is no mention made by Herodotus of any wars or conquests by Cambyzes in Asia (see ii. 1). But from the Behistun inscription, quoted in note 83, above, it seems possible that this phrase alludes to the putting down of a rebellion excited by Smerdis. See note 218, above.

<sup>239</sup> ἐσβάλλοιεν. Several MSS, which Gaisford follows, have ἐσβάλλοιεν. But the position is a general one, "without the consent of the Arabians the Persians would be unable to enter Egypt." This clause perhaps was framed before the detailed account above, § 9, was written, and remained after that was inserted, because the work never received the last polish of the author.

<sup>240</sup> γάμους τοὺς πρώτους ἐγάμει Πέρσῃσι. "The first marriages which he made were with Persians," in pursuance, apparently, of the arrangement mentioned above (§ 84). The great influence of Otanes is shown by his near relationship to all the sultanas. He would be (if Atossa and Artystone were daughters of Cassandane) uncle of both, great-uncle of Parmys, and father of Phædime. See the note 192, above. The opposition of Oroctes (see below, notes on § 127) becomes very natural if we regard the accession of Darius as brought about mainly by the influence of powerful individuals of the Achæmenid house.

<sup>241</sup> τύπον λίθινον ἔστησε. The monument in question was doubtless cut in a

rock; but the phrase ἔστησε conveys the notion of a Greek who had in his head the conception of a sculptured group "set up." The true state of the case shews itself in the word ἐνὴν, which presently follows.

<sup>242</sup> ἐπέγραψε. There can be little doubt that the story of Darius and his groom, by whatever channel it came to Herodotus, originally flowed from a popular interpretation of the meaning of the monument described in the text. There is as little doubt that this interpretation is an erroneous one; but it is not easy to point out the source of the error. An extremely ingenious theory has been put forward by Dr. Donaldson, that it arose from a misinterpretation of the arrow-headed inscription on the monument; the words rendered ἱπποκόμος really being an epithet of Ormuzd, and implying merely "the horseman." The Behistun inscriptions begin invariably by ascribing the prosperity of Darius to the favour of Ormuzd, who is represented in them by a figure now rendered familiar by the title-page of Mr. Layard's *Nineveh*. The horse too was sacred to the sun, and might possibly be used as a symbol of Ormuzd. But I am not aware of any evidence that the god was ever represented as a horseman. Indeed the account of a monument must be extremely accurate to allow of carrying such a theory as that of Dr. Donaldson into details; and such is hardly to be expected except from an eye-witness, which

ΠΡΕΙΟΣ ὁ ὙΣΤΑΣΠΕΟΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΤΕ ΤΟΤ' ἹΠΠΟΤ ΤΗ  
ΑΡΕΤΗ (τὸ οὖνομα λέγων) ΚΑΙ ΟΙΒΑΡΕΟΣ ΤΟΤ' ἹΠΠΟ-  
ΚΟΜΟΤ, ἘΚΤΗΣΑΤΟ ΤΗΝ ΠΕΡΣΕΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΔΗΙΗΝ.

89

He insti-  
tutes a  
cadastral  
system.

Ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Πέρσῃσι, ἀρχὰς κατεστήσατο εἴκοσι τὰς  
αὐτοὶ καλέουσι σατραπείας. καταστήσας δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἄρ-  
χοντας ἐπιστήσας, ἐτάξατο <sup>243</sup> φόρους οἱ προσιέναι κατὰ ἔθνεά  
τε, καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ἔθνεσι τοὺς πλησιοχώρους προστάσσειν, καὶ  
ὑπερβαίνων τοὺς προσεχέας, ἄλλοισι ἄλλα τὰ ἑκάστῳ ἔθνεα  
νέμων <sup>244</sup>.

Established  
standard for  
the tribute  
in bullion.

Ἀρχὰς δὲ καὶ φόρων πρόσδοον τὴν ἐπέτεον κατὰ τάδε διεῖλε  
τοῖσι μὲν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον ἀπαγινέουσι εἰρητο Βαβυλωνίων σταβμὸν  
τάλαντον ἀπαγινέειν, τοῖσι δὲ χρυσίον ἀπαγινέουσι Εὐβοϊκόν τὸ  
δὲ Βαβυλωνίων τάλαντον δύναται Εὐβοϊδᾶς ἐβδομήκοντα μνᾶς <sup>245</sup>.  
ἐπὶ γὰρ Κύρου ἀρχοντος, καὶ αὐτὶς Καμβύσῳ, ἣν κατεστηκὸς  
οὐδὲν φόρου πέρι, ἀλλὰ δῶρα ἀγίνεον. (διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπί-  
ταξιν τοῦ φόρου καὶ παραπλήσια ταύτῃ ἄλλα, λέγουσι Πέρσαι ὡς

Herodotus cannot here be supposed to have been. Compare his account of another rock monument now known, and the note upon it (299, on ii. 106). See also the last note.

<sup>243</sup> ἐτάξατο. The middle voice implies that the tribute was not arbitrarily imposed, but the result of a calculation and agreement. The satrap may be considered to have farmed the revenue of his province at the price of the appointed φόρος. See the expression φόρον ἐτάξαντο of the parties on whom the impost was laid, above, § 13. The case was different when Artaphernes φόρους ἐταξε ἐκάστοισι τῶν Ἰώνων (vi. 42). As a conqueror he was free to impose his own terms.

<sup>244</sup> καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ἔθνεσι. . . ἔθνεα νέμων. This sentence is an extremely difficult one to construct; and it appears not to have received the author's last touch. It seems clear that he wished to describe the system which he briefly notices in i. 134: προέβαινε γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτρόπῳ. The plan adopted was apparently a kind of sub-infeudation, the countries in the immediate neighbourhood of the seat of government being regarded in a manner as chief vassals of the empire, and in their turn exercising a sovereignty over their neighbours. Thus, while in the royal schedule all the several nations pay-

ing tribute would appear, they would not all pay direct into the treasury; but those nearest to the seat of government would be responsible for the payments of their more distant neighbours. It would seem as if the series of participial clauses in the text were in fact memoranda for the author himself, standing as the materials from which was to be produced a member which should balance the phrase ἐτάξατο φόρους οἱ προσιέναι κατὰ ἔθνεα.

<sup>245</sup> δύναται Εὐβοϊδᾶς ἐβδομήκοντα μνᾶς. It is impossible to bring this proportion into harmony with what is known of the Euboic scale; and indeed it is only necessary to go through the calculation Herodotus makes, on his own data, to perceive that there is great confusion in the text as regards the numbers given. From other grounds Boeckh (*Metrolologische Untersuchungen*, pp. 46, seqq.) has done much to establish the following points. (1) That the Babylonian talent was a weight in silver pretty nearly equal to 10,000 of Solon's drachmæ. (2) That it passed in the way of commerce to the Æginetans. (3) That it was equivalent to 72 minæ of the ante-Solonian currency in Attica. (4) That it weighed from 72 × 100 × 112 to 72 × 100 × 115 grains English, which would be equivalent in the lesser case to 115·2, in the greater to 118·286 lbs. avoirdupois.

Δαρείος μὲν ἦν κάπηλος· Καμβύσης δὲ δεσπότης· Κῦρος δὲ πατήρ·  
ὁ μὲν ὅτι ἐκαπήλευε πάντα τὰ πρήγματα· ὁ δὲ ὅτι χαλεπὸς τε ἦν  
καὶ ὀλέγῳρος· ὁ δὲ ὅτι ἡπιὸς τε, καὶ ἀγαθὰ σφι πάντα ἐμῆχανή-  
σατο.) Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰώνων, καὶ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ<sup>246</sup>,  
καὶ Αἰολέων, καὶ Κερῶν, καὶ Λυκίων, καὶ Μιλλέων<sup>247</sup>, καὶ Παμ-  
φύλων, (εἰς γὰρ ἦν οἱ τεταγμένοι φόρος οὗτος<sup>248</sup>), προσήιε τετρα-  
κόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος οὗτος οἱ νομὸς κατ-  
εστήκει. ἀπὸ δὲ Μυσῶν, καὶ Λυδῶν, καὶ Λασονίων, καὶ Καβα-  
λίων, καὶ Ὑγεννέων<sup>249</sup>, πεντακόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς δεῦτερος οὗτος.  
ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑλλησποντιῶν τῶν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσπλέοντι, καὶ Φρυγῶν, καὶ  
Θρηάκων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ<sup>250</sup>, καὶ Παφλαγόνων, καὶ Μαριανδυνῶν,  
καὶ Συρίων<sup>251</sup>, ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια ἦν τάλαντα φόρος· νομὸς  
τρίτος οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Κιλικίων ἵπποι τε λευκοὶ<sup>252</sup> ἐξήκοντα καὶ

90

Cadastral  
systems of  
Darius.

<sup>246</sup> τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ. This clause is no doubt added to distinguish the people in question from those of the same name in Thessaly (vii. 132. 176). The Magnesians here meant are those of Magnesia on the Meander, a powerful aristocracy in early times. (ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* iv. p. 1289, line 40.) The country was especially favourable for the breeding of horses and the operations of cavalry; and perhaps this was one reason that made it the headquarters for one of the Persian corps of observation (iii. 122). It seems likely that the city was unfortified, for there is no mention of a siege by Mazares or Harpagus (i. 161. 162), and judging from the passage of Aristotle, the life of the people must have been very similar to that of the Thessalians, or the modern Hungarians. Magnesia on the Hermus (or Sipylus) probably did not exist in the time of Herodotus.

<sup>247</sup> καὶ Λυκίων, καὶ Μιλλέων. See notes on i. 173.

<sup>248</sup> εἰς γὰρ ἦν οἱ τεταγμένοι φόρος οὗτος. It is rather remarkable that no notice should be here taken of the Asiatic Dorian cities. If the list be compared with that of the subjects of Croesus (i. 28), it will be seen that this *nomen* includes all the Lydian dependencies on the coast south of the Hermus, with the addition of Lycia (which appears to have remained independent of Croesus; see note 91 on i. 27), and with the exception of those Dorians. Yet some of these cities,—for instance *Lindus* and *Cnidus*,—were undoubtedly of considerable commercial importance and closely

connected with Egypt. (See ii. 178 and 182.) One is inclined to suspect that they must have rendered some especial service to procure their own exemption from the condition of their neighbours on each side. They certainly made no resistance to Harpagus (i. 174), and this seems to have been quite with the approbation of the Delphic oracle. We do not find them, like the Ionians and Æolians, either contemptuously mentioned as *δούλους πατρῶους* of Cambyses (ii. 1), or acting as Persian auxiliaries (i. 171).

<sup>249</sup> Λασονίων, καὶ Καβαλίων, καὶ Ὑγεννέων. Several of the MSS have Ἀλυσονίων for Λασονίων, and S and V have Αὐγενέων for Ὑγεννέων. See note on vii. 77.

<sup>250</sup> Θρηάκων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ. These are the *Bithynians*. See note on vii. 75, *Βιθυνοί*.

<sup>251</sup> Συρίων. Two of the MSS have Ἀσσυρίων. But in all probability the nation intended is a portion of the Cappadocian, whom the *Greeks* called Syrians (i. 72; v. 49). That this list comes from a *Hellenic source* is plain from the circumstance that the Ionian cities are put in the first satrapy. See the entirely different arrangement in the Behistun Inscription cited in note on § 94, below.

<sup>252</sup> ἵπποι τε λευκοί. STRABO incidentally mentions (xi. c. 13, p. 454), by way of showing the riches of the Median soil, that whereas Cappadocia, in addition to the money tribute, furnished the Persian king with 1500 horses, 2000 mules, and 50,000 sheep, Media provided nearly the double of these. In the text the only



- τριηκόσιοι, ἐκάστης ἡμέρης εἰς γινόμενος, καὶ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πεντακόσια<sup>233</sup>. τούτων τεσσεράκοντα μὲν καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς τὴν φρουρέουσιν ἵππον τὴν Κιλικίην χώραν ἀναισιμοῦτο, τὰ δὲ τριηκόσια καὶ ἐξήκοντα Δαρεῖφ ἐφόιτα νομὸς τέταρτος οὗτος.
- 91 Ἀπὸ δὲ Ποσειδητοῦ πόλιος<sup>234</sup>, τὴν Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω οἰκισε ἐπ' οὐροισι τοῖσι Κιλικίων τε καὶ Σύρων, ἀρξάμενον<sup>235</sup> ἀπὸ ταύτης μέχρι Αἰγύπτου, πλὴν μοίρης τῆς Ἀραβίων<sup>236</sup>, (ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν ἀτελέα,) πενήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα φόρος ἦν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ Φοινίκη τε πᾶσα καὶ Συρία ἢ Παλαιστίνη καλεομένη, καὶ Κύπρος νομὸς πέμπτος οὗτος. ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου δὲ, καὶ Λιβύων τῶν προσεχέων Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ Κυρήνης τε καὶ Βάρκης, (ἐς γὰρ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον νομὸν αὐταὶ ἐκεκοσμέατο,) ἑπτακόσια προσήιε τάλαντα, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Μοίριος λίμνης γινομένου ἀργυρίου<sup>237</sup>, τὸ ἐγίνετο ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων. τούτου τε δὴ χωρὶς τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ ἐπιμετρομένου σίτου προσήιε ἑπτακόσια τά-

mention of a purveyance in kind is this of the white horses.

<sup>233</sup> τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πεντακόσια. See v. 49.

<sup>234</sup> Ποσειδητοῦ πόλιος. This town was a little to the north of that part of Syria where Laodicea was subsequently built by Seleucus. (STRABO xvi. c. 2, p. 358.) The neighbouring region was singularly fertile in wine (see the note 19 on § 6, above), and before the building of Laodicea this perhaps might be shipped in Hellenic bottoms at Poseideum, the name of which implies that there was a port there. The same site is said at the present time to be much frequented by ships from the excellent quality of its water. It is however inaccurately described as on the frontier between the Cilicians and Syrians, being three-quarters of a degree south of the pass. But a navigator in the time of Herodotus sailing from Egypt would, on coming off the promontory Poseideum, possibly lay his course for Cilicia, crossing the mouth of the gulf of Issus to the promontory Megarsus. In this case Poseideum (the town) would be the last place in Syria of which he would be cognizant, the whole coast of the gulf of Issus being left out of consideration, and the expression ἐπ' οὐροισι would in such a case be less inappropriate. Possibly too the fact of Mallus, a city just by the promontory Megarsus, having also been, according to

the legend (STRABO, xiv. p. 351), founded by Amphilochus, may have contributed to the notion that Poseideum was on the actual frontier. From either of the two places the navigator would stretch away to the other; and on the hypothesis of the geography of this region being constructed from accounts of different navigators, it is not impossible that the two frontier towns, both of them said to be founded by Amphilochus, were confused with one another, and placed as one town Poseideum on the actual frontier. It will be seen from the note on iv. 38, that the Hellenic navigators had a very vague knowledge of the gulf of Issus, probably owing to the jealousy of the Phœnicians.

<sup>235</sup> ἀρξάμενον. Larcher compares the construction with the well known one of δέον, εἶδον, &c. But here the word is apparently in the masculine gender, and the full construction would be ὡς ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ ταύτης μέχρι Αἰγύπτου λέγειν. The whole sentence exhibits an unparalleled slovenliness of style.

<sup>236</sup> πλὴν μοίρης τῆς Ἀραβίων. If the narrator is supposed to be carrying his auditors down the coast, which seems to be the case, we must suppose him to include in Arabia a portion of the sea-board. What portion this is does not seem clear. See note 16 on § 5, above.

<sup>237</sup> τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Μοίριος λίμνης γινομένου ἀργυρίου. See ii. 148.

λάντα· πρὸς γὰρ δύο καὶ δέκα μυριάσι Περσέων τε τοῖσι ἐν τῇ Δευκῇ τείχει τῇ ἐν Μέμφι κατοικημένοισι καταμετρέουσι, καὶ τοῖσι τούτων ἐπικούροισι· νομὸς ἔκτος οὗτος. Σατταγίδαί δέ, καὶ Γανδάριοι, καὶ Δαδίκαι τε καὶ Ἀπαρύται<sup>338</sup>, ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τεταγμένοι, ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα προσέφερον· νομὸς οὗτος ἑβδομος. ἀπὸ Σούσων δέ, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Κισσιῶν χώρας, τριηκόσια· νομὸς ὄγδοος οὗτος. Ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος δέ, καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀσσυρίης, χίλια οἱ προσήϊε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου<sup>339</sup>, καὶ παῖδες ἑκτομῖαι πεντακόσιοι· νομὸς εἵνατος οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀγβατάνων καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Μηδικῆς, καὶ Παρικανίων<sup>340</sup>, καὶ Ὀρβοκορυβαν-

<sup>338</sup> Σατταγίδαί δέ, καὶ Γανδάριοι, καὶ Δαδίκαι τε καὶ Ἀπαρύται. Of these four nations the last are unknown. The first appear in the Behistun Inscription. (See note 278, below.) The other two are united in the army of Xerxes, and armed as light troops in the same manner as the Bactrians, Sogdians, and Chorasmians (vii. 66).

<sup>339</sup> χίλια οἱ προσήϊε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου. If this statement be compared with that given of the resources of the Babylonian satrapy in i. 192, the difference between the payment made to Tritantæchmes the viceroy and the tribute which he sent home to his sovereign is enormous. Taking the *artabe* at 102 *sextarii*, and the *sextarius* at  $\frac{1}{16}$  of an imperial pint (see note 648 on i. 192, and Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, v. *Sextarius*), we have for the contents of the *artabe* 101·0922 imperial pints. The whole tax which came into the hands of Tritantæchmes was  $360 \times 101·0922 (= 36393·192)$  pints of silver, or, reckoning the pint at 10 lbs. weight, 363932 lbs. avoirdupois. Now the weight of a Babylonian talent was either 115·2 or 118·286 lbs. avoirdupois. (See note 245, above.) Accordingly the annual profit remaining to him after he had paid the tribute of 1000 talents would be  $363932 - 115200 (= 248732)$  or  $363932 - 118286 (= 245646)$  lbs. avoirdupois of silver, a sum very far greater than the satraps seem likely ever to have accumulated. (See the note on v. 36, ἐκίστασθαι γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν . . . ἀσθενέα.) The numbers throughout the description of the cadastral system of Darius are obviously wrong somewhere or other; and this appears to me likely to be one place. It seems not impossible that the true reading here is *τρισχίλια* instead of *χίλια*. A tribute of

this amount would still have allowed Tritantæchmes a net profit yearly of about 80 or 160 talents of silver, according as the greater or the less weight be taken for the talent. A couple of years' accumulation of the smaller of these two sums would amount to a fund as large as that which Orotes pretended to Polycrates he had in his possession (iii. 123). If we suppose the reading *τρισχίλια* to be the true one, and reckon the tribute from the fourth nome at 360 talents (i.e. taking no account of the 140 which were employed in paying the troops on the spot), we shall get 9600 for the whole amount of the money brought into the treasury exclusive of the gold-dust. This is not so far off the amount named by Herodotus as to make the whole account unintelligible,—which it is as the text stands. Again it seems probable that the money tribute paid by a nome would (unless there were some special reason to the contrary) vary pretty much as the purveyances required from it. Now the produce supplied by the Babylonian nome was *one third* of that which came from the whole of Asia (i. 192); and if the deduction of the tribute from the sixth nome be made from the 9540 or 9880 talents, at which Herodotus lays the whole, there results 8860 or 9200 for the Asiatic tribute, of which 3000 is not very far removed from one-third. Nevertheless, considering the entire difference between the list of countries in the text and that in the Behistun Inscription (see note 278 on § 94), and the vague description of all the nomes here after the first six, it seems impossible to expect so to ascertain the condition of the text as to reconcile Herodotus completely with himself.

<sup>340</sup> Παρικανίων. The Paricanii are men-

τῶν, πεντήκοντά τε καὶ τετρακόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς δέκατος οὗτος. Κάσπιοι δὲ καὶ Πανσίκαι<sup>261</sup>, Παντίμαθοι τε καὶ Δαρείται, ἐς τὸντο συμφέροντες, διηκόσια τάλαντα ἀπαγίνεον νομὸς ἐνδέκατος οὗτος. ἀπὸ Βακτριανῶν<sup>262</sup> δὲ μέχρι Αἰγλῶν, ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα φόρος ἦν νομὸς δωδεκάτος οὗτος. Ἀπὸ Πακτινικῆς<sup>263</sup> δὲ, καὶ Ἀρμενίων, καὶ τῶν προσεχέων μέχρι τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου, τετρακόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς τρίτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Σαγαρτίων<sup>264</sup>, καὶ Σαραγγέων<sup>265</sup>, καὶ Θαμαναίων<sup>266</sup>, καὶ Οὐτίων, καὶ Μύκων<sup>267</sup>, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇσι νήσοισι οἰκούντων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ, ἐν τῇσι τοὺς ἀνασπᾶστους καλεομένους<sup>268</sup> κατοικίξει βασιλεὺς, ἀπὸ τούτων πάντων ἑξακόσια τάλαντα ἐγίνετο φόρος· νομὸς τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Σάκαι δὲ καὶ Κάσπιοι<sup>269</sup> πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκόσια ἀγίνεον τάλαντα· νομὸς πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Πάρθοι δὲ, καὶ Χοράσμοι<sup>270</sup>, καὶ Σόγδοι τε καὶ Ἀρειοί<sup>271</sup>, τριηκόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς ἕκτος καὶ

tioned in the catalogue of Xerxes's army, to which they contributed both cavalry and infantry, which were armed alike (vii. 86). They have been considered the same as the *Paratraceni* of i. 101. But see the note on that passage.

<sup>261</sup> Πανσίκαι. These people are perhaps the same with the *Πανσίκαι* of STRABO and the *Pesica* of PLINY (*H. N.* vi. 19). But it seems hopeless to assign any definite locality to them. The *Pantimathi* are quite unknown.

<sup>262</sup> Βακτριανῶν. The manuscripts S and V have δὲ Βάκτρων, and also Αἰγλῶν for Αἰγλῶν. The form Βάκτριοι is the one used elsewhere by Herodotus; but this is no reason for supposing it to have been used here. ERATOSTHENES used the form Βακτριανῶν, and assigned the Oxus as the boundary between them and the *Sogdiani*, and the Jaxartes as that between the latter and the *Sacæ*. But even in his time it is plain that the positions of the different nomad tribes were most arbitrarily assigned. There was nothing really to distinguish them, their modes of life, as Strabo remarks (*xi. c. 8, p. 433*), being in all respects nearly alike, their character rude and savage, and unfavourable to commercial intercourse or to the restraints of a settled life. Of the *Ægli* nothing is known, unless they may perhaps be the same as the Αἰγῆλοι, whom STEPHANUS BYZANT. describes as *ἔθνος Μηδικόν*.

<sup>263</sup> Πακτινικῆς. S and V have Πακτυ-

κίης.

<sup>264</sup> Σαγαρτίων. See note 433 on i. 125.

<sup>265</sup> Σαραγγέων. See note on § 117, below.

<sup>266</sup> Θαμαναίων. These people are mentioned below (§ 117).

<sup>267</sup> Οὐτίων, καὶ Μύκων. These two nations appear in the army of Xerxes. Their armament is the same as that of the *Paricani* and of the *Pactyes* (vii. 68).

<sup>268</sup> τοὺς ἀνασπᾶστους καλεομένους. See iv. 204.

<sup>269</sup> Κάσπιοι. It is not at all easy to determine the site either of the *Sacæ* here mentioned or of the *Caspian* who are associated with them in the fifteenth satrapy. It is however not impossible that the latter name is a merely local one. The mountain range which the Greeks called Caucasus was by the natives called *Caspium* (ERATOSTHENES *ap. Strabon.* xi. c. 2, p. 407), and possibly *Κάσπιοι* may in fact mean "highlanders." Strabo suggests that probably the natives called the mountain range Caspium from the *Caspian*, although no people of that name existed in his time (p. 416). A more correct view may be that the sea was distinguished by its name from its proximity to the mountains, in which it would differ from the other great lakes of central Asia. See note on vii. 67, *σιρόνας ἐνδεδυκότες*.

<sup>270</sup> Χοράσμοι. These are tribes east of the Parthians. (STEPH. BYZ. *sub v.*)

<sup>271</sup> Ἀρειοί. This is the reading of all

δέκατος οὗτος. Παρικάνιοι δὲ, καὶ Αἰθίοπες οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, 94  
 τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀπαγίνεον νομὸς ἑβδομος καὶ δέκατος οὗ-  
 τος<sup>272</sup>. Ματιηνοῖσι δὲ, καὶ Σάσπειρσι<sup>273</sup>, καὶ Ἀλαροδοίοισι δι-  
 ηκόσια ἐπετέτακτο τάλαντα νομὸς ὄγδος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος.  
 Μόσχοισι δὲ, καὶ Τιβαρηνοῖσι, καὶ Μάκρωσι<sup>274</sup>, καὶ Μοσυνό-  
 κοισι<sup>275</sup>, καὶ Μαρσί<sup>276</sup>, τριηκόσια τάλαντα προεῖρητο νομὸς  
 εἵνατος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Ἰνδῶν δὲ πλῆθός τε πολλῷ πλείστον  
 ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀνθρώπων<sup>277</sup>, καὶ φόρον ἀπαγίνεον  
 πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα  
 ψήγματος νομὸς εἰκοστός οὗτος<sup>278</sup>. Τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀργύριον τὸ 95  
 Βαβυλωνίων πρὸς τὸ Εὐβοϊκὸν συμβαλλεόμενον τάλαντον γίνεται  
 τεσσεράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσια<sup>279</sup> καὶ εἰνακισχίλια τάλαντα. τὸ

Computa-  
 tion of the  
 tribute in  
 Euboic

the MSS, but in vii. 62. 66 all have the form Ἄριοι.

<sup>272</sup> Παρικάνιοι . . οὗτος. This sentence is omitted in F. See above, § 92, where the Paricani are placed in the tenth nome.

<sup>273</sup> Σάσπειρσι. The Saspies and Alarodii in the army of Xerxes were under the same command, and their armament was the same as that of the Colchi (vii. 79). From the nature of this they appear to be mountaineers, of no great importance as an arm of force; and the magnitude of the tribute imposed upon them is not such as to indicate great resources. But the case seems different with the Saspies mentioned in i. 104, and iv. 37. 40. See the notes on these passages. The difference may be explained on the hypothesis that the sources drawn upon by Herodotus are not the same in the two cases. The Matieni are in the army of Xerxes (vii. 72) associated with the Parthlagonians (who here are put in the third nome) under the command of Dotus.

<sup>274</sup> Μάκρωσι. The Macrones spoken of here are the same as those described in ii. 104 as the neighbours of the Cappadocians on the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius. The *Schol. on Apoll. Rhod.* i. 1023, speaks of them (on the authority of Philostephanus and Herodorus) as a warlike race, carrying on an inveterate border warfare with *Cyzicus*. It is very difficult to reconcile this with the statements in Herodotus, unless we suppose that by *Cyzicus* the grammarians meant the dependencies or factories of that city situated much further east on the shores of the Euxine. See note on vii. 78, *Μόσχοι*.

<sup>275</sup> Μοσυνόκοισι. Gaisford adopts the

form *Μοσυνόκοισι*, with the minority of authorities. The word *μόσυναι* in the dialect of Thrace meant *δοῦράττει* *πύργου*. (*Schol. ad Apollon. Rhod.* ii. 379.) Probably the *Mosyneci* were the dwellers in the wooden cottages of the Caucasian alps. See note on vii. 78. The *Moschi* are perhaps the *Mesech* of ΕΖΕΚΙΕΛ (xxvii. 13; xxxviii. 2; xxxix. 1.)

<sup>276</sup> Μαρσί. This is a conjecture of Voss's adopted by Gaisford (see vii. 78). The MSS vary between *Μάρσοσι*, *Μαρσοῖσι*, and *Μάρδοσι*. There is no doubt the same people are meant as the *Mares*, but it is not so certain that the text should be altered. See note on iv. 150.

<sup>277</sup> πολλῷ πλείστον ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀνθρώπων. It seems not improbable that this is an inference from the commercial importance of the imports reported to come from "the Indians;" and possibly what Herodotus says of the Thracians (v. 3) is to be explained and reconciled with Thucydides by considering it a merchant's view of the case.

<sup>278</sup> νομὸς εἰκοστός οὗτος. In the Behistun Inscription Darius is made to give a list of the subject countries, "all which" (he says) "pay tribute," and in all of which "he protects the true faith and destroys heretics." They are Persia, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, they of the sea, Sparta and Ionia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Zarangia, Asia, Chorasnia, Bactria, Sogdiana, the Sacæ, the Sattagydes, Aracosia, and the Mecians: the total amount being twenty-one countries. It will be seen that the distribution is an entirely different one from that in the text.

<sup>279</sup> τεσσεράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσια.

talents,  
gold being  
taken as  
thirteen  
times the  
value of  
silver.

δὲ χρυσίον τρισκαίδεκαστάσιον λογιζόμενον<sup>200</sup>, τὸ ψήγμα εὗρίσκεται ἔον Εὐβοϊκῶν ταλάντων ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίων καὶ τετρακισχίλιον. τούτων ὦν πάντων συντιθεμένων τὸ πλῆθος, Εὐβοϊκὰ τάλαντα συνελέγετο ἐς τὸν ἐπέτειον φόρον Δαρείῳ μύρια καὶ τετρακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ ἑξήκοντα· τὸ δ' ἔτι τούτων

96 This tribute is exclusive of that afterwards imposed on the islanders and Eu-

96 ἔλασσαν ἀπιεῖς, οὐ λέγω<sup>201</sup>. Οὗτος Δαρείῳ προσήιε φόρος ἀπὸ τε τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Λιβύης ὀλυγαχόθεν προϊόντος μέντοι τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ ἀπὸ νήσων προσήιε ἄλλος φόρος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ μέχρι Θεσσαλίας οἰκημένων. τούτων τὸν φόρον θησαυρίζει ὁ βασιλεὺς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἐς πῖθους κεραμένους τήξας κατα-

The Sarcroft MS reads ὀγδώκοντα καὶ δεκάκοσια. See notes 245 and 259, above.

<sup>200</sup> τρισκαίδεκαστάσιον λογιζόμενον. This proportion between the values of gold and silver must have been a nearer approach to equality than existed in the time when a present of sufficient gold for the mask of a statue was regarded as a national boon (i. 69), and when the quantity which a man could carry about his person was enough to found a family of predominating political importance (vi. 125). No doubt a great revolution was effected in the exchangeable value by the enormous amount found in the Persian camp after the defeat at Plataea. (See ix. 80.) But the disproportion was still further diminished in the next generation. In the time of Plato gold at Athens was to silver in value as 12 : 1, probably the influx from Asia continually increasing as the intercourse with European Hellas increased. The gold mines in Thrace too probably became more productive, and the silver mines at Laurium (the great source of the silver coinage) less so; to such an extent that Xenophon estimates the ratio as only 10 : 1. This proportion still existed in the time of Menander, and also in that of the Achaean league, although no fresh sources of silver seem to have been opened, and the gold sent into circulation by Philip of Macedon, and yet more by Alexander, must have been immense. Perhaps the additional supply was compensated by the facility for hoarding which the less bulky material afforded, and by the readiness with which it could be converted into ornaments. Strings of ancient gold coins are to this day worn in the hair and sewed on to the dress of the women in both European and Asiatic Greece. The value of gold seems never

to have much increased until the discovery of the silver mines of Peru. LINGARD (*History of England*, ii. 209) says that in the reign of Stephen and Henry II. gold was to silver as 9 : 1. In the reign of John it was 10 : 1, the difference perhaps arising from the exportation through the crusaders. But a continual supply of it seems during the middle ages to have flowed into Europe from Central Asia, where Marco Polo's Travels show that it abounded out of all proportion to silver, being exchanged for it in some places in the proportion of no more than 6 : 1. A very admirable memoir on the subject of the gold and silver money of Greece, by the Earl of Aberdeen, is to be found in *Walpole's Turkey*, vol. i. pp. 425—446.

<sup>201</sup> τὸ δ' ἔτι τούτων ἔλασσαν ἀπιεῖς, οὐ λέγω. It is not easy to say exactly what the author meant by this sentence. Possibly it refers to certain gifts in kind which came periodically to the court of the sovereign,—just as in old leases the tenant is often bound to furnish so many pikes in Lent, or brawns at Christmas, in addition to his money rent. Thus Pausanias speaks of the "piper et pennis, Marsi monumenta clientis" (iii. 75), although it can hardly be thought that the Roman 'patroni' would have been well satisfied with only such remuneration for their services. The revenue is in fact the net produce of the land-tax to the sovereign, considered as the absolute owner of the soil. (See notes on ii. 109. 177.) The smallness of the amount as compared with the extent of the empire has caused some surprise. But it must be remembered that this payment would be over and above all purveyances requisite for the public service. See i. 192.

χέει· πλήσας δὲ τὸ ἄγγος, περιαιρέει τὸν κέραμον· ἔπειδ' ἀν' ἀγγὸς χρημάτων, κατακόπτει <sup>222</sup> τοσοῦτο ὅσου ἂν ἐκάστοτε δέηται.

ropean  
Greeks.

Αὗται μὲν νυν ἀρχαί τε ἦσαν καὶ φόρων ἐπιτάξεις. ἡ Περσίς <sup>97</sup>  
δὲ χώρῃ μοῦνη μοι οὐκ εἰρηται δασμοφόρος· ἀτελέα γὰρ Πέρσαι The Per-  
νέμονται χώρην. οἶδε δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ἐτάχθησαν φέρειν, δῶρα sians pay  
δὲ ἀγίνεον Αἰθίοπες οἱ πρόσσυροι Αἰγύπτῳ, τοὺς Καμβύσης ἐλαύ- no tax.  
νων ἐπὶ τοὺς Μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας κατεστρέψατο· οἱ περὶ τε Some other  
Νύσσην τὴν ἱρὴν κατοικηται καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀνάγουσι τὰς ὀρτάς. nations  
οὔτοι οἱ Αἰθίοπες, καὶ οἱ πλησιώχωροι τούτοις, σπέρματι <sup>223</sup> μὲν make pre-  
χρέωνται τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ καὶ οἱ Καλαντίαι Ἰνδοί· οἰκήματα δὲ ἔκτμη- sents, but  
ται κατὰ γαίαν· οὔτοι συναμφοτέροι διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἀγίνεον, ἀγι- pay no tri-  
νέουσι δὲ καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, δύο χοίνικας ἀπύρου χρυσίου <sup>224</sup>, καὶ bute.  
διηκοσίας φάλαγγας ἐβένου, καὶ πέντε παῖδας Αἰθίοπας, καὶ ἐλέ-  
φαντος ὀδόντας μεγάλους εἴκοσι. Κόλχοι δὲ ἐτάξαντο ἐς τὴν  
δωρεὴν <sup>225</sup>, καὶ οἱ προσεχές μέχρι τοῦ Καυκάσιος· οὐρεὸς· ἐς τοῦτο  
γὰρ τὸ οὖρος ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι ἀρχεται· τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορρῇν ἀνεμον τοῦ  
Καυκάσιος Περσέων οὐδὲν ἔτι φροντίζει. οὔτοι ὧν δῶρα τὰ ἐτάξ-  
αντο ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ διὰ πεντετηρίδος ἀγίνεον, ἑκατὸν παῖδας καὶ  
ἑκατὸν παρθένους <sup>226</sup>. Ἀράβιοι δὲ χίλια τάλαντα ἀγίνεον λιβανο-  
τοῦ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. ταῦτα μὲν οὔτοι δῶρα παρέξ τοῦ φόρου βασιλεῖ  
ἐκόμιζον

Τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τοῦτον τὸν πολλὸν οἱ Ἰνδοί, ἀπ' οὗ τὸ ψήγμα τῷ <sup>98</sup>  
βασιλεῖ τὸ εἰρημένον κομίζουσι, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε κτέωνται· ἔστι τῆς The gold  
Ἰνδικῆς χώρας τὸ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ψάμμος· τῶν γὰρ ἡμεῖς comes from  
ἴδμεν, τῶν καὶ περὶ ἀτρεκές τι λέγεται, πρῶτοι πρὸς ἡῶ καὶ ἡλίου India, the  
country

<sup>222</sup> ἔπειδ' ἀν' ἀγγὸς χρημάτων, κατα-  
κόπτει. Darius seems to have been the  
first to establish a national mint. See  
note on iv. 166.

<sup>223</sup> σπέρματι. See note 292, below.

<sup>224</sup> ἀπύρου χρυσίου, "pure gold," that  
which has not required the agency of fire  
to separate it from any baser metal. See  
note 154 on i. 50.

<sup>225</sup> ἐτάξαντο ἐς τὴν δωρεάν. The ar-  
ticle before δωρεάν here is perhaps to  
be accounted for on the principle sug-  
gested in note 315 on i. 90. The Col-  
chians agreed to give "the gift," the pre-  
sent symbolizing the acknowledgment of  
feudal superiority, and thereby consti-  
tuting a claim to protection. The use of  
the middle voice implies a consent on the

part of the inferior party to the terms  
concluded with him. (See notes 42 and  
243, above.) The payment of tribute  
would have put them in the position of  
subjects, the rendering a gift only enabled  
them to preserve that of allies.

<sup>226</sup> Καυκάσιος. This is the reading of all  
the MSS except S and V, which have  
Καυκάσιοι, although two lines below, ac-  
cording to Gaisford, they agree with the  
rest. Above, in i. 203, 204, S has Καυ-  
κάσιος for Καύκασος invariably.

<sup>226</sup> ἑκατὸν παρθένους. These would no  
doubt be destined for the harem of the  
Persian monarch, and probably procured  
from Circassia. See note on vi. 9, ἀνα-  
στάτους ἐς Βάκτρα.

eastward  
as far as is  
known.  
Beyond is  
a sandy  
desert.  
India is  
inhabited  
by various  
tribes,

99

some of  
which are  
nomads and  
cannibals,

ἀνατολὰς οἰκέουσι ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἴνδοί· Ἴνδῶν γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἐρμήνη ἐστὶ, διὰ τὴν ψάμμον. ἔστι δὲ πολλὰ ἔθνεα Ἴνδῶν καὶ οὐκ ὁμόφωνά σφισι· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν νομάδες εἰσὶ, οἱ δὲ οὗ· οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖσι ἔλεσι οἰκέουσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἰχθῦας σιτέονται ὠμούς, τοὺς αἰρέουσι ἐκ πλοίων καλαμίνων ὀρμεώμενοι· καλάμου δὲ ἐν γόνυ πλοῖον ἕκαστον ποιεῖται<sup>287</sup>. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἴνδῶν φορέουσι ἐσθῆτα φλοῖνην ἐπεὰν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φλοῖν ἀμῆσῃσι καὶ κόψῃσι, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν φορμῷ τρόπον καταπλέξαντες, ὥς θώρηκα ἐνδυνέουσι. Ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἴνδῶν πρὸς ἡῶ οἰκέοντες τούτων νομάδες εἰσὶ, κρεῶν ἐδεσται ὠμῶν καλέονται δὲ Παδαῖοι<sup>288</sup>. νομαλοῖσι δὲ τοιοῖσδε λέγονται χρᾶσθαι· ὃς ἂν κάμη τῶν ἁστών, ἦν τε γυνή ἦν τε ἀνὴρ, τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἄνδρες οἱ μάλιστα οἱ ὁμιλέοντες κτείνουσι, φάμενοι αὐτὸν τηκόμενον τῇ νούσῃ τὰ κρέα σφίσι διαφθεῖρεσθαι· ὁ δὲ ἄπαρνός ἐστι μὴ μὲν νοσέειν, οἱ δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι ἀποκτείναντες κατευωχέονται· ἦν δὲ γυνή κάμη, ὡσαύτως αἱ ἐπιχρεώμεναι<sup>289</sup> μάλιστα γυναῖκες ταῦτα τοῖσι ἀνδράσι ποιεῦσι· τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἐς γῆρας ἀπικόμενον θύσαντες κατευωχέονται·

<sup>287</sup> καλάμου δὲ ἐν γόνυ πλοῖον ἕκαστον ποιεῖται. It is said that the bamboo here referred to sometimes grows in the marshes of the lower Indus to the height of sixty feet; and PLINY relates that the length of the boats made of the inter-nodal wood often exceeded five cubits, and that they would hold three persons (*H. N.* vii. 2; xvi. 36). They may perhaps be considered as something like the duck-boats in the Lincolnshire fens, and used to enable the fishermen to lay out their nets in the shallow marshes where the fish were found.

<sup>288</sup> καλέονται δὲ Παδαῖοι. It is likely that these tribes are the same as the one mentioned above, § 38, and § 97; and if so, the name *Padæi* may, like *Artæi* and *Arii*, be a title. RENNELL (*Geogr. of Herodotus*, p. 310) conceives them to be the inhabitants of the banks of the Ganges, the name of which is (he says) *Padda* in Sanscrit. But if a Sanscrit root is to be sought for the word, it seems more likely to be that of *patis* (dominus). The cannibalism of the people in question, which has caused them to be taken for Scythians by some, seems more likely to have arisen out of religious feelings connected with the doctrine of metempsychosis than out of mere savagery. See the horror

they expressed at the idea of burning their parents' bodies (§ 38). STRABO, in an episode interposed in the description of Bactriana, bringing together several hearsay stories *περὶ τῶν τελέων βαρβάρων*, speaks of a tribe to which he gives the name of *Caspians*, without attempting to fix their site. (See note 269, above.) They exposed all those who passed the age of seventy in the desert, after having starved them to death, and watched the corpse from a distance. If it was dragged from the couch on which it lay by birds they greatly rejoiced; if by beasts they were less satisfied; but if it remained untouched by either they thought it a great misfortune (xi. p. 445). It seems quite clear that this conduct must have proceeded from a theory of transmigration of the soul into animals more or less elevated in the scale of creation. The case which was dreaded was the transmigration into the body of a reptile.

<sup>289</sup> ἐπιχρεώμεναι. DONALDSON (*Novæ Cratylus*, p. 223) considers that this is an instance of the preposition *ἐν* having, in composition, a sense of *reciprocity*; *ἐπιχρησθαι*, according to his view, meaning "to have an habitual interchange of kindnesses with any one."

ἐς δὲ τούτου λόγον οὐ πολλοὶ τινες αὐτῶν ἀπικνεύονται<sup>290</sup>. πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ<sup>291</sup> τὸν ἐς νοῦσον πίπτοντα πάντα κτείνουσι. Ἐτέρων δέ ἐστι 100 Ἰνδῶν ὃδε ἄλλος τρόπος οὔτε κτείνουσι οὐδὲν ἔμφυχον, οὔτε τι σπείρουσι, οὔτε οἰκίας νομίζουσι ἐκτήσθαι ποιηφαγέουσι δέ· καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ ὅσον κέγχρος τὸ μέγαθος<sup>292</sup> ἐν κάλυκι αὐτόματον ἐκ τῆς γῆς γινόμενον τὸ συλλέγοντες, αὐτῇ κάλυκι ἔφουσί τε καὶ σιτέονται. ὃς δ' ἂν ἐς νοῦσον αὐτῶν πέσῃ, ἐλθὼν ἐς τὴν ἔρημον κέεται· φροντίζει δὲ οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἀποθανόντος οὔτε κάμνοντος. Μῖξις δὲ τούτων τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν κατέλεξα πάντων ἐμφανής ἐστι, 101 κατὰ περ τῶν προβάτων καὶ τὸ χρῶμα φορέουσι ὁμοῖον πάντες καὶ παραπλήσιον Αἰθιοφί· ἡ γονὴ δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν ἀπένται ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας, οὐ, κατὰ περ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ἐστὶ λευκὴ, ἀλλὰ μέλαινα κατὰ περ τὸ χρῶμα· τοιαύτην δὲ καὶ Αἰθιοπες ἀπένται θορήν. οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐκαστέρω τῶν Περσέων οἰκέουσι<sup>293</sup>, καὶ πρὸς νότον ἀνέμου καὶ Δαρείου βασιλέως οὐδαμὰ ὑπήκουσαν.

Ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν Κασπατύρῃ τε πόλι καὶ τῇ Πακτυκῇ 102 χώρῃ<sup>294</sup> εἰσὶ πρόσουροι, πρὸς ἄρκτου τε καὶ βορέω ἀνέμου κατοικημένοι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰνδῶν, οἱ Βακτρίοισι παραπλησίην ἔχουσι

others abstain from animal food.

Degrading habits of the Indians above-mentioned, who live most to the south.

Other Indians, who live to the north, re-

<sup>290</sup> ἐς δὲ τούτου λόγον οὐ πολλοὶ τινες . . ἀπικνεύονται, "but very few come to a question of this," i.e. arrive at an age when there can be any doubt whether they are ripe for sacrifice or not.

<sup>291</sup> πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ. The manuscripts S and V have πρὸ γὰρ τούτου, which is adopted by Bekker.

<sup>292</sup> ὅσον κέγχρος τὸ μέγαθος. Neither this nor the description ἐν κάλυκι αὐτόματον ἐκ τῆς γῆς γινόμενον is applicable to "rice," which has been supposed to be the grain alluded to here and § 97, above. But the author is describing a people far beyond any point to which his own knowledge extended; and it is possible that two distinct articles of food have been confounded.

<sup>293</sup> ἐκαστέρω τῶν Περσέων οἰκέουσι. If a determinate site is to be assigned to these Indians it should perhaps be Scinde, and the western bank of the lower Indus. RENNELL sums up his analysis of the Herodotean account of India thus: "We may conclude that Darius in fact possessed no more of India than what lay contiguous to the Indus and its branches; and also that the limit of our author's knowledge

eastward was the sandy desert of Jessel-mere (called *Registan*, the country of sand), and that the rest was described from vague report." (*Geogr. of Herod.* p. 309.)

<sup>294</sup> Κασπατύρῃ τε πόλι καὶ τῇ Πακτυκῇ χώρῃ. These two places are coupled together in iv. 44, below, and there it seems nearly certain that Caubul must be meant. On the other hand the Pactyice in the 13th nome cannot be farther east than Georgia. In the army of Xerxes the Pactyces come after the Caspians and Zarangians, and their garb would induce the belief that their country was a cold one (vii. 67). Perhaps the mountaineers of the range between Caubul and Balk were called by this name. That range itself is apparently changed both in position and direction by Herodotus (see note 681 on i. 202), and perhaps the true solution of the difficulty is to suppose that the Pactyice of § 93 and the Pactyes of vii. 67 refer to the valleys on the north side, while the Pactyice in which Caspatyrus lies, and through which one of the tributaries to the Indus flows, is the south side of the same.



semble the Bactrians in habits. These are the gold-finders.

The Myrmeces, who inhabit the deserts where the gold sand is found.

δαιταν. οὔτοι καὶ μαχιμώτατοι εἰσι Ἴνδῶν, καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσὸν στελλόμενοι εἰσὶ οὔτοι. κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτό ἐστι ἐρημὴ διὰ τὴν ψάμμον ἐν δὴ ὧν τῇ ἐρημῇ ταύτῃ καὶ τῇ ψάμμῳ γίνονται μύρμηκες<sup>295</sup> μεγάθεα ἔχοντες κυνῶν μὲν ἐλάσσονα ἀλωπέκεων δὲ μέζονα· εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ βασιλείᾳ τῶν Περσέων, ἐνθεύτην θηρευθέντες. οὔτοι ὧν οἱ μύρμηκες ποιούμενοι αἰκισιν ὑπὸ γῆν, ἀναφορέουσι τὴν ψάμμον, κατὰπερ οἱ ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι μύρμηκες, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὁμοιώτατοι οὔτοι<sup>296</sup>. ἡ δὲ ψάμμος ἢ ἀναφερομένη ἐστὶ χρυσίτις. ἐπὶ δὴ ταύτην τὴν ψάμμον στέλλονται ἐς τὴν ἐρήμον οἱ Ἴνδοι, ζευξάμενος ἕκαστος καμήλους τρεῖς, σειφηφόρον μὲν ἐκατέρωθεν ἔρσενα παρέλκειν, θήλεαν δὲ ἐς μέσον ἐπὶ ταύτῃν δὴ αὐτὸς ἀναβαίνει, ἐπιτηδεύσας ὅκως ἀπὸ τέκνων ὡς νεωτάτων ἀποσπάσας ζεύξῃ· αἱ γὰρ σφι κάμηλοι ἵππων οὐκ ἤσσουνες ἐς ταχύτητά εἰσι· χωρὶς δὲ, ἄχθεα

<sup>295</sup> γίνονται μύρμηκες. This story of Herodotus's has generally been considered a mere fiction; but it seems not unlikely that the animal which he means is the scaly ant-eater (*Manis Pentadactyla* of Linnæus, or *Pengolin* of Buffon). This creature is somewhat larger and longer than a fox, and (I am informed on the authority of Mr. Owen) burrows in the hot sandy plains of northern India. Bewick calls it a native of the Indian isles, and says that it lives in woods and marshy places. But it undoubtedly subsists exclusively on *ants*, and therefore would chiefly be found in the neighbourhood of their nests, which are of enormous size in some parts of India; and as it burrows and conceals itself with great rapidity, it might be easily considered to inhabit these. Although really a mammal, it is in outward appearance more like a lizard or annulose creature. It is covered with large thick scales, and is of a dingy fox-brown colour. On the approach of danger it rolls itself up like a hedgehog, thus securing all the weaker parts of its body, and erecting its scales, it defies the attack even of the tiger. This animal seems to have been quite unknown to the ancients; and STRABO apparently considered that the *myrmex* was the jackall. This, if any, seems to be the animal he had in his eye (xvi. c. p. 396), where, speaking of the country between the mouth of the Red Sea and the Southern Horn, he says πλεθύνει δὲ ἐλέφασιν ἡ χώρα, καὶ λέουσι τοῖς κα-

λουμένοις μύρμηξιν ἀπεστραμμένα ὄχουσι τὰ αἰθρία καὶ χρυσοειδεῖς τὴν χράαν, φιλότεροι δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν. That the name *myrmex* should be given to any animal of the dog or cat kind probably arose from an hypothesis that the creatures described in the text must be of this description, unless the word '*myrmex*' is a native one.

<sup>296</sup> εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὁμοιώτατοι οὔτοι. This is the Aldine reading, and it appears to me to be the true one, but to have slipped out of its right place, which I conceive to have been immediately after the words ἀλωπέκεων δὲ μέζονα. Gaisford omits the word οὔτοι. The MSS vary between εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ εἶδος ὁμοιώτατοι and εἰσὶ δὲ εἶδος ὁμοιώτατοι αὐτοί. DIO CHRYSOSTOM (Or. xxxv. p. 436) seems to have found the clause in a different place; for he says, having no doubt this passage in his mind, of these *myrmeces*, οὔτοι δὲ εἰσὶ ἀλωπέκεων μέζονες, τὰλλα δὲ ὅμοιοι τοῖς παρ' ὧν. By transposing the clause so as to follow ἀλωπέκεων δὲ μέζονα, a sense will be made to result equivalent to that of Dio. Translate: "Well then, in this desert, and in the land of it there breed ANTS which in size are less indeed than dogs, but larger than foxes. And in point of shape too these last are extremely like: for there are specimens of them to be seen in the possession of the king of the Persians, that have been caught and sent from thence."

δυνατότεροι πολλὸν φέρειν. Τὸ μὲν δὲ εἶδος ὁκοῖόν τι ἔχει ἡ 103  
 κάμηλος, ἐπισταμένοισι τοῖσι "Ελλήσι οὐ συγγράφων τὸ δὲ μὴ  
 ἐπιστέαται αὐτῆς, τοῦτο φράσω κάμηλος ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθίοις  
 σκέλεσι ἔχει τέσσερας μηρούς, καὶ γούνατα τέσσερα· τὰ δὲ αἰδοῖα  
 διὰ τῶν ὀπισθίων σκελέων πρὸς τὴν οὐρὴν τετραμμένα<sup>297</sup>. Οἱ δὲ 104  
 δὴ "Ἰνδοὶ τρώπῳ τοιούτῳ καὶ ζεύξει τοιαύτῃ χρῶμενοι, ἐλαύνουσι  
 ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσὸν, λελογισμένως δεκὼς ἂν καυμάτων τῶν θερμωτάτων  
 ἑόντων ἔσονται ἐν τῇ ἀρπαγῇ<sup>298</sup>. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ καύματος οἱ μύρμηκες  
 ἀφανέες γίνονται ὑπὸ γῆν. θερμώτατος δὲ ἐστὶ ὁ ἥλιος τοῦτοισι  
 τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι τὸ ἑωθινόν, οὐ κατὰ περ τοῖσι ἄλλοις μεσαμβρίας,  
 ἀλλ' ὑπερτελείας μέχρις οὗ ἀγορῆς διαλύσιος· τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χρόνον  
 καλεῖ πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ μεσαμβρίῃ τὴν "Ελλάδα, οὕτως ὥστ' ἐν  
 ὕδατι λόγος αὐτοῦς ἐστὶ βρέχεσθαι τηνικαῦτα· μεσοῦσα δὲ ἡ  
 ἡμέρῃ σχεδὸν παραπλησίως καλεῖ τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καὶ  
 τοὺς "Ἰνδοὺς<sup>299</sup>. ἀποκλιναμένης<sup>300</sup> δὲ τῆς μεσαμβρίας, γινεται  
 σφι ὁ ἥλιος κατὰ περ τοῖσι ἄλλοις ὁ ἑωθινός· καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου  
 ἐπιὼν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ψύχει, ἐς δ' ἐπὶ δυσμῇσι ἔων καὶ τὸ κάρτα  
 ψύχει<sup>301</sup>. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔλθωσι ἐς τὸν χώρον οἱ "Ἰνδοὶ ἔχοντες θυλά-

Description  
 of the pe-  
 culiar ana-  
 tomy of the  
 camel.

Mode of  
 obtaining  
 the gold in  
 the early  
 morning,  
 which is  
 the hottest  
 time of the  
 day in In-  
 dia.

105

<sup>297</sup> τὰ δὲ αἰδοῖα δὲ τῶν ὀπισθίων σκε-  
 λέων πρὸς τὴν οὐρὴν τετραμμένα.  
 It would be natural for a spectator who was  
 no comparative anatomist to suppose a  
 configuration such as is here described,  
 the real fact being that the camel belongs  
 to the class of *retromingents*, and voids  
 its urine between its hind legs. From  
 the passage of STRABO (cited above in  
 note 295), it would almost seem as if its  
 writer found this clause in his copy of  
 Herodotus applied to the *pygmæes*.  
 ἌΛΙΩΝ, however, read it where it now  
 stands, with the sole difference of ἔκρηρα  
 for αἰδοῖα. (*Histor. Animal.* x. 3.)

The appearance of "four knees" in the  
 hind legs of the camel, arises from the  
 circumstance, that the joint which anatomi-  
 cally answers to the human knee, and  
 which in the ox or horse is concealed, or  
 nearly so, under the skin of the belly,  
 projects a good way below, the belly being  
 pinched in, and the thigh-bone longer in  
 proportion than that of other quadrupeds.  
 In fact, the animal kneels upon this joint  
 when he crouches to receive his burden.

<sup>298</sup> λελογισμένως δεκὼς ἂν . . . ἐν τῇ  
 ἀρπαγῇ. "On a calculation so as to be  
 engaged in the act of plunder when the

sourching heat is the greatest."

<sup>299</sup> μεσοῦσα δὲ ἡ ἡμέρῃ . . . τοὺς "Ἰνδοὺς.  
 During the heats of the mid-day, the  
 practice in Asiatic Greece, as well as in  
 India, would be to remain under the  
 shade of a dwelling. (See vi. 12.) Hence  
 the *sensible* heat would not much differ,  
 although a thermometer would have re-  
 futed the assertion in the text.

<sup>300</sup> ἀποκλιναμένης. This is the read-  
 ing adopted by Gaisford from the manu-  
 scripts F and P. The others have ἀνα-  
 κλιναμένης, which might stand. But in  
 that case the phrase would imply "im-  
 mediately after mid-day," not simply  
 "after mid-day is past." The phrase  
 ἀποκλιναμένη μεσαμβρίῃ is illustrated be-  
 low. See note 318 on § 114.

<sup>301</sup> ἐς δ' ἐπὶ δυσμῇσι ἔων καὶ τὸ κάρτα  
 ψύχει. This notion is probably in great  
 part due to the popular idea of the earth  
 being a plane surface, over which the sun  
 passed, rising in the east and setting in  
 the west, and in each case operating most  
 powerfully upon the people supposed to  
 be nearest to him. In accordance with  
 this notion, it was reported that when the  
 sun set in the Western Ocean, a hissing  
 sound arose like that from red-hot iron

κια, ἐμπλήσαντες ταῦτα τῆς ψάμμου τὴν ταχίστην ἐλαύνουσι ὀπίσω αὐτῆκα γὰρ οἱ μύρμηκες ὁδμῇ (ὡς δὴ λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων<sup>301</sup>) μαθόντες διώκουσι· εἶναι δὲ ταχύτητα οὐδενὶ ἐτέρῳ ὁμοίον, οὕτω ὥστε, εἰ μὴ προλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἴνδους τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ᾧ τοὺς μύρμηκας συλλέγεσθαι, οὐδένα ἂν σφῶν ἀποσώζεσθαι· τοὺς μὲν νυν ἔρσενας τῶν καμήλων (εἶναι γὰρ ἥσσονας θεῖν τῶν θηλέων) καὶ παραλύεσθαι ἐπελκομένους οὐκ ὁμοῦ ἀμφοτέροισι<sup>302</sup>. τὰς δὲ θηλέας ἀναμνηστικόμενας τῶν ἔλπιον τέκνων ἐνδιδόναι μαλακὸν οὐδέν<sup>303</sup>. τὸν μὲν δὴ πλέω τοῦ χρυσοῦ οὕτω οἱ Ἴνδοι κτῶνται, ὡς Πέρσαι φασί· ἄλλος δὲ σπανιώτερός ἐστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ὀρυσσόμενος.

106 Αἱ δ' ἐσχατιαὶ κως τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ κάλλιστα ἐλαχον, κατὰ περ

being plunged into water. (POSEIDONIUS *ap. Strab.* iii. c. 1, p. 221.) So JUVENAL says (xiv. 280):

— longe Calpe relictâ  
Audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite So-  
lem.

It follows, as a natural consequence from this view, that the mid-day heat should be regarded as pretty nearly the same for the whole earth, and that the morning should be deemed the hottest part of the day for the inhabitants of the extreme east.

At the same time, a mere false theory would scarcely have generated this belief unless apparently supported by some actual phenomena. Perhaps in this particular case the real foundation of the error is the enormous *sensible* variation of temperature between the night and the day in a country much above the level of the sea, and in a southern latitude. Sir JOHN CHARDIN (quoted by Rosenmüller, *Das alte u. neue Morgenland*, i. § 108) says, that in Lower Asia, in the middle of winter, as soon as the sun is 15° above the horizon, there are no remains of cold, while in the middle of summer the nights are as cold as at Paris in the month of March. In Judea, "the taking away the cloak" was one of the most galling of the military requisitions to which the peasantry were constantly subjected, the garment being (as the humane law of pledges described it, *Exod.* xii. 27. *Deut.* xxiv. 13) the very "skin" of the poor man after sunset. Compare *Job* xxiv. 7. The same *isotherm* (70°)

passes through *Jerusalem* and *Casul*: but the great elevation of the latter place above the sea, and its distance from it, together with the proximity of the snow mountains would cause the oscillation of temperature, both annual and daily, to be very much greater in Afghanistan. At *Peshawar* the annual oscillation is so great, that while frost lasts till the month of March, the thermometer stands at 128° in the shade in the month of July. (*Penny Cyclopædia*, i. p. 168.)

<sup>301</sup> ὡς δὴ λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων. See note 338 on i. 96.

<sup>302</sup> καὶ παραλύεσθαι ἐπελκομένους οὐκ ὁμοῦ ἀμφοτέροισι, "as they go in the leading rein come to knock up, first one and then the other." For the use of *ἐπελκομένους* compare v. 12, *ἐτέλκουσα ἐκ τοῦ βραχίονος τὸν ἵππον*, and iv. 203, *ἐπελκομένους*, where see the note. The notion seems to have been to sacrifice first one male camel to the pursuing ants, and then the other, if the necessity should occur. The led animals would be incited to follow the female in the same way as she would be to get home to her foal. For the device of the foal, compare the ballad of the Lochmaben Harper in Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. i. p. 138. Precisely the same stratagem is said by MARCO POLO to be adopted by the Tartars when making a foray into the country to the north of them, which he imagines to be so obscure and dark that the instinct of the animals alone enables the invaders to find their way back (p. 350).

<sup>303</sup> ἐνδιδόναι μαλακὸν οὐδέν. See above, § 81.

ἡ Ἑλλάς τὰς ὥρας πολλόν τι κάλλιστα κέκραμένας ἔλαχε<sup>305</sup>. The most beautiful objects are found in the extremities of the earth: from India come gold and cotton;

τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἑω ἑσχάτῃ τῶν οἰκεομένων ἡ Ἰνδική ἐστι, ὥσπερ ὀλίγον πρότερον εἴρηκα<sup>306</sup>. ἐν ταύτῃ, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἐμφυχα τετράποδά τε καὶ τὰ πετηνὰ πολλῶ μέζω ἢ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι χωρίοις ἐστι, πᾶρεξ τῶν ἵππων· τούτῳ δὲ ἐσσούνται ὑπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν, Νισαίων<sup>307</sup> δὲ καλυμένων, ἵππων· τοῦτο δὲ χρυσὸς ἀπλετος αὐτόθι ἐστὶ, ὁ μὲν ὀρυσσόμενος, ὁ δὲ καταφορεύμενος ὑπὸ ποταμῶν, ὁ δὲ, ὥσπερ ἐσήμηνα, ἀρπαζόμενος. τὰ δὲ δένδρεα τὰ ἀγρία αὐτόθι φέρει καρπὸν εἴρια<sup>308</sup>, καλλονῇ τε προφέροντα καὶ ἀρετῇ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ὄνων καὶ ἐσθῆτι οἱ Ἴνδοι ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν δενδρέων χρέωνται. Πρὸς δ' αὖ μεσαμβρίας ἑσχάτῃ Ἀραβίῃ τῶν οἰκεομένων χωρέων ἐστὶ· ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ λιβανωτός τέ ἐστι μούνη χωρέων πασέων φυόμενος<sup>309</sup>, καὶ σμύρνη, καὶ κασίη, καὶ κιννάμωμον, καὶ λήδανον. ταῦτα πάντα, πλὴν τῆς σμύρνης, δυσπετέως

107

from Arabia, frankincense and other spices. Use of the styrax to

<sup>305</sup> κατὰ τὴν ἡ Ἑλλάς . . . . ἔλαχε. This illustration is not a very apt one, and does not agree very well with what the author says elsewhere, where he gives the palm of climate to Ionia (i. 142). It is not impossible that these two passages belong to different recensions. See the note 482 on i. 142.

<sup>306</sup> ὥσπερ ὀλίγον πρότερον εἴρηκα. See § 98.

<sup>307</sup> Νισαίων. Some of the MSS. have *Nesaiaw*, which is the form that appears in STRABO (xi. c. 7, p. 427). The region is that which is drained by the river *Ochus*, which fell into the Caspian. But though the term originally was applied to horses from this district, it seems to have come to be used for animals (perhaps of the same blood) bred elsewhere. See note 297 on ii. 106. STRABO (xi. c. 14, p. 462) speaks of the admirable quality of the *Armenian* pastures as not being inferior to the Median, adding, *ὅσπερ οἱ Νησαῖοι ἵπποι καὶ ἐνταῦθα γίνονται, ὁσπερ οἱ Περσῶν βασιλεῖς ἐχρῶντο*. RAWLINSON (*Geogr. Journal*, ix. p. 101) says, "there is every reason to conclude that the Nisæan horse came originally from Nesa in Khorasan, and that it is to be identified with some of the Turkoman breeds of the Atak, which are still distinguished throughout Persia for their superior excellence." See note on vii. 40.

<sup>308</sup> φέρει καρπὸν εἴρια. This is obviously the cotton. At the same time the graphic description need not, in so simple a case,

lead to the conclusion that Herodotus saw the trees himself. See note 219 δ on ii. 86.

<sup>309</sup> ἐν ταύτῃ λιβανωτός ἐστὶ μούνη χωρέων πασέων φυόμενος. Modern travellers assert that a very inferior kind of frankincense grows in Arabia, and that only in some districts; and that in ancient times, the report of its being produced in Arabia must have arisen from the circumstance of the Arabians being its carriers from India. This is not a bad explanation of Herodotus's statement. (See note on iv. 109.) That the Arabians were the carriers of gold and incense, appears from ISALAH (lx. 6), and that they were conceived to bring it from the eastern side of the Arabian peninsula, from ii. 8, above. ERATOSTHENES (*ap. Strab.* xvi. cap. 4, p. 387) points to the same fact. "Following the bend of the coast (*ἐγκολπιζων*)," after getting out of the Red Sea, he says, "you run along the myrrh-producing country (i. e. *Χατταμαρτίτις, Hadramaut*), which carries you south and east, for the space of 5000 stadia, to that *where the cinnamon grows*; beyond which no one up to this time has ever passed." The cinnamon confessedly comes, and always came, from Ceylon; so that there can be no doubt of the existence of a traffic with India, and apparently by Aden and Bombay, in the earliest times. COLEBROOKE (*Asiatic Researches*, ix. 381) states that the tree producing frankincense grows in India, between *Sone* and *Nagpoor*.

drive the winged serpents from the frankincense.

108

Providential arrangement by which the most noxious animals are the least prolific.

Examples.

The *hære* as contrasted with the lion.

The *adder*.

109

The winged serpents of Arabia.

κτένονται οἱ Ἀράβιοι. τὸν μὲν γε λιβασιῶν συλλέγουσι, τὴν στύρακα θυμῶντες τὴν ἐς Ἑλληνας Φοίνικας ἐξάγουσι· ταύτην θυμῶντες λαμβάνουσι· τὰ γὰρ δένδρεα ταῦτα τὰ λιβασιωτοφόρα ὄφεις ὑπόπτεροι, μικροὶ τὰ μεγάλα, ποικίλοι τὰ εἶδεα, φυλάσσουσι, πλήθει πολλοὶ περὶ δένδρον ἕκαστον οὔτοι οἷον ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐπιστρατεύονται<sup>310</sup>. οὐδενὶ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἀπελαύνονται ἀπὸ τῶν δεινῶν, ἢ τῆς στύρακος<sup>311</sup> τῷ καπνῷ. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὸδε Ἀράβιοι, ὡς πᾶσα ἂν γῆ ἐπιπλάτο τῶν ὀφίων τούτων, εἰ μὴ γίνεσθαι κατ' αὐτοὺς οἶόν τι κατὰ τὰς ἐχιδνας ἡμιστάμην γίνεσθαι καὶ κως τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ προνοίᾳ, ὅσπερ καὶ οἰκός ἐστι, εὖστα σοφὴ ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ψυχὴν τε δεῖλα καὶ ἐδάδιμα, ταῦτα μὲν πάντα πολύγονα πεποίηκεν, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλήπη κατεσθιόμενα· ὅσα δὲ σχέτλια καὶ ἀνηρά, ὀλνγόγονα. τοῦτο μὲν, ὅτι ὁ λαγὼς<sup>312</sup> ὑπὸ παντὸς θηρεύεται θηρίου καὶ θνητοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου, οὕτω δὴ τι πολύγονόν ἐστι ἐπικυύσκειται μόνον πάντων θηρίων καὶ τὸ μὲν δασὺ τῶν τέκνων ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ, τὸ δὲ ψιλόν, τὸ δὲ ἄρτι ἐν τῇσι μήτρησι πλάσσεται, τὸ δὲ ἀναιρέεται· τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτό ἐστι. ἡ δὲ δὴ λέαινα, εὖν ἰσχυρότατον καὶ θρασυτάτον, ἅπαξ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τίττει ἐν τίττουσα γὰρ συνεκβάλλει τῷ τέκνῳ τὰς μήτρας· τὸ δὲ αἷτιον τούτου τὸδε ἐστὶ· ἐπεὰν ὁ σκύμνος ἐν τῇ μήτρῃ εὖν ἄρχηται διακινεῖσθαι, ὁ δὲ ἔχων ὀνυχας θηρίων πολλὸν πάντων ὀξυτάτους, ἀμύσσει τὰς μήτρας· αὐξανόμενός τε δὴ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐσικνέεται καταγνάφῳν πέλας τε δὴ ὁ τόκος ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ παράπαν λείπεται αὐτέων ἐν γαστρὶ οὐδὲ ἐν. Ὡς δὲ καὶ αἱ ἐχιδναὶ τε καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀραβίῳσι ὑπόπτεροι ὄφεις, εἰ ἐγίνοντο ὡς ἡ φύσις αὐτοῖσι ὑπάρχει, οὐκ ἂν ἦν βιώσιμα ἀνθρώποισι· νῦν δ', ἐπεὰν θορονύονται κατὰ ζεύγεα, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἢ ὁ ἔρσην τῇ ἐκποιήσῃ, ἀπιευμένον αὐτοῦ τὴν γονὴν, ἢ θήλεα ἄπτεται τῆς δεξιᾶς, καὶ ἐμφύσα, οὐκ ἀνέει<sup>313</sup> πρὶν ἂν διαφάγγῃ. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἔρσην ἀποθνήσκει τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ· ἡ δὲ θήλεα τίσις τοιήνδε ἀποτίνει τῷ ἔρσενι· τῷ γονεὶ τιμωρόντα ἔτι ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ ἐόντα τὰ

<sup>310</sup> οἷον ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐπιστρατεύονται. See ii. 74.

<sup>311</sup> τῆς στύρακος. The article is used, from the circumstance of the "styrax" being familiar to the Greeks. STRABO (xvi. c. 4, p. 393) following the authority of Artemidorus, places the site of its growth on the African continent, nearly at the bottom of the Red Sea, among the

Ichthyophagi. From them it would no doubt be carried over to Arabia. See note 314 on § 111, below.

<sup>312</sup> ὁ λαγός. This is the reading adopted by Gaisford, on the authority of the manuscript S. The others have λαγός. In i. 123, the manuscripts S, P, a, c, have λαγόν, and the rest λαγός.

<sup>313</sup> ἀνέει. See note 604, on i. 180.

τέκνα διεσθίει τὴν μήτραν, διαφαγόντα δὲ τὴν νηδὺν αὐτῆς, οὕτω τὴν ἔκδυσιν ποιέεται· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὄφεις, εἶντες ἀνθρώπων οὐ δηλήμονες, τίκτουσὶ τε ὡὰ, καὶ ἐκλέπουσι παλλόν τι χρῆμα τῶν τέκνων. αἱ μὲν δὴ νυν ἔχιδναι κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν εἰσὶ· οἱ δὲ ὑπόπτεροι εἶντες ἀθρόοι εἰσὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίῃ, καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ κατὰ τοῦτο δοκέουσι πολλοὶ εἶναι.

Τὸν μὲν δὴ λιβανωτὸν τοῦτον οὕτω κτῶνται Ἀράβιοι, τὴν δὲ 110  
 κασίην ὥδε· ἐπεὰν καταδήσωνται βύρσῃσι καὶ δέρμασι ἄλλοισι  
 πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, πλὴν αὐτῶν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν,  
 ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὴν κασίην ἢ δὲ ἐν λίμνῃ φύεται οὐ βαθέῃ· περὶ δὲ  
 αὐτὴν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ αὐλίζεται κου θηρία πτερωτὰ, τῇσι νυκτερίσι  
 προσείκελα μάλιστα· καὶ τέτρυγε δεινὸν καὶ ἐς ἄλκην ἄλκιμα· τὰ  
 δὲ ἀπαμυνομένους ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, οὕτω δρέπειν τὴν κασίην.  
 Τὸ δὲ δὴ κιννάμωμον ἔτι τούτων θωνμαστότερον συλλέγουσι· ὅκου 111  
 μὲν γὰρ γίνεταί, καὶ ἦτις μιν γῇ ἢ τρέφουσά ἐστι, οὐκ ἔχουσι  
 εἰπεῖν· πλὴν ὅτι, λόγῳ οἰκότητι χρεώμενοι, ἐν τοισίδε χωρίοις φασὶ  
 τινες αὐτὸ φύεσθαι ἐν τοῖσι ὃ Διόνυσος ἐτράφη· ὄρνιθας δὲ λέγουσι  
 μεγάλας φορέειν ταῦτα τὰ κάρφεια, τὰ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαθόντες  
 κιννάμωμον καλέομεν<sup>314</sup>. φορέειν δὲ τὰς ὄρνιθας ἐς νεοσσίδας προσ-  
 πεπλασμένας ἐκ πηλοῦ πρὸς ἀποκρήμνοισι οὖρεσι, ἔνθα πρόσ-  
 βασιν ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδεμίαν εἶναι· πρὸς ὧν δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀραβίους

Mode in  
 which the  
 Arabs col-  
 lect the  
 cassia,

and the cin-  
 namon;

<sup>314</sup> τὰ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαθόντες κιννάμωμον καλέομεν. If the cinnamon came into the hands of the Greeks through the Phoenicians,—which the derivation of the name from them seems to prove,—it will probably have come in one of two ways. If it came by sea round into the Arabian gulf, it would be landed at λευκὴ κόμη, and thence go by land to *Petra*, the capital of the Nabatæi (*Nebatiōth* of SS.), an entrepôt of great importance (*cis* ἢν Μειναῖοι τε καὶ Γερῆῶσι καὶ πάντες οἱ πλησιόχωροι τὰ τῶν ἀρωμάτων φορτία κομίζουσιν. ARTEMIDORUS *ap. Strabon.* xvi. c. 4, p. 399). From *Petra* a caravan road led to Rhinocolura, and another to Gaza, from either of which places the spices would find their way in Phœnician bottoms to Tyre. Or, if they were carried by the *Gerrhæi* in rafts up to Babylon (as is asserted by ARISTOBULUS *ap. Strabon.* xvi. c. 3, p. 382), and thence, by means of the artificial water communica- tion, brought as far as Thapsacus on the Euphrates, they would come through Tadmor (*Palmyra*), and Damascus, by

land to Tyre. In either case it would be from Phœnicians that the cinnamon came into the hands of the Greeks. The site of the *Gerrhæi* is placed by ERATOSTHENES on the east coast of Arabia (*ἐν βαθεῖ κόλπῳ*). Their capital was twenty miles from the coast. He stated that they were the great *land carriers* of the Arabian spices, in which case they would bring them by the former of the two routes just mentioned. A proof of their connexion with the Phœnicians is furnished by the fact, that just south of *Gerrha* were two islands which went by the names of *Aradus* and *Tyre* (two cities of the Phœnician Tripolis), and that the inhabitants of these professed to be colonies from Phœnicia, and certainly had the same religious ritual. (STRABO, xvi. c. 3, p. 382.) The tradition related in i. 1, above, brings the Phœnicians of the Mediterranean from the Persian gulf, thus reversing the relations of the two kindred races, as is so common in Hellenic historical myths. The *Gerrhæans* were Chaldean exiles from Babylon.

σοφίζεσθαι τάδε· βοῶν τε καὶ ὄνων τῶν ἀπογινομένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑποζυγίων τὰ μέλα διαταμόντας<sup>315</sup> ὡς μέγιστα, κομίζεν ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία· καὶ σφεα θέντας ἀγχοῦ τῶν νεοσσιέων, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκὰς αὐτέων τὰς δὲ ὀρνίθια καταπετεωμένους τὰ τῶν ὑποζυγίων μέλα ἀναφορέειν ἐπὶ τὰς νεοσσιὰς· τὰς δὲ οὐ δυνάμενας ἴσχειν καταρρήγνυσθαι ἐπὶ γῆν· τοὺς δὲ ἐπιόντας συλλέγειν οὕτω τὸ κιννάμωμον· συλλεγόμενον δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἀπικνέεσθαι ἐς τὰς ἄλλας χώρας. Τὸ δὲ δὴ λήδανον, τὸ καλέουσι Ἀράβιοι λάδανον, ἔτι τούτου θωυμασιώτερον γίνεται· ἐν γὰρ δυσοδομοτάτῳ γινόμενον εὐδέστατόν ἐστι· τῶν γὰρ αἰγῶν τῶν τράγων ἐν τοῖσι πώγωνσι εὐρίσκεται ἐγγινόμενον, οἷον γλοιὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης<sup>316</sup>. χρῆσιμον δ' ἐς πολλὰ τῶν μύρων ἐστὶ· θυμῶσί τε μάλιστα τοῦτο Ἀράβιοι.

112  
also the  
ladanum.

113 Τοσαῦτα μὲν θυωμάτων περί εἰρήσθω· ἀπόζει δὲ τῆς χώρας τῆς Ἀραβίης θεσπέσιον ὡς ἡδύ. δύο δὲ γένεα ὄνων σφί ἐστι θυώματος ἄξια, τὰ οὐδαμόθι ἐτέρωθί ἐστι· τὸ μὲν αὐτέων ἕτερον ἔχει τὰς οὐράς μακρὰς, τριῶν πήχεων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας· τὰς εἰ τις ἐπέη σφί ἐπέλκειν<sup>317</sup>, ἔλκεα ἂν ἔχοιεν, ἀνατριβομένους πρὸς τῇ γῇ τῶν οὐρέων· νῦν δ' ἅπας τις τῶν ποιμένων ἐπίσταται ξυλουργεῖν ἐς τοσοῦτο· ἀμαξίδας γὰρ ποιεῦντες, ὑποδέουσι αὐτὰς τῇσι οὐρῇσι, ἐνὸς ἐκάστου κτήνεος τὴν οὐρὴν ἐπὶ ἀμαξίδα ἐκάστην καταδέοντες· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον γένος τῶν ὄνων τὰς οὐράς πλατέας φορέουσι, καὶ ἐπὶ πῆχυν πλάτος.

The fragrant air of Arabia, and the large-tailed sheep.

114 Ἀποκλινομένης<sup>318</sup> δὲ μεσαμβρίας παρήκει πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον ἡ

<sup>315</sup> τὰ μέλα διαταμόντας. The method of obtaining the cinnamon here described, seems to be another form of the well-known story in the Arabian Nights, of the way in which diamonds were procured from an inaccessible valley. MARCO POLO gives that story, and refers it to the mines of Golconda (p. 302), and the editor of the English translation remarks, that this agency of huge birds appears to have been a matter of general belief in Asia.

<sup>316</sup> γλοιὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης. The ladanum is a gum which is produced from several kinds of cistus, exuding as a juice upon the leaves and branches of the shrub. (See *Penny Cyclopædia*, vol. xiii. p. 629.) THEVENOT describes a plant called *Ladum* as growing in the island of *Naxos*. The goats feed on it, and the gum sticks to their beards, which are cut off for the purpose of securing it. It is

strange that Herodotus should transplant this practice to Arabia, though the name (*ladum*) is Arabic.

<sup>317</sup> ἐπέλκειν. Some of the MSS. have ἀπέλκειν. But this is undoubtedly the true reading. See ἐπελκόμενος, used of the camels held in a leading rein, above, § 105.

<sup>318</sup> ἀποκλινομένης. This reading is preserved by S, V, α, and appears to me the true one. The other MSS. have ἀποκλιναμένης. See above, note 300, on § 104. The phrase μεσαμβρία ἀποκλινομένη is itself a remarkable one; for although the word ἀποκλίνεισθαι may be reasonably applied to the μεσημβριῶν ἥλιος, it cannot properly be so to the μεσημβρία, which is in fact the time (ἔρη) defined by the highest position of the sun in the heavens. But the time being marked by a motion of the sun in space,

Αἰθιοπική χώρα, ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκεομένων αὕτη δὲ χρυσόν τε φέρει Products of Ethiopia.  
πολλὸν καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἀμφιλαφίας<sup>319</sup>, καὶ δένδρεα πάντα ἄγρια,  
καὶ ἔβενον, καὶ ἄνδρας μεγίστους καὶ καλλίστους καὶ μακρο-  
βιωτάτους<sup>320</sup>.

Αὗται μὲν νυν ἐν τε τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἐσχατιαὶ εἰσι καὶ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ. 115  
περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐσχατιέων ἔχω μὲν The furthest part of Europe is imperfectly known. Apocryphal story of  
οὐκ ἀτρεκέως λέγειν οὔτε γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐνδέχομαι Ἡριδανὸν τινα  
καλέεσθαι πρὸς βαρβάρων ποταμὸν, ἐκδιδόντα ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν  
πρὸς βορρῇν ἄνεμον, ἀπ' οὗτεν τὸ ἤλεκτρον φοιτᾷ λόγος ἐστὶ<sup>2</sup>,

the relations of that space are expressed in terms of the time which they mark. The expression *ἐἰ δὲ ἡ στάσις ἡλλακτο τῶν ὥρων* (ii. 26) rests upon the same mode of thought. The author speaks of "the position of the seasons," meaning by it "the position of the sun which affects the seasons." See note 12, on ii. 3.

<sup>319</sup> ἐλέφαντας ἀμφιλαφίας, "huge elephants." The term *ἀμφιλαφής* is originally applied to a vessel with two handles, in contradistinction to those which from their lightness required only one. It is a remarkable circumstance, that Herodotus speaks of *African* elephants only; yet, singularly enough, the only elephants which appear on the Egyptian monuments are the *Asiatic* (which are brought as tribute). And not only do elephants figure in the account of Cyrus's campaigns as given by Ctesias (*ap. Photium, Bibl. p. 36*), but on the obelisk excavated by LAYARD at Nimroud, the *Asiatic* elephant is seen, brought as a present. One may conjecture that in the text there is a confusion between these African Ethiopians and the Asiatics who formed a portion of the seventeenth nome. (above, § 94).

<sup>320</sup> ἄνδρας μεγίστους καὶ καλλίστους καὶ μακροβιωτάτους. For the two first of these qualities, see the notes 57 and 58, on § 20. For the last, the note 56, on § 18, above, and 540, on i. 163.

<sup>2</sup> οὔτε γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐνδέχομαι Ἡριδανὸν τινα καλέεσθαι πρὸς βαρβάρων ποταμὸν, . . . . . ἀπ' οὗτεν τὸ ἤλεκτρον φοιτᾷ λόγος ἐστὶ. This is a curious instance of a true tradition rejected on grounds which appeared quite satisfactory, but which modern knowledge enables us easily to dispose of. The amber, which is a mineral substance found in beds of lignite, comes chiefly from the southern shores of the

Baltic, between Königsberg and Memel. In the time of PLINY it used to be brought by the inhabitants of the coast (who called it "glæsum," i. e. *glass*, Tacitus, *Germ. 46*) into Pannonia to Carnuntum on the Danube — (a place to be looked for between Vienna and Pressburg). From thence the Veneti conveyed it to the coasts of the Adriatic (*N. H. xxxvii. 3*); and as nothing is more unchangeable than land routes, while the conditions of civilization remain the same, it seems certain that in the time of which Herodotus is speaking, the substance was brought to the same market; though, doubtless, some may have found its way down the Danube to Istropolis, and thence to the Hellespont.

As for the name Eridanus, its root probably means *water*, and appears in the words *Ro-danus, Don-au, Dan-u-be, Tan-ais, Don, Dan-zig*, and possibly also in the word *Dan-aus* (HESIOD, *Fragment lxi. ed. Paris, Ἄργος ἔνυδρον ἐν Δαναῶς ποίησεν ἔνυδρον*, or as STRABO, i. p. 36, gives the line *Ἄργος ἔνυδρον ἐν Δαναῶν θέσαν Ἄργος ἔνυδρον*) and the river Jordan.

The Greeks generally considered that the substance came from certain Ἠλεκτρίδες νῆσοι in the head of the Adriatic gulf. The story ran, that in one of these there was a statue of *Iin*, and in another, one of *amber*, made by Dædalus when flying from Minos. In these islands too there was a hot fountain, into which Phaëton was said to have fallen, surrounded by poplar-trees, from whose leaves the amber was said to drop in the form of a gum. (ARISTOTLE, *Mirab. Auscult. p. 836*.) Under these circumstances it is easy to see how the site of the northern *Eridanus* should have come to be transferred in popular belief to the Italian river.



amber coming from the Eridanus, and tin from the Cassiterides.

οὔτε νήσους οἶδα Κασσιτερίδας ἐούσας, ἐκ τῶν ὁ κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ· τούτο μὲν γὰρ, ὁ Ἡριδανὸς αὐτὸ κατηγορεύει τὸ οἶνον ὡς ἔστι Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ οὐ βάρβαρον, ὑπὸ ποιητῶν δέ τινος ποιηθέν· τούτο δέ, οὐδενὸς αὐτόπτεω γενομένου οὐ δύναμαι ἀκοῦσαι, τούτο μελετῶν, ὅπως θάλασσά ἐστι τὰ ἐπέκεινα τῆς Εὐρώπης· ἐξ ἐσχάτης δ' ὧν ὁ τε κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ<sup>321</sup> καὶ τὸ ἤλεκτρον.

116

Gold comes in greatest abundance from the north of Europe, from the Arimaspi, who rob the Griffins.

Πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτου τῆς Εὐρώπης πολλῶν τι πλείστος χρυσὸς φαίνεται ἔων ὅπως μὲν γινόμενος, οὐκ ἔχω οὐδὲ τούτο ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι· λέγεται δὲ ὑπ' ἐκ τῶν γρυπῶν ἀρπάξαι Ἀριμασποῦς<sup>322</sup>, ἄνδρας μουνόφθαλμοι· πειθόμεναι δὲ οὐδὲ τούτο, ὅπως μουνόφθαλμοι ἄνδρες φύονται, φύσιν ἔχοντες τὴν ἄλλην ὁμοίην τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις· αἱ δὲ ὧν ἐσχατιαὶ οἰκασί, περικληθῆναι τὴν ἄλλην χώραν καὶ ἐντὸς ἀπέργουσαι, τὰ κάλλιστα δοκέοντα ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ σπανιώτατα ἔχειν αὐτά.

117

Story of a valley in Asia whence five streams rise, of which the water is

Ἔστι δὲ πεδίων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ περικεκλημμένον οὐρεὶ πάντοθεν, διασφάγες δὲ τοῦ οὐρέος εἰσι πέντε· τούτο τὸ πεδίων ἦν μὲν κοτε Χορασμίων, ἐν οὐροισι ἐὼν τῶν Χορασμίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Ἱρκανίων, καὶ Πάρθων, καὶ Σαραγγέων<sup>323</sup>, καὶ Θαμαναίων· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ Πέρσαι ἔχουσι τὸ κράτος, ἔστι τοῦ βασιλέως. ἐκ δὲ ὧν τοῦ περι-

That Herodotus should not have been able to find any *eye-witness* of the northern sea is easily comprehensible. The commercial proceedings of the Greeks began after the goods had been brought down to the ports to which they had access. Between the factory on the Adriatic and the emporium on the Danube, the trade would be in the hands of the Veneti, and between the emporium and the North Sea in those of the Germans.

<sup>321</sup> ἐξ ἐσχάτης δ' ὧν ὁ τε κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ. It is possible that some of the British tin from Cornwall or the Scilly isles came overland the same way as the amber; but it seems more likely that the tin of which Herodotus speaks was the stream tin brought down in the sand of the Guadiana and Guadalquivir (see PLINY, *N. H.* xxxiv. 16), which two streams confused with each other probably are the "Tartessus" of STRABO. See note 534, on i. 163, and STRABO *BYZ.* v. *Τάρτησος*.

<sup>322</sup> λέγεται δὲ . . . . Ἀριμασποῦς. The authority for this story is the *Arimatea* of ARISTEAS of Proconnesus.

See note on iv. 13. The gold no doubt came by the caravans to Russia from central Asia. See note 280.

<sup>323</sup> Πάρθων, καὶ Σαραγγέων. Parthia and Zarangia come next to each other in the list of subject countries given by the Behistan inscription. See note 274, on § 94, above. But the Saranges and Thamanai are by Herodotus put in the *fourteenth* nome, and the Parthenians and Chorasmians in the *sixteenth*. It is perhaps useless to attempt to search for any site representing the valley described in the text. Some have considered the whole story a mere fiction. But no doubt the levying a tax on the supply of water was a practice which prevailed formerly, as it does now, in countries where, as in Persia, artificial irrigation is a necessity. Possibly the origin of the story is to be looked for in the physical character of the Vale of Cashmere with its lakes, combined with the name of the Punjab, and the habits of Persia. However, it must have been framed in a locality north of the Hindoo Koosh. See note 324.

κλητόντος οὐρεος τούτου ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας, οὖνομα δέ οἱ ἐστὶ <sup>sold by a monopoly of the king of Persia.</sup> Ἀκῆς· οὗτος πρότερον μὲν ἄρδεσκε, διαλελαμμένος πενταχοῦ, τῶν εἰρημένων τούτων τὰς χώρας, διὰ διασφάγος ἀγόμενος ἐκάστης ἐκάστοισι· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἰσὶ, πεπόνθασι τοιούνδε τὰς διασφάγας τῶν οὐρέων ἐνδείμας ὁ βασιλεὺς, πύλας ἐπ' ἐκάστη διασφάγι ἔστησε ἀποκεκλημένου δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς διεξόδου, τὸ πεδίον τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν οὐρέων πέλαγος γίνεται, ἐνδιδόντος μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔχοντος δὲ οὐδαμῇ ἐξήλυσιν. οὗτοι ὦν οἵπερ ἔμπροσθεν ἐώθεσαν χρᾶσθαι τῷ ὕδατι, οὐκ ἔχοντες αὐτῷ χρᾶσθαι, συμφορῇ μεγάλη διαχρέωνται· τὸν μὲν γὰρ χειμῶνα ὕει σφι ὁ θεὸς <sup>321</sup>, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι· τοῦ δὲ θέρεος σπείροντες μελίην καὶ σήσαμον, χρηίσκοντο τῷ ὕδατι· ἐπεὰν ὦν μηδὲν σφι παραδιδῶται τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐλθόντες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας αὐτοὶ τε καὶ γυναῖκες, στάντες κατὰ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέως, βοῶσι ὠρόμενοι· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῖσι δεομένοισι αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐς τοῦτο φερούσας· ἐπεὰν δὲ διάκορος ἢ γῆ σφέων γένηται πίνουσα τὸ ὕδωρ, αὗται μὲν αἱ πύλαι ἀποκληθόνται, ἄλλας δ' ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν ἄλλοισι τοῖσι δεομένοισι μάλιστα τῶν λοιπῶν ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀκούσας, χρήματα μεγάλα πρησσόμενος ἀνοίγει, πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἔχει οὗτω.

Τῶν δὲ τῷ Μάγῳ ἐπαναστάντων ἑπτὰ ἀνδρῶν, ἓνα αὐτῶν Ἴντα- 118  
φέρνεα κατέλαβε, ὑβρίσαντα τάδε, ἀποθανεῖν αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν <sup>Intaphernes, one of the seven conspirators, commits an outrage in the palace.</sup>  
ἐπανάστασιν ἤθελε ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα ἐσελθὼν χρηματίσασθαι τῷ βασιλεί· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ νόμος οὕτω εἶχε τοῖσι ἐπαναστᾶσι τῷ Μάγῳ, ἔσοδον εἶναι παρὰ βασιλέα ἄνευ ἀγγέλου ἢν μὴ γυναικὶ τυγχάνη μισγόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς· οὐκὼν δὴ Ἴνταφέρνης ἐδικαίει οὐδένα οἱ ἐσαγγεῖλαι, ἀλλ', ὅτι ἦν τῶν ἑπτὰ, ἐσιέναι ἤθελε· ὁ δὲ πυλourός <sup>322</sup> καὶ ὁ ἀγγελιφόρος οὐ περιώρεον, φάμενοι τὸν βασιλέα γυναικὶ μίσγεσθαι· ὁ δὲ Ἴνταφέρνης δοκέων σφέας ψεύδεα λέγειν, ποιεῖ τοιαύδε· σπασάμενος τὸν ἀκινάκεια <sup>323</sup> ἀποτάμνει αὐτῶν

<sup>321</sup> τὸν μὲν γὰρ χειμῶνα ὕει σφι ὁ θεός. This would not be the case south of lat. 35°, for the rainy season in India on the western side is from April to October. North of the Paropamisus and west of the Hindoo Koosh, the description would be true.

<sup>322</sup> ὁ πυλourός. This officer would give admission into the interior of the

palace, where the ἀγγελιφόρος would be found. See above, § 77. The singular number is probably used from Intaphernes having confined his outrage to the chief attendant.

<sup>323</sup> τὸν ἀκινάκεια. The appropriate Asiatic weapon, *Medus acinaces*. (HOMER. *Od.* i. 27. 5.) Above, § 77, the conspirators draw their dirks (τὰ ἐγχι-

119

Darius  
seizes him  
and all his  
family.

τά τε ὄτα καὶ τὰς ῥίνας, καὶ ἀνείρας περὶ τὸν χαλινὸν τοῦ ἵππου  
περὶ τοὺς αὐχένας σφέων ἔδησε, καὶ ἀπήκε· Οἱ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ  
δεικνύασιν ἑωυτοὺς, καὶ τὴν αἰτήν εἶπον δι' ἣν πεπονθότες εἴσαν  
Δαρεῖος δὲ, ἀρρωδήσας<sup>327</sup> μὴ κοινῷ λόγῳ οἱ ἐξ πεπονηκότες ἔωσι  
ταῦτα, μεταπεμπόμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον, ἀπεπειράτο γνώμης εἰ συν-  
ἐπαινοὶ εἰσι τῷ πεπονημένῳ· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐξέμαθε ὡς οὐ σὺν ἐκείνοισι  
εἴη ταῦτα πεπονηκὸς, ἔλαβε αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἰνταφέρνεα καὶ τοὺς  
παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκητὺς πάντας, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων  
μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν μιν ἐπιβουλεύειν οἱ ἐπανάστασιν συλλαβὼν  
δὲ σφεας ἔδρασε τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ· ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἰνταφέρνεος φοιτέ-  
ουσα ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέως, κλαίεσκε ἂν καὶ ὀδυρέσκετο  
ποιεῦσα δὲ αἰεὶ τὸν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, τὸν Δαρεῖον ἔπεισε οἰκτεῖραί μιν  
πέμψας δὲ ἄγγελον ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ γύναι, βασιλεὺς τοι Δαρεῖος  
διδόει ἕνα τῶν δεδεμένων οἰκητῶν ῥύσασθαι, τὸν βούλει ἐκ πάντων”  
ἡ δὲ βουλευσαμένη ὑπεκρίνατο τάδε· “εἰ μὲν δὴ μοι διδοὶ βασι-  
λεὺς ἐνὸς τὴν ψυχὴν, αἰρέομαι ἐκ πάντων τὸν ἀδελφεόν<sup>328</sup>.” πυθό-  
μενος δὲ Δαρεῖος ταῦτα καὶ θωυμάσας τὸν λόγον, πέμψας ἡγόρευε  
“ὦ γύναι, εἰρωτᾷ σε βασιλεὺς, τίνα ἔχουσα γνώμην τὸν ἄνδρα τε  
καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐγκαταλιπούσα, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν εἴλῃ περιεῖναι τοι· ὃς  
καὶ ἀλλοτριώτερός<sup>329</sup> τοι τῶν παίδων, καὶ ἦσσαν κεχαρισμένοι τοῦ

His wife  
begs off her  
brother and  
eldest son,

ρίδια), a weapon more familiar to the Greeks.

<sup>327</sup> ἀρρωδήσας. Intaphernes was the nominee of Otanes in the second election of conspirators (iii. 70), and therefore probably more closely connected with him than either Hydarnes or Megabyzus were. It is quite clear that Otanes was the most influential of all the Persian chiefs, (see note 192, above,) and, with the exception of Darius, all the conspirators were, directly or indirectly, nominated by him.

<sup>328</sup> ἐκ πάντων τὸν ἀδελφεόν. Among others, Dr. DONALDSON (*Transactions of the Philological Society*, i. p. 161) has put forward the idea that Herodotus has in this singular tale embodied the sentiments put in the mouth of Antigone in the play of Sophocles. She asserts, that she had done for her brother what she would not have done for a husband or for children, and defends her conduct by the argument:

πόσις μὲν ἂν μοι, καθ' αὐτόντος, ἄλλος ἦν,  
καὶ παῖς ἀπ' ἄλλου φωτὸς, εἰ τοῦδ' ἤμπελα-  
κον·

μητρὸς δ' ἐν Αἰδοῦ καὶ πατρὸς κεκευθότων  
οὐκ ἔστ' ἀδελφὸς ὅστις ἂν βλάσται ποτέ.  
(vv. 909—912.)

The great verbal similarity between the expressions of the poet and the historian is patent; and a probable intercourse between Herodotus and Sophocles just about the time at which the *Antigone* was acted (440 B.C.) is satisfactorily made out. But the argument comes in so strangely in the play,—introduced by the question, *τίνας νόμου δὴ ταῦτα πρὸς χάριν λέγω*:—that it is difficult not to conceive it taken from some popular imported story, rather than the home growth of Sophocles's imagination. If, therefore, there be any truth in the story of PLUTARCH (*De Malign. Herod.* c. 26), and if Herodotus really recited a portion of his history at Athens before the *Antigone* was composed, it is perhaps more likely to suppose that Sophocles adapted from him than the converse.

<sup>329</sup> ἀλλοτριώτερος. Gaizford, with the MSS., has ἀλλοτριώτατος.

ἀνδρός ἐστι." ἡ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀνὴρ μὲν μοι ἄν  
 ἄλλος γένοιτο εἰ δαίμων ἐθέλοι, καὶ τέκνα ἄλλα εἰ ταῦτα ἀποβά-  
 λωμι· πατὴρ δὲ καὶ μητὴρ οὐκ ἔτι μεν ζώντων, ἀδελφεὸς ἄν  
 ἄλλος οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ γένοιτο· ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ χρεωμένη, ἔλεξα  
 ταῦτα." εὐ τε δὴ ἔδοξε τῷ Δαρείῳ εἰπεῖν ἡ γυνή, καὶ οἱ ἀπήκε  
 τοῦτόν τε τὸν παραιτέτο καὶ τῶν παιδῶν τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἡσθεὶς  
 αὐτῇ· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέκτεινε πάντας. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἑπτὰ εἰς  
 αὐτῇκα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀπολώλεε.

and the rest  
 are put to  
 death.

Κατὰ δὲ κου μάλιστα τὴν Καμβύσῃ νούσον ἐγένετο τάδε <sup>330</sup>. 120  
 ὑπὸ Κύρου κατασταθεὶς ἦν Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος Ὀροΐτης, ἀνὴρ Πέρ-  
 σης <sup>331</sup>. οὗτος ἐπεθύμησε πρήγματος οὐκ ὀσίου οὔτε γὰρ τι  
 παθῶν οὔτε ἀκούσας μάταιον ἔπος πρὸς Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Σαμίου,  
 οὔτε ἰδὼν πρότερον, ἐπεθύμει λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι, ὥς μὲν οἱ  
 πλευνες λέγουσι, διὰ τοιγύνη τινὰ αἰτίην ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέως θυρέων  
 κατήμενον τὸν τε Ὀροΐτην καὶ ἄλλον Πέρσην, τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι  
 Μιτραβάτα <sup>332</sup>, νομοῦ ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ <sup>333</sup>, τούτους ἐκ  
 λόγων ἐς νείκεα συμπεσέειν κρινομένων δὲ περὶ ἀρετῆς, εἰπεῖν τὸν  
 Μιτραβάτα τῷ Ὀροΐτῃ προφέροντα· "σὺ γὰρ ἐν ἀνδρῶν λόγῳ,  
 ὃς βασιλεῖ νῆσον Σάμον πρὸς τῷ σῷ νομῷ προσκειμένην οὐ προσ-  
 εκτήσαο, ὧδε δὴ τι εἴουσιν εὐπετέα χειρωθῆναι; τὴν τῶν τις ἐπι-

Polycrates  
 the Samian  
 dynast is  
 treacher-  
 ously put  
 to death  
 by Orates,  
 satrap of  
 Sardis, irri-  
 tated by an  
 insult of  
 Mitribates,

<sup>330</sup> κατὰ δὲ κου μάλιστα τὴν Καμβύσῃ νούσον ἐγένετο τάδε. It is plain from this expression that the story Herodotus is about to tell was not found by him in connexion with the thread of the Persian history. He found no chronology in it except such as was furnished by names of the persons involved. See note 114, on § 39.

<sup>331</sup> Ὀροΐτης, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης. When this Orates was appointed by Cyrus, does not appear from any part of Herodotus's history. After the conquest of Sardis, Cyrus appointed *Tabalus*, a Persian, the military governor (i. 153). Probably after the revolt of Pactyas, *Mazares*, who appears to have held the supreme military command (i. 156. 161), superseded him, and was regarded as the viceroy. He was succeeded by *Harpagus* (i. 162), who completed the conquest of the country. So Herodotus leaves the matter in the first book, where he probably is following Hel- leno-Lyidian authorities. Here a *Samian* story begins, in which Orates and Mitra-

bates (*Persians*)—*Mazares* and *Harpagus* having been *Medians*—appear as the high officials.

<sup>332</sup> Μιτραβάτα. Gaisford, and the majority of MSS., have *Μιτροβάτα*. But the name seems undoubtedly to be derived from *Mithras*, and one MS. gives the reading in the text. It is analogous to the Pontine name *Mithradates*, the bearers of which professed to be *Achæmenids*. (See note 419 on i. 121.)

<sup>333</sup> ἐν Δασκυλείῳ. *Dascyleum*, on the Bithynian coast, was the head-quarters of one of the Persian armies which held that part of Asia which lay within the Halys. *Magnesia* on the *Mæander* was another principal station (below, § 122). Sardis, although the chief city of the region, does not seem to have been a military head-quarters, although it had a garrison of its own. (See notes on v. 101 and 102.) Probably its commercial importance and its luxury contributed equally to render it an undesirable station for any considerable body of soldiers.

121  
or, as some  
say, by a  
carelessness  
of Poly-  
crates.

122  
Artifice of  
Orestes to  
get Poly-  
crates into  
his power.

χωρίων πεντεκαίδεκα ὀπλίτησι ἐπαναστὰς ἔσχε, καὶ νῦν αὐτῆς τυραννεύει." οἱ μὲν δὴ μὴ φασὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσαντα, καὶ ἀλγήσαντα τῷ ὄνειδεϊ, ἐπιθυμῆσαι οὐκ οὕτω τὸν εἰπαντα ταῦτα τίσασθαι, ὥς Πολυκράτεα πάντως ἀπολέσαι δι' ὃν τινα κακῶς ἤκουσε. Οἱ δὲ ἐλάσσονες λέγουσι, πέμψαι Ὀροίτεα ἐς Σάμον κήρυκα ὅτεν δὴ χρήματος δεησόμενον οὐ γὰρ ὦν δὴ τοῦτό γε λέγεται· καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα τυχεῖν κατακείμενον ἐν ἀνδρεῶνι, παρῆναι δέ οἱ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήϊον καὶ κως, εἴτ' ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὸν κατηλογέοντα τὰ Ὀροίτεω πρήγματα, εἴτε καὶ συντυχίῃ τις τοιαύτη ἐπεγένετο· τὸν τε γὰρ κήρυκα τὸν Ὀροίτεω παρελθόντα διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα, τυχεῖν γὰρ ἐπεστραμμένον πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον, οὔτε τι μεταστραφῆναι οὔτε ὑποκρίνασθαι. Αἰτίαι μὲν δὴ αὗται διφάσαι λέγονται τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Πολυκράτεος γενέσθαι· πάρεστι δὲ πείθεσθαι ὁκοτέρῃ τις βούλεται αὐτέων. ὁ δὲ ὦν Ὀροίτης, ἰζόμενος ἐν Μαγνησίῃ τῇ ὑπὲρ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ οἰκημένη, ἔπεμπε Μύρσον<sup>334</sup> τὸν Γύγεω ἄνδρα Λυδὸν ἐς Σάμον ἀγγελίην φέροντα, μαθὼν τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τὸν νόον. Πολυκράτης γάρ ἐστι πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Ἑλλήνων ὃς θαλασσοκρατεῖν ἐπενοίηθη, πάρεξ Μίνωός<sup>335</sup> τε τοῦ Κνωσσοῦ καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος πρότερος τούτου ἦρξε τῆς θαλάσσης· τῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπότης λεγομένης γενεῆς Πολυκράτης ἐστὶ πρῶτος, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων Ἰωνίης τε καὶ νήσων ἄρξειν μαθὼν ὦν ταῦτά μιν διανοούμενον ὁ Ὀροίτης, πέμψας ἀγγελίην ἔλεγε τάδε· "Ὀροίτης Πολυκράτει ὦδε λέγει<sup>336</sup>. πυνθάνομαι ἐπιβουλεύειν σε πρήγμασι μεγάλοισι, καὶ χρήματά τοι οὐκ εἶναι κατὰ τὰ φρονήματα<sup>337</sup>. σὺ νῦν ὦδε ποιήσας ὀρθώσεις μὲν σεωυτὸν, σώσεις δὲ καὶ ἐμέ· (ἐμοὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης ἐπιβουλεύει θάνατον<sup>338</sup>, καὶ μοι τοῦτο ἐξαγγέλλεται σαφηνέως)

<sup>334</sup> Μύρσον. This name in another form (Μυρσίλος) was the Hellenic equivalent of Candaules. See note 32 on i. 7. Candaules is also made to be himself the son of a Myrsus. The individual here spoken of is probably the same as the one whose death is related afterwards. (v. 121.)

<sup>335</sup> Μίνωες. The manuscripts 8 and V have Μίνω.

<sup>336</sup> Ὀροίτης Πολυκράτει ὦδε λέγει. See note 118 on § 40, above.

<sup>337</sup> χρήματά τοι οὐκ εἶναι κατὰ τὰ φρονήματα. See note on v. 36.

<sup>338</sup> ἐμοὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης ἐπιβουλεύει θάνατον. The cause of this jealousy does not appear from any thing in Herodotus; but following the clue furnished by the history of Persia in the Behistun Inscription, one may perhaps conjecture that Orestes, although a Persian, was favourable to the Median religious party, of which Bartius, the brother of Cambyses, and afterwards the Magian usurper, were heads. (See notes 218, above, and 346, below.) It is to be remarked, that Orestes seems to occupy the

σὺ νῦν ἐμέ ἐκκομίσας αὐτὸν καὶ χρήματα, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἔχε, τὰ δὲ ἐμέ ἕα ἔχειν εἵνεκέν τε χρημάτων, ἄρξεις ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος· εἰ δέ μοι ἀπιστείεις τὰ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, πέμψον ὅστις τοι πιστότατος τυγχάνει ἑὼν, τῷ ἐγὼ ἀποδέξω." Ταῦτα 123 ἀκούσας ὁ Πολυκράτης, ἦσθη τε καὶ ἐβούλετο· καί κως, ἰμείρετο γὰρ χρημάτων μεγάλως, ἀποπέμπει πρῶτα κατοφόμενον Μαιάνδριον Μαιανδρίου, ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν, ὃς οἱ ἦν γραμματιστής· ὃς χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τούτων, τὸν κόσμον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρεῶνος τοῦ Πολυκράτους, ἔοντα ἀξιοθέητον, ἀνέθηκε πάντα ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον. ὁ δὲ Ὀροίτης μαθὼν τὸν κατάσκοπον ἔοντα προσδόκιμον, ἐποίησε τοιαύδε· λάρνακας ὁκτὼ πληρώσας λίθων, πλὴν κάρτα βραχέος τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰ τὰ χεῖλα, ἐπιπολῆς τῶν λίθων χρυσὸν ἐπέβαλε καταθήσας δὲ τὰς λάρνακας<sup>329</sup> εἶχε ἐτοίμας· ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος καὶ θεσάμενος, ἀπήγγειλε τῷ Πολυκράτει. Ὁ δὲ, πολλὰ μὲν τῶν 124 μαντιῶν ἀπαγορευόντων πολλὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων, ἐστέλλετο αὐτὸς ἀπιέναι· πρὸς δὲ, καὶ ἰδούσης τῆς θυγατρὸς ὄψῳ ἐνυπνίου τοιμήδε· ἐδόκέε· οἱ τὸν πατέρα ἐν τῷ ἡέρι μετέωρον ἔοντα, λούσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς, χρίεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ταύτην ἰδοῦσα τὴν ὄψιν, παντοίῃ ἐγένετο<sup>340</sup> μὴ ἀποδημῆσαι τὸν Πολυκράτεια παρὰ τὸν Ὀροίτεια· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἰόντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πεντηκόντερον<sup>341</sup> ἐπεφημίζετο<sup>342</sup>· ὁ δὲ οἱ ἠπειλήσε, ἦν σῶς ἀπονοστήσῃ πολλὸν μιν χρόνον

Deceit played on Meandrius, the secretary of Polycrates, donor of an offering in the Heraeum at Samos.

A dream of the daughter of Polycrates

same position which had previously been filled by two *Medians*, Mazares and Harpagus. (See notes 331, above, and 360, below.)

<sup>329</sup> καταθήσας δὲ τὰς λάρνακας. Before the invention of locks, the only way of securing chests was by cording them. Thus ΕΖΕΚΙΕΛ (xxvii. 24) speaks of "chests of rich apparel bound with cords" among the merchandize of Tyre. To fasten the cord in such a way as to baffle the attempt of a stranger to unloose it, became a point of skill under such circumstances; and the proverb, *ὁ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύς δεσμός*, in allusion to the Homeric expression (*Odys.* viii. 447) came to be applied to denote all extraordinarily secure fastenings.

<sup>340</sup> παντοίῃ ἐγένετο, "resorted to all kinds of means." So in ix. 109, Xerxes παντοίως ἐγένετο, to evade the performance of his rash promise to Artaynte.

<sup>341</sup> ἐπὶ τὴν πεντηκόντερον. See note 131, above. The article too is to be re-

marked. See note 87, above. The feature of the fatal galley was doubtless never wanting to the story as told at Samos.

<sup>342</sup> ἐπεφημίζετο, "uttered an ominous phrase;" i. e. she put herself in the position of an inspired soothsayer, and solemnly placed a ban upon her father's design. His reply seems to have a reference to this assumed character, and to mean that he would dedicate her as the officiating priestess at some oracle. The prominence of the superstitious element in the narrative, and the mention of Meandrius's offering, point to the traditions of the Heraeum at Samos as a likely source of the author's information. It should be observed, that the Samians would understand by Zeus, not the Olympian deity, but the elemental principle of increase, the *Pater Aether* of Lucretius. Hence the dream of the maiden was fulfilled by her father's naked body being

- παρθευέσθαι· ἡ δὲ ἡρήσατο ἐπιτελέα ταῦτα γενέσθαι· βούλεσθαι  
 125 γὰρ παρθευέσθαι πλέω χρόνον ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστερήσθαι. Πολυ-  
 κράτης δὲ πάσης συμβουλῆς ἀλογήσας, ἔπλεε παρὰ τὸν Ὀροίτεα  
 ἅμα ἀγόμενος ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς τῶν ἐταίρων ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δημο-  
 κῆδεα τὸν Καλλιφώντος, Κροτωνιήτην, ἄνδρα ἰητρὸν τε ἔοντα καὶ  
 τὴν τέχνην ἀσκέοντα ἄριστα τῶν κατ' ἐωυτὸν. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς  
 τὴν Μαγνησίην ὁ Πολυκράτης διεφθάρη κακῶς, οὔτε ἐωυτοῦ ἀξίως  
 οὔτε τῶν ἐωυτοῦ φρονιμάτων· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ οἱ Συρηκοσίων γεγόμενοι  
 τύραννοι<sup>343</sup>, οὐδὲ εἰς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλληνικῶν τυράννων ἀξίός ἐστι  
 Πολυκράτει μεγαλοπρεπεῖην συμβληθῆναι. ἀποκτείνας δὲ μὴ  
 οὐκ ἀξίως ἀπηγγήσιος Ὀροίτης, ἀνεσταύρωσε· τῶν δὲ οἱ ἐπομένων  
 ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν Σάμιοι ἀπήκε, κελεύων σφέας ἐωυτῷ χάρις εἰδέναι  
 ἐόντας ἐλευθέρους· ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ξεῖνοί τε καὶ δούλοι τῶν ἐπομένων  
 is fulfilled. ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ποιούμενος εἶχε· Πολυκράτης δὲ ἀνακρεμά-  
 μενος, ἐπετέλεε πᾶσαν τὴν ὕψιν τῆς θυγατρὸς· ἐλοῦτο μὲν γὰρ  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὅκως ὅι<sup>344</sup>, ἐχρίετο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνιείς αὐτὸς ἐκ  
 τοῦ σώματος ἱκμάδα. Πολυκράτεος μὲν δὴ αἱ πολλαὶ εὐτυχίαι ἐς  
 τοῦτο ἐτελεύτησαν, τῇ οἱ Ἀμασις ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς προεμαν-  
 τεύσατο<sup>345</sup>.
- 126 Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ Ὀροίτεα Πολυκράτεος τίσιες  
 A judgment comes soon μετῆλθον. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν Καμβύσειω θάνατον καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν

<sup>343</sup> οἱ Συρηκοσίων γεγόμενοι τύραννοι. The allusion is to Gelon, whose victory over the Carthaginians at Himera was said to have taken place on the same day as the action at Salamis (vii. 166); and to his brother and successor Hieron, whose patronage of letters made him celebrated throughout Hellas. The word *μεγαλοπρέπεια* denotes that kind of elegant sumptuousness which the Greeks regarded as the distinctive virtue of a sovereign or chief citizen, and which showed itself especially in the maintenance of great state on public occasions, such as the Olympic festival, or the erection of public works on a great scale. ARISTOTLE describing it, says: *ἔστι τῶν δαπανημάτων οἷα λέγομεν τὰ τίμια, οἷον τὰ περὶ θεοῦ ἀναθήματα καὶ κατασκευαὶ καὶ θυσίαι, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὅσα περὶ πάντων τῶν δαιμόνιων καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν εὐφροσύνην ἔστιν, οἷον εἰ που χορηγεῖν οἴονται δεῖν λαμπρῶς ἢ τριηραρχεῖν ἢ καὶ ἐστιῶν τὴν πόλιν.* (*Ethic. Nicom.* iv. p. 1122.) It

was the possession of this quality which rendered many of the Hellenic dynasts popular, and which in later times kept Alcibiades a favourite in spite of his unparalleled insolence. See his speech in THUCYDIDES (vi. 16). The Hellenic good taste, however, in spite of the passion for sumptuousness, revolted at mere profusion. An ill-directed *μεγαλοπρέπεια* became what they called *βαναυσία* (vulgarity). Likewise *μεγαλοπρέπεια* was incompatible with all regard for private advantage: *ὃ γὰρ εἰς ἐαυτὸν δαπανῆς ὁ μεγαλοπρεπὴς, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰ κοινά.* (ARISTOTLE, l. c., p. 1123.)

<sup>344</sup> ὅπῃ τοῦ Διὸς ὅκως ὅι. See the note 342, above.

<sup>345</sup> τῇ οἱ Ἀμασις ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς προεμαντεύσατο. This clause is omitted in S and V. The allusion is to § 43; but it is a very inaccurate statement of the facts of the case so far as appears from the narrative of Herodotus in its present shape.

βασιλῆην, μένων ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι Ὀροίτης ὠφέλει μὲν οὐδὲν  
 Πέρσας, ὑπὸ Μήδων ἀπαραιρημένους τὴν ἀρχὴν<sup>346</sup>· ὁ δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ  
 τῇ ταραχῇ κατὰ μὲν ἔκτεινε Μιτραβάτεια<sup>347</sup> τὸν ἐκ Δασκυλείου  
 ὑπαρχον, ὃς οἱ ὠνείδισε τὰ ἐς Πολυκράτεια ἔχοντα, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ  
 Μιτραβάτεια τὸν παῖδα Κρανάσπην, ἄνδρας ἐν Πέρσῃσι δοκίμους,  
 ἄλλα τε ἐξύβρισε παντοῖα· καὶ τινα ἀγγαρήϊον<sup>348</sup> Δαρείου ἐλθόντα  
 παρ' αὐτὸν, ὡς οὐ πρὸς ἡδονὴν οἱ ἦν τὰ ἀγγελλόμενα, κτείνει μιν  
 ὀπίσω κομιζόμενον, ἄνδρας οἱ ὑπέισας κατ' ὁδὸν, ἀποκτείνας δέ μιν  
 ἠφάνισε αὐτῷ ἵππῳ. Δαρεῖος δὲ ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐπεθύμει τὸν  
 Ὀροίτεια τίσασθαι, πάντων τε τῶν ἀδικημάτων εἵνεκεν καὶ μάλιστα  
 Μιτραβάτεια καὶ τοῦ παιδός· ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἰθείης στρατὸν ἐπ'  
 αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐδόκεε πέμπειν, ἅτε οἰδεόντων<sup>349</sup> ἔτι τῶν πρηγμάτων,  
 καὶ νεωστὶ ἔχων τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ τὸν Ὀροίτεια μεγάλῃν τὴν ἰσχὺν  
 πυνθανόμενος ἔχειν τὸν χίλιοι μὲν Περσέων ἐδορυφόρεον, εἶχε δὲ  
 νομὸν τὸν τε Φρύγιον καὶ Λύδιον καὶ Ἰωνικόν<sup>350</sup>. πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ

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<sup>346</sup> ὑπὸ Μήδων ἀπαραιρημένους τὴν ἀρχήν. Cambyses when dying implores his Persian friends *μη περιθεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίην αὐτῷ ἐς Μήδους περιελθοῦσαν* (above, § 65)—a phrase which implies a restoration of the relative position of the Medes and Persians which existed before the revolution effected by Cyrus. And the same thing seems to follow from the note incorporated into the text in i. 130. (See note 439 thereon.) Orontes, with the force at his command in his satrapy, probably had connived at the change, in the hope of acquiring an independent sovereignty for himself. The Magian began his reign by an ostentatious liberality towards the dependencies. See above, § 67.

This view of the Magian usurpation is in exact accordance with the Persian account as given in the Behistun Inscription, and with what (it can scarcely be doubted) was the real course of events. But the authority followed by Herodotus in his main account represented the whole transaction as a mere personal usurpation of the Pseudo-Smerdis. Hence the real state of the case only appears by such casual expressions as these showing themselves in parts of the work where the author is following another tradition. See note 218 on § 79, above.

<sup>347</sup> Μιτραβάτεια. The MSS and Gaisford have Μιτροβάτεια. See note 332,

above.

<sup>348</sup> ἀγγαρήϊον. Most of the MSS here have ἀγγελιηφόρον. But the reading in the text is warranted by S and V, and it seems likely that ἀγγελιηφόρον crept in as a gloss explanatory of the technical term. The Persian kings (like the Roman emperors) established a regular line of posts along all the great military roads. Herodotus gives a description of the system (viii. 98), and compares it with the Hellenic *λαμπαδηφορία*. The word ἀγγαρήϊον is an adjective, and the substantive ἄνδρας is to be supplied.

<sup>349</sup> οἰδεόντων. So the manuscripts S and V. Gaisford, with several others, inserts *οἱ* before the word.

<sup>350</sup> νομὸν τὸν τε Φρύγιον καὶ Λύδιον καὶ Ἰωνικόν. It is not to be assumed that these three *nomes* (which are the three first in Darius's cadastral system described above §§ 90—94), existed so divided at the time Orontes was paramount. He appears rather to be successor to the position of Harpagus (see note 331, above); and this position to be described in terms of a later system. It seems likely that a principal motive to this later division was the diminution of the power of chiefs like Aryandes, Harpagus, and Orontes; which last, after destroying Mitribates, held in his hands the whole of Asia within the Halys, and might with very fair prospects hope to make his



and cures  
the king.

Munificence  
of Darius  
and of the  
women of  
his harem.

### 131

History of  
Democedes  
before his  
arrival at  
the court  
of Poly-  
crates.

τὸ μέσον· ὁ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὦν ἐκφαίνει, φὰς ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐκ ἐπί-  
στασθαι ὁμίλησας δὲ ἱητρῷ φλαύρως ἔχειν τὴν τέχνην· μετὰ δὲ, ὡς  
οἱ ἐπέτρεψε, Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἰήμασι χρεώμενος καὶ ἥπια μετὰ τὰ  
ἰσχυρὰ προσάγων, ὕπνου τέ μιν λαγχάνειν ἐποίεε καὶ ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ  
ἰγία μιν ἔοντα ἀπέδεξε, οὐδαμὰ ἔτι ἐλπίζοντα ἀρτίπουν ἔσεσθαι.  
δωρέεται δὴ μιν μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος πεδέων χρυσέων δύο ζεύγαι·  
ὁ δὲ μιν ἐπείρετο, εἰ οἱ διπλήσιον τὸ κακὸν ἐπίτηδες νέμει ὅτι μιν  
ἰγία ἐποίησε; ἥσθεις δὲ τῷ ἔπει ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀποπέμπει μιν παρὰ  
τὰς ἑωυτοῦ γυναῖκας· παράγοντες δὲ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι ἔλεγον πρὸς τὰς  
γυναῖκας, ὡς βασιλεῖ οὗτος εἴη ὃς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπέδωκε ὑποκύ-  
πτουσα<sup>359</sup> δὲ αὐτέων ἐκάστη φιάλῃ ἐς τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὴν θήκην<sup>360</sup>  
ἐδωρέετο Δημοκίδεα οὕτω δὴ τι δαψιλῇ δωρεῇ, ὡς τοὺς ἀποπέμπον-  
τας ἀπὸ τῶν φιαλέων στατήρας ἐπόμενος ὁ οἰκέτης, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν  
Σκίτων, ἀνελέγετο· καὶ οἱ χρῆμα πολλόν τι χρυσοῦ συνελέχθη.

Ὁ δὲ Δημοκίδης οὗτος ὠδε ἐκ Κρότωνος ἀπυγμένος Πολυκράτει  
ὠμίλησε· πατρὶ συνέλχεται<sup>361</sup> ἐν Κρότωνι ὀργὴν χαλεπῶ· τοῦτον  
ἐπεὶ τε οὐκ ἐδύνατο φέρειν, ἀπολιπὼν οἶχeto ἐς Αἰγίναν· καταστάς  
δὲ ἐς ταύτην, τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει ὑπερεβάλετο τοὺς πρώτους ἱητροὺς,  
ἀσκευὴς περ ἑὼν καὶ ἔχων οὐδὲν τῶν ὅσα περὶ τὴν τέχνην ἐστί  
ἐργαλῆα· καὶ μιν δευτέρῳ ἔτει ταλάντου Αἰγινῆται δημοσίῃ  
μισθεύνται· τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει Ἀθηναῖοι ἑκατὸν μνέων<sup>362</sup>· τετάρτῳ δὲ

<sup>359</sup> ὑποκύπτουσα. Gaisford and the MSS have ὑποτίπτουσα. See the note on vi. 119.

<sup>360</sup> ἐς τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὴν θήκην. This reading rests on the authority of the single manuscript S, but it is the only one (among many variations) not manifestly corrupt.

<sup>361</sup> πατρὶ συνέλχεται. Herodotus uses the same expression in vi. 12, μάλλον ἢ τῇ παρῑούσῃ δουλήτῃ συνέλχεσθαι. In both cases the annoyance spoken of is one acting by perpetual irritation. The temper of Democedes's father and the drilling of the martinet trainer of Phocæa were unbearable from the same cause, the continuity (τὸ συνεχές) of the trouble. The same idea would be conveyed by the reading ἀγρυπνίῃ συνέλχεται, which is preserved by SUIDAS in citing the passage § 129. I should translate the text: "At Crotona he was kept on the fret by a father of bitter temper."

<sup>362</sup> τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει Ἀθηναῖοι ἑκατὸν μνέων. It is quite clear from the chronology of the story that Democedes would be retained at Athens, not by the commonalty, but by the *Pisistratids*. The sum of money too is out of keeping with republican parsimony. From the *Achæarnians* of ARISTOPHANES, which was acted in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, it appears that the pay of an ambassador was only two drachmæ *per diem*, and yet this extravagance went to the soul of the worthy Dicaeopolis (οἶμοι τῶν δραχμῶν, v. 67). And at this time the revenue of Athens was nearly 2000 talents; whereas in the time of Democedes it does not appear certain that there was any *public* revenue at all. These inconsistent features make it unlikely that the story of Democedes is a *contemporary* one. But the practice which prevailed in the time of Herodotus (and perhaps in the time of Homer, who reckons "the prophet" and "the physician"

ἔτει Πολυκράτης δυνάων ταλάντων. οὕτω μὲν ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σάμον. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἤκιστα Κροτωνιῆται ἡτροὶ εὐδοκίμησαν. ἐγένετο γὰρ ὦν τοῦτο ὅτε πρῶτοι μὲν Κροτωνιῆται ἡτροὶ ἐλέγοντο ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶναι· δεύτεροι δέ, Κυρηναῖοι· κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ χρόνον καὶ Ἀργεῖοι ἤκουον μουσικὴν εἶναι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοι<sup>332</sup>. Τότε δὲ ὁ Δημοκῆδης ἐν τοῖσι Σούσοισι ἐξησάμενος Δαρεῖον, οἰκόν τε μέγιστον εἶχε καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος βασιλεῖ ἐγεγόνει· πλὴν τε ἐνὸς τοῦ ἐς Ἑλλήνας ἀπιέναι, πάντα τὰ ἄλλα οἱ παρῆν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἡτροὺς οἱ βασιλέα πρότερον ἰόντο, μέλλοντας ἀνασκολοπιεῖσθαι διότι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνος ἡτροῦ ἐσώθησαν, τούτους βασιλέα παραιτησάμενος ἐρρύσατο· τοῦτο δὲ μάντιν Ἥλειον Πολυκράτει ἐπισπόμενον, καὶ ἀπημελημένον ἐν τοῖσι ἀνδραπόδοισι, ἐρρύσατο. ἦν δὲ μέγιστον πρήγμα Δημοκῆδης παρὰ βασιλεῖ.

132

His favour with Darius.

Ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὀλίγῳ μετὰ ταῦτα, τάδε ἄλλα συνήνεικε γενέσθαι. Ἀτόσση τῇ Κύρου μὲν θυγατρὶ Δαρείου δὲ γυναικὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαστοῦ ἔφυ φύμα· μετὰ δὲ, ἐκραγὲν ἐνέμετο πρόσω. ὅσον μὲν δὴ χρόνον ἦν ἔλασσον, ἢ δὲ κρύπτουσα καὶ αἰσχυνομένη ἔφραζε οὐδενί· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐν κακῷ ἦν, μετεπέμψατο τὸν Δημοκῆδεα καὶ οἱ ἐπέδεξε· ὁ δὲ φὰς ὑγίεια ποιήσειν, ἐξορκοὶ μιν ἡ μὴν<sup>334</sup> οἱ ἀντυπουργήσειν ἐκείνην τοῦτο τὸ ἀν αὐτῆς δεσθῆ· δεήσεσθαι δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ὅσα ἐς αἰσχύνην ἐστὶ φέροντα<sup>335</sup>. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα μιν μετὰ ταῦτα ἰώμενος ἰγίεια ἀπέδεξε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημοκῆδεος ἡ Ἀτοσσα, προσέφερε ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ Δαρεῖω λόγον τοιούτου· “ὦ βασι-

133

He cures Atossa of an ulcer in the breast,

and as a boon induces her

134

to persuade Darius to invade Hellas.

among the *δημοεργοὶ* or public functionaries, *Odys.* xvii. 383) exists even to this day. The continent of Greece is supplied with doctors chiefly from Cephalonia, and there is scarcely a town of note or an Agalik which is without one. In the Morea they were often the confidential agents of the Agas. ΣΙΝΤΟΝ (ap. *Walpole's Turkey*, ii. p. 77) found at Pyrgo an individual who acted in this capacity, and who received 400 piastres salary from the district, which contained 10 villages. His profits however principally arose from presents, and from his good offices with the Aga in favour of malefactors. He had been a druggist's boy at Zante, and could neither read nor write, but he possessed some empirical knowledge, and such influence that he had

just stopped the feud between two powerful chiefs by negotiating a marriage between their families.

<sup>332</sup> ἤκουον μουσικὴν εἶναι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοι. This would probably be at the time of *Telesilla's* highest reputation. See note on vi. 81.

<sup>334</sup> ἡ μὴν. Gaisford ἡ μὲν.

<sup>335</sup> ὅσα ἐς αἰσχύνην ἐστὶ φέροντα. Some of the MSS omit the preposition *ἐς*. But it seems to have an appropriate force, “all those things which *tend* to dishonour.” An exact parallel is supplied by iv. 90, τὰ ἐς ἄκυσιν φέροντα, “effects conducive to healing,” “curative effects,” and in this latter passage the preposition is found in all the MSS.

λεῦ, ἔχων δύναμιν τοσαύτην κáτῃσαι οὔτε τι ἔθνος προσκτώμενος οὔτε δύναμιν Πέρσῃσι ; οὐκὸς δέ ἐστι ἄνδρα καὶ νέον καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων δεσπότην φαίνεσθαι τι ἀποδεικνύμενον, ἵνα καὶ Πέρσαι ἐκμάθωσι ὅτι ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἄρχονται. ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω δέ τοι φέροι ταῦτα ποιέειν, καὶ ἵνα σφέων Πέρσαι ἐπιστέωνται ἄνδρα εἶναι τὸν προεστεῶτα, καὶ ἵνα τρίβωνται πολέμῳ μὴδὲ σχολῇ ἄγοντες ἐπιβουλεύσῃ τοι. νῦν γὰρ ἂν τι καὶ ἀποδέξαιο ἔργον, ἕως νέος εἰς ἡλικίην αὐξανόμενῳ γὰρ τῷ σώματι<sup>366</sup> συναύζονται καὶ αἱ φρένες, γηράσκουσι δὲ συγγηράσκουσι καὶ ἐς τὰ πρήγματα πάντα ἀπαμβλύνονται." ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ διδαχῆς ἔλεγε· ὁ δ' ἀμείβεται τοῖσδε "ὦ γύναι, πάντα ὅσα περ αὐτὸς ἐπινοέω ποιήσῃ εἴρηκας· ἐγὼ γὰρ βεβούλευμαι, ζεύξας γέφυραν<sup>367</sup>, ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ἡπείρου ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην ἡπείρου ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατεύεσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα ὀλίγου χρόνου<sup>368</sup> ἔσται τελεύμενα." λέγει Ἀτοσσα τάδε "ὦρα νυν, ἐς Σκύθας μὲν τὴν πρώτην<sup>369</sup> ἵεναι ἔασον οὔτοι γὰρ ἐπεὰν σὺ βούλῃ ἔσονταιί τοι· σὺ δέ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύεσθαι· ἐπιθυμέω γὰρ, λόγῳ πυνθανομένη, Λακαίνας τέ μοι γενέσθαι θαρραίνας καὶ Ἀργεῖας καὶ Ἀττικὰς<sup>370</sup> καὶ Κορινθίας· ἔχεις δὲ ἄνδρα ἐπιτηδεώτατον ἀνδρῶν πάντων δέξαι τε ἕκαστα τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ κατηγγήσασθαι, τοῦτον δὲ σεὺ τὸν πόδα ἐξήσατο." ἀμείβεται Δαρεῖος "ὦ γύναι, ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοι δοκεῖ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡμέας πρῶτα ἀποπειρᾶσθαι, κατασκόπους μοι δοκεῖ Περσέων πρῶτον ἄμεινον εἶναι ὁμοῦ τούτῳ τῷ σὺ λέγεις πέμψαι ἐς αὐτοὺς· οἱ μαθόντες καὶ ἰδόντες ἕκαστα αὐτῶν, ἐξαγγελέουσι ἡμῖν καὶ ἔπειτα

<sup>366</sup> αὐξανόμενῳ γὰρ τῷ σώματι, κ.τ.λ. STOBÆUS (SEN. p. 592) quotes as a dictum of Democritus: Αὐξανόμενον γὰρ τοῦ σώματος συναύζονται φρένες, γηράσκουσιν δὲ συγγηράσκουσι. The sentiment is an obvious one, but the phraseology is almost too similar for accident.

<sup>367</sup> ζεύξας γέφυραν. This expression apparently refers to the bridge over the Bosphorus, which the author relates to have been constructed by Mandrocles the Samian (iv. 85—87).

<sup>368</sup> ὀλίγου χρόνου. The ellipse is of the participle δέοντος.

<sup>369</sup> τὴν πρώτην. The ellipse is of the substantive ὁδόν.

<sup>370</sup> Ἀττικὰς. In spite of this desire of Atossa, which would hardly be unknown to the Persian courtiers, her own brother-

in-law, Artaphernes, is represented some time afterwards as asking whereabouts in the world Athens was (v. 73). It may be said that he affected this ignorance with a view of striking terror into the Athenian commissioners. But, on the other hand, it is very conceivable that the story of Atossa's intrigues was in a great degree invented for the purpose of justifying the Athenians, who ostensibly were the originators of the war. See note on v. 97. ÆSCHYLUS in the *Persians* rather represents Atossa as the opposite of the character here attributed to her; and the very part which she is here made to play is by later writers given to the wife of Xerxes. See ÆLIAN (*Hist. Animal.* xi. 27).

ἐξεπιστάμενος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τρέφομαι." Ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ ἅμα ἔπος 135  
 τε καὶ ἔργον ἐποίησε· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ τάχιστα ἡμέρῃ ἐπέλαμψε, καλέ-  
 σας Περσέων ἄνδρας δοκίμους πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐνετέλλετό σφι ἐπο-  
 μένους Δημοκῆδεϊ διεξελθεῖν τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Ἑλλάδος·  
 ὅπως τε μὴ διαδρῆσεται σφεας ὁ Δημοκῆδης, ἀλλὰ μιν πάντως  
 ὀπίσω ἀπάξουσιν. ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τούτοις ταῦτα, δεύτερα καλέσας  
 αὐτὸν Δημοκῆδεα ἐδέετο αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἐξηγησάμενος πᾶσαν καὶ  
 ἐπιδέξας τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ὀπίσω ἦξει· δῶρα δὲ μιν τῷ  
 πατρὶ καὶ τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι ἐκέλευε πάντα τὰ ἐκείνου ἔπιπλα  
 λαβόντα ἄγειν, φὰς ἄλλα οἱ παραπλήσια ἀντιδώσειν πρὸς δὲ, ἐς  
 τὰ δῶρα ὀλκάδα οἱ ἔφη συμβαλέεσθαι<sup>371</sup> πλήσας<sup>372</sup> ἀγαθῶν παν-  
 τοίων, τὴν ἅμα οἱ πλεύσεσθαι· Δαρεῖος μὲν δὴ, δοκεῖν ἐμοί, ἀπ'  
 οὐδενὸς δολεροῦ νόου ἐπαγγέλλετό οἱ ταῦτα· Δημοκῆδης δὲ δέισας  
 μὴ εὖ ἐκπειρώτο Δαρεῖος, οὔτι ἐπιδραμὼν πάντα τὰ διδόμενα ἐδέ-  
 κετο, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ κατὰ χώραν ἔφη καταλείψειν ἵνα ὀπίσω  
 σφέα ἀπελθὼν ἔχοι· τὴν μέντοι ὀλκάδα τὴν οἱ Δαρεῖος ἐπαγγέλλετο  
 ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι, δέκεσθαι ἔφη. ἐντειλάμενος δὲ καὶ  
 τούτῳ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀποστέλλει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν.

Darius  
sends fifteen  
Persian no-  
bles with  
Democedes  
to survey  
the coast.

Καταβάντες δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ Φοινίκης ἐς Σιδῶνα πύλιν, 136  
 αὐτῇκα μὲν τριήρεας δύο ἐπλήρωσαν, ἅμα δὲ αὐτῇσι καὶ γαυλὸν<sup>373</sup> They take  
 ship at

<sup>371</sup> συμβαλέεσθαι, "would contribute." The metaphor is one derived from the peculiar custom in Hellenic entertainments for each of the guests to bring a portion of the feast. These contributions were called *σύμβολα*. Democedes doubtless would have carried with him presents from his distinguished patients on the occasion of his journey, and Darius for his part promised him a transport freighted with all kinds of valuables,—his share (as it were) of the outfit.

<sup>372</sup> πλήσας. The nominative case is to be observed. Darius *had* already freighted the vessel (or given orders to that effect), and now promised Democedes that it should be ready to sail with him. If *πλήσαντα* had been used, the freighting of the merchantman would have been a part of Darius's promise.

<sup>373</sup> γαυλόν. This word appears to be the Phœnician term for a merchant vessel. It is derived by Bochart from the Hebrew root *gol*, "round." The term is therefore the exact equivalent of *ναὺς στρογγύλη*, which is perhaps the Greek translation of

it. In viii. 97 the expression *γαυλοῦς φοινικῆτους* is used.

It is rather curious that Herodotus, who has *just before* used the word *ὀλκάς* of this very vessel, should now change the term and persist in changing it (§ 137). Possibly this arises from the circumstance that the story of the *escape* of Democedes may be derived from the south of Italy, the inhabitants of which were familiar with Carthaginian traders in Sicily, and consequently with the Phœnician name *γαυλός* for a merchant vessel,—whereas the account of his fortunes at the Persian court may have come from another quarter, where the more common phrase *ὀλκάς* was in general use. (See the note 131 on § 44.) That the story of the *escape* of Democedes actually was current at Crotona appears from an independent source. It was the practice there for the chief magistrate's servant to accompany his master on the seventh day of the month to the public altars, habited in a *Persian garb*. The local tradition accounting for this custom was, that the people strip of his robes

*Sidon*, and after surveying the coast of Hellas, arrive at *Tarentum*. By the collusion of *Aristophildes*, the prince, *Democedes* escapes to *Crotona*.

137

The Persians follow, and, attempting to seize him, are beaten,

μέγαν παντοίων ἀγαθῶν<sup>374</sup>. παρεσκευασμένοι δὲ πάντα ἔπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· προσίσχοντες δὲ<sup>375</sup>, αὐτῆς τὰ παραθαλάσσια ἐθνεύντο καὶ ἀπεγράφοντο· ἐς ὃ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῆς καὶ οὐνομαστότατα θεησάμενοι ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς Τάραντα. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐκ ῥηστῶν<sup>376</sup> τῆς Δημοκίδεος, Ἀριστοφιλίδης τῶν Ταραντίνων ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦτο μὲν τὰ πηδάλια παρέλυσεν τῶν Μηδικῶν νεῶν<sup>377</sup>, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Πέρσας ἔρξε ὡς κατασκόπους δῆθεν ἔοντας· ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἔπασχον, ὁ Δημοκίδης ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα ἀπικνέεται· ἀπυγμένοι δὲ ἤδη τούτου ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ, ὁ Ἀριστοφιλίδης ἔλυσεν τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ τὰ παρέλαβε τῶν νεῶν ἀπέδωκέ σφι. Πλέοντες δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ διώκοντες Δημοκίδα ἀπικνέονται ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα, εὐρόντες δέ μιν ἀγοράζοντα, ἄπτοντο αὐτοῦ· τῶν δὲ Κροτωνητέων οἱ μὲν καταρρωδέοντες τὰ Περσικὰ πρήγματα προΐεναι ἐτόιμοι ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀντάπτοντό τε καὶ τοῖσι σκυτάλοισι<sup>378</sup> ἔπαιον τοὺς Πέρσας, προΐσχομένους ἔπεια

the Persian who laid hands upon Democedes, and claimed him as Darius's slave; and, to show their contempt, dressed up the *prytanis*'s orderly in them. (TIMÆUS *ap. Athenæum*, p. 522.)

<sup>374</sup> παντοίων ἀγαθῶν. Gaisford, by placing a comma before these words, obscures the real sense of the passage. The merchant-vessel was filled with all kinds of precious merchandize, but not the triremes, which were intended merely as a convoy. The word *πληροῦν* applied to a trireme means simply "to man," and is used commonly in this sense. παντοίων ἀγαθῶν is governed by some such word as *ἐπλησαν*, gathered by inference from it. See note 190 on i. 59.

<sup>375</sup> προσίσχοντες, "on making the land." The conception of the author is, that the vessel made a run direct from Sidon to the coast of Greece. But although they surveyed and noted down the whole of the sea-board, no definite account of what they did appears until their arrival at Tarentum. It seems probable from this, that no account, directly or indirectly, from the lips of Democedes, can be the source of the story. He, according to Herodotus, was so completely the guide to the Persians in the matter, that after losing him they at once returned homewards (§ 137, *ἐστέρημένοι τοῦ ἡγεμόνος*). It is very unlikely, therefore, that a story for which he himself was the authority should omit all reference to τὰ

οὐνομαστότατα Ἑλλάδος, which were visited in the course of the voyage. See above, note 362.

<sup>376</sup> ἐκ ῥηστῶν. This expression is used in the sense of *ἐκ ραδιουργίας*, and perhaps acquired the meaning of fraudulency by the same process of association, viz. as being the opposite of "strict-dealing." In the same way *facilis* came to be used in Latin in the expression "*faciles nymphae*," to denote the opposite of *rigid* morality, and in English *las* conduct implies shuffling.

<sup>377</sup> τῶν Μηδικῶν νεῶν. The ships themselves were neither Median nor Persian, but Phœnician; but in Hellas, especially in those parts which had the least intercourse with the east, ὁ Μῆδος would be the common phrase for the Persian power, and the adjective derived from this word would be applied to vessels sailing under their flag.

<sup>378</sup> τοῖσι σκυτάλοισι. The word *σκυτάλη*, or *σκύταλον*, means the stick around which a strip of leather was wound, on which dispatches were sent by the government of Sparta to their functionaries abroad. But although in Athenian Greek a technical term, it was most probably the common word for a staff in Lacedæmon, and might not unnaturally bear the same sense in a mainly Dorian city like Crotona. Its use, therefore, in this passage, is not wonderful, especially if the narrative is of Magna-Grecian origin.

τάδε " ἄνδρες Κροτωνιῆται, ὁράτε τὰ ποιέετε ἄνδρα βασιλέος and, in  
 δρηπέτην γενόμενον ἑξαίρεσθε καὶ κῶς ταῦτα βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ spite of  
 ἐκρήσει <sup>379</sup> περιῦβρισθαι ; κῶς δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ποιούμενα ἔξει καλῶς, threats,  
 ἣν ἀπέλησθε ἡμέας ; ἐπὶ τίνα δὲ τῆσδε προτέρην στρατευσόμεθα robbed.  
 πόλιν ; τίνα δὲ προτέρην ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι πειρησόμεθα ;" ταῦτα  
 λέγοντες τοὺς Κροτωνιήτας οὐκ ὦν ἐπειθον ἀλλ' ἑξαيرهθέντες <sup>380</sup>  
 τε τὸν Δημοκῆδεα καὶ τὸν γαυλὸν τὸν ἅμα ἦγοντο ἀπαιρεθέντες  
 ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐδ' ἔτι ἐζήτησαν τὸ προσωτέρω  
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπικόμενοι ἐκμαθεῖν, ἐστερημένοι τοῦ ἡγεμόνος <sup>381</sup>.  
 τοσόνδε μέντοι ἐνετείλατό σφι Δημοκῆδης ἀναγομένοισι, κελεύων  
 εἰπεῖν σφέας Δαρεῖφ ὅτι ἄρμουςται τὴν Μίλωνος θυγατέρα Δημο-  
 κῆδης γυναῖκα· τοῦ γὰρ δὴ παλαιστέω Μίλωνος ἦν οὖνομα πολλὸν  
 παρὰ βασιλεῖ· κατὰ δὴ τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ σπεύσαι τὸν γάμον τοῦτον  
 τελέσας χρήματα μεγάλα Δημοκῆδης, ἵνα φανῇ πρὸς Δαρείου <sup>382</sup>  
 ἐὼν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐωντοῦ δόκιμος. Ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κρότωνος 138  
 οἱ Πέρσαι ἐκπίπτουσι τῆσι νηυσὶ ἐς Ἰηπυγίην καὶ σφεας δουλεύ- On their re-  
 οντας ἐνθαῦτα Γίλλος ἀνὴρ Ταραντίνος φυγὰς ῥυσάμενος, ἀπῆγαγε turn they  
 παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου· ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἐτόιμος ἦν διδόναι τοῦτο are ship-  
 ὅ τι βούλοιντο αὐτός· Γίλλος δὲ αἰρέεται κάτωδόν οἱ ἐς Τάραντα wrecked on  
 γενέσθαι, προαπηγησάμενος τὴν συμφορὴν ἵνα δὲ μὴ συνταράξῃ Iapygia, and  
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἣν δι' αὐτὸν στόλος μέγας πλὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίην, redeemed  
 Κνιδίους μούρους ἀποχρᾶν οἱ ἔφη τοὺς κατάγοντας γίνεσθαι, from slavery  
 δοκέων ἀπὸ τούτων ἐόντων τοῖσι Ταραντίνουσι φίλων μάλιστα δι' by Gillus, a  
 τὴν κάτωδόν οἱ ἔσεσθαι. Δαρεῖος δὲ ὑποδεξάμενος ἐπετέλεε· πέμ- Tarentine  
 ψας γὰρ ἄγγελον ἐς Κνίδον κατὰγειν σφέας ἐκέλευε Γίλλον ἐς exile, whom  
 Τάραντα· πειθόμενοι δὲ Δαρεῖφ Κνιδιοὶ Ταραντίνους οὐκ ὦν ἐπει- the Cnidians  
 θον, βίην δὲ ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν προσφέρειν. ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω at Darius's  
 ἐπρήχθη· οὗτοι δὲ πρῶτοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπίκοντο request  
 Πέρσαι, καὶ οὗτοι διὰ τοιούδε πρῆγμα κατάσκοποι ἐγένοντο. fruitlessly  
 endeavour  
 to get re-  
 stored to his  
 country.

<sup>379</sup> ἐκρήσει, "will be sufficient for."  
 See viii. 70 : τότε μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐξέχρησέ  
 σφι ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχίην ποιήσασθαι. Trans-  
 late, "How will Darius put up with this  
 outrage that has been committed upon  
 him?"

<sup>380</sup> ἑξαيرهθέντες. This word implies  
 that Democedes was taken out of their  
 very hands by his rescuers. (See TIMÆUS  
 quoted in note 373, above.) They were  
 robbed indeed of the transport, but not in

a contest brought to so direct a personal  
 issue, and hence the milder phrase ἀπαιρε-  
 θέντες.

<sup>381</sup> ἐστερημένοι τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. See  
 note 375, above.

<sup>382</sup> ἵνα φανῇ πρὸς Δαρείου. The more  
 usual phrase would be ἵνα φανῇ Δαρεῖφ.  
 But ἵνα φανῇ is equivalent in point of  
 sense to ἵνα νομισθῇ, which would be fol-  
 lowed by πρὸς Δαρείου as the most usual  
 construction.

139

Fall of  
Samos at  
the instance  
of Syloson,  
the exiled  
brother of  
Polycrates.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Σάμον βασιλεὺς Δαρείος αἰρέει πολίων πασέων  
πρώτην Ἑλληνίδων καὶ βαρβάρων, διὰ τοιήνδε τινα αἰτίην Καμ-  
βύσεω τοῦ Κύρου στρατευομένου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, ἄλλοι τε συγχροὶ ἐς  
τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκοντο Ἑλλήνων, οἱ μὲν, ὥς οἴκός, κατ' ἐμπορίην,  
οἱ δὲ στρατευόμενοι, οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς χώρας θεηταί, τῶν

Origin of  
his ac-  
quaintance  
with Da-  
rius.

ἦν καὶ Συλοσῶν ὁ Αἰάκεος Πολυκράτεος τε ἐὼν ἀδελφεὸς καὶ φεύ-  
γων ἐκ Σάμου<sup>333</sup>. τοῦτον τὸν Συλοσῶντα κατέλαβε εὐτυχίῃ τις  
τοιήδε λαβὼν χλανίδα καὶ περιβαλόμενος πυρρὴν ἡγήραζε ἐν τῇ  
Μέμφι· ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν Δαρείος, δορυφόρος τε ἐὼν Καμβύσεω καὶ  
λόγου οὐδενός κω μεγάλου, ἐπεθύμησε τῆς χλανίδος καὶ αὐτὴν  
προσελθὼν ὠκέετο· ὁ δὲ Συλοσῶν ὀρέων τὸν Δαρείον μεγάλας  
ἐπιθυμύοντα τῆς χλανίδος, θεῖη τύχῃ χρεώμενος λέγει· “ἐγὼ  
ταύτην πωλέω μὲν οὐδενὸς χρήματος· δίδωμι δὲ ἄλλως εἴ περ  
οὕτω δεῖ γενέσθαι” πάντως τοι αἰνέσας ταῦτα ὁ Δαρείος παρα-

140

λαμβάνει τὸ εἶμα. ὁ μὲν δὴ Συλοσῶν ἡπίστατό οἱ τοῦτο ἀπολω-  
λέναι δι' εὐηθίην<sup>334</sup>. ὥς δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος Καμβύσης τε  
ἀπέθανε καὶ τῷ Μάγῳ ἐπανεστήσαν οἱ ἐπτά, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά  
Δαρείος τὴν βασιλιῆν ἔσχε, πυνθάνεται ὁ Συλοσῶν ὥς ἡ βασι-  
λιῆ περιελήλυθοι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα<sup>335</sup>, τῷ κοτὲ αὐτὸς ἔδωκε ἐν  
Αἴγυπτῳ δεσθέντι τὸ εἶμα· ἀναβὰς δὲ ἐς τὰ Σούσα ἔκετο ἐς τὰ  
πρόθυρα τῶν βασιλέως οἰκίων, καὶ ἔφη Δαρείου εὐεργέτης εἶναι·  
ἡγγέλλει ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ πυλουργὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὁ δὲ θωυμάσας  
λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· “καὶ τίς ἐστι Ἑλλήνων εὐεργέτης<sup>336</sup>, φ' ἐγὼ  
προαιδεύμαι<sup>337</sup> νεωστὶ μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων; ἀναβέβηκε δὲ τίς [ἡ

<sup>333</sup> φεύγων ἐκ Σάμου. He was expelled by his brother, (see above, § 39,) who after this made a close alliance with Amasis. While this lasted, of course Syloson could not go to Egypt; but he took advantage of the presence of Cambyses's army to do so.

<sup>334</sup> δι' εὐηθίην, “from his good-nature.” What the Greeks understood by εὐηθία is well explained by a phrase of THUCYDIDES (iii. 83): τὸ εὐηθεῖς οὐ τὸ γενναῖον πλείστον μετέχει, “simplicity, which is a chief element in nobleness.” It is the exact opposite of “knowingness,” and of course when carried to excess degenerates into “silliness,” of which quality it is often used as an euphemistic name.

<sup>335</sup> ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα. The manu-

scripts M, K, P, F, have ὥς for ἐς. See note 352 on ii. 121.

<sup>336</sup> εὐεργέτης. This term is used almost technically. See the note on § 154, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε μεγάλους τιμῶνται.

<sup>337</sup> φ' ἐγὼ προαιδεύμαι, “to whom I am under obligations.” It is difficult to see how this sense is to be derived from the word αἰδεῖσθαι: but such a one is imperatively required both here and in i. 61. The preposition has no meaning of antecedence in point of time, but rather of preference, as in προτιμῶν. Thus προαιδεῖσθαι may mean, “to have special respect for;” “to feel reverence in the presence of;” and as the receipt of a favour produces a feeling of inferiority, the sense required in the text may have sprung up.

οὐδεὶς]<sup>388</sup> κω παρ' ἡμέας αὐτῶν; ἔχω δὲ χρέος ὡς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν<sup>389</sup> ἀνδρὸς Ἑλληνος. ὁμῶς δὲ αὐτὸν παράγεται ἔσω, ἵνα εἰδῇ τί θέλων λέγει ταῦτα." παρήγγε ὁ πυλουργὸς τὸν Συλοσῶντα· στάντα δὲ ἐς μέσον εἰρώτευν οἱ ἐρμηνέες τίς τε εἴη, καὶ τί ποιήσας εὐεργέτης φησὶ εἶναι βασιλέος; εἶπε ὢν ὁ Συλοσῶν πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν χλανίδα γενόμενα, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς εἴη κείνος ὁ δούς· ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Δαρεῖος· "ὦ γενναϊότατε ἀνδρῶν, σὺ κείνος εἰ ὃς ἐμοὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντί κω δύναμιν ἔδωκας, εἰ καὶ σμικρά; ἀλλ' ὢν ἴση γε ἡ χάρις ὁμοίως ὡς εἰ νῦν κοθέν τι μέγα λάβοιμι· ἀνθ' ὧν τοι χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἄπλετον δίδωμι, ὡς μὴ κοτέ τοι μεταμελήσει Δαρεῖον τὸν Ἰστιάσπεος εὖ ποιήσαντι." λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Συλοσῶν "ἐμοὶ μήτε χρυσὸν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μήτε ἄργυρον δίδου, ἀλλ' ἀνασώσάμενός μοι δὸς τὴν πατρίδα Σάμον, τὴν νῦν, ἀδελφεοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ Ὁροίτew, ἔχει δούλος ἡμέτερος· ταύτην μοι δὸς ἄνευ τε φόνου καὶ ἐξανδραποδίσιοις." Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Δαρεῖος, ἀπέστειλλε στρατὴν τε καὶ στρατηγὸν 141 Ὀτάνα·<sup>390</sup> ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἑπτὰ γενόμενον, ἐντειλάμενος ὅσων ἐδεήθη ὁ Συλοσῶν ταῦτά οἱ ποιεῖν ἐπιτελέα. καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν<sup>391</sup> ὁ Ὀτάνης ἔστειλλε τὴν στρατὴν.

Otanes is charged to restore Syloson to his country.

Τῆς δὲ Σάμου Μαιάνδριος ὁ Μαιανδρίου εἶχε τὸ κράτος, ἐπιτρο- 142

<sup>388</sup> ἀναβέβηκε δὲ τίς κω παρ' ἡμέας αὐτῶν; "and who of them has up to this time come up the country to our court?" The MSS vary between ἀναβέβηκε δ' ἡ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς κω, ἀναβέβηκε δὲ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς κω, and ἀναβέβηκε δὴ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς κω. Gaisford has adopted the first of these readings. But although in the writers of the lower times (ARISTIDES and ÆLIAN) the expressions ἡ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς, and ἡ τι ἢ οὐδὲν, appear to have been used as the equivalent of οὐδεὶς and οὐδὲν, I doubt whether in this passage the reading does not arise from an union of two alternative variants, οὐδεὶς and τίς the interrogative. By striking out either the words τίς ἢ, or ἡ οὐδεὶς, from the text of S and V, a genuine reading will remain. The same cause probably produced the corruption of the passage of Xenophon, which Valcknaer quotes in justification of ἡ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς.

<sup>389</sup> ἔχω δὲ χρέος ὡς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν. Some MSS (which Gaisford follows) omit the word ὡς. Others vary between the

reading in the text and χρέος οὐδὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν.

<sup>390</sup> στρατηγὸν Ὀτάνα. Probably Otanes took the position which had been held by Orastes. (See note 360 on § 127.) It can hardly be supposed that the first subject in Persia, now become the king's father-in-law, would take the command of a mere local expedition for a specific purpose. The application of Syloson to Darius is represented as immediately succeeding the accession of the latter, who speaks of himself as νεωστὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων, and as yet having had no visitors from Greece (§ 140). The division of the satrapies can therefore scarcely have been established at the time.

<sup>391</sup> καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. It does not appear what seaboard is intended here; and probably no definite place was meant by the story. Above (§ 135) by the same phrase the coast of Phœnicia will be meant, if §§ 135, 136 belong originally to the same tradition.



*Mæandrius* left viceroy of Samos, builds and endows a shrine of Zeus Eleutherius, and then endeavours to establish a common-wealth.

His overtures are ill received,

143

and he repents his offer and imprisons

παίην παρὰ Πολυκράτεος λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν<sup>392</sup>. τῷ δικαιοσάτῳ ἀνδρῶν βουλομένῳ γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἐξεγένετο· ἐπειδὴ γάρ οἱ ἐξαγγέλθη ὁ Πολυκράτεος θάνατος, ἐποίησε τοιάδε· πρῶτα μὲν Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο, καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτὸν οὖρισε τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ἐν τῷ προαστηίῳ ἐστί· μετὰ δὲ, ὥς οἱ ἐπεποιήτο, ἐκκλησίην συναγείρας πάντων τῶν ἀστών ἔλεξε τάδε· “ἐμοί, ὥς ἴστε καὶ ὑμεῖς, σκῆπτρον καὶ δύναμις πᾶσα ἡ Πολυκράτεος ἐπιτέτραπται, καὶ μοι παρέχει νῦν ὑμέων ἄρχειν· ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπιπλήσσω<sup>393</sup>· αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ ποιήσω· οὔτε γάρ μοι Πολυκράτης ἤρεσκε δεσπόζων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίων ἐωυτῷ<sup>394</sup>, οὔτε ἄλλος ὅστις τοιαῦτα ποιεῖ. Πολυκράτης μὲν νῦν ἐξέπλησε μοῖραν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐς μέσον τὴν ἀρχὴν τιθεὶς ἰσονομίην ὑμῖν προαγορεύω. τοσάδε μέντοι δικαίῳ γέρεα ἐμεωυτῷ γενέσθαι· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Πολυκράτεος χρημάτων ἐξαίρετα ἕξ τάλαντά μοι γενέσθαι· ἱρωσύνην δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοισι αἰρεῦμαι αὐτῷ τ’ ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖσι ἀπ’ ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ γινομένοισι, τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου τῷ αὐτὸς τε ἱρὸν ἰδρυσάμην, καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίην ὑμῖν περιτίθηναι.” ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τοῖσι Σαμίοις ἐπαγγέλλετο· τῶν δὲ τις ἐξαναστὰς εἶπε· “ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἄξιός εἰ σύ γε<sup>395</sup> ἡμέων ἄρχειν, γεγονώς τε κακὸς καὶ ἐὼν δλεθρός· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅκως λόγον δώσεις τῶν μετεχειρίσας χρημάτων.” Ταῦτα εἶπε, ἐὼν ἐν τοῖσι ἀστοῖσι δόκιμος<sup>396</sup>, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Τελέσαρχος· Μαϊάνδρος δὲ νόφ λαβὼν ὥς εἰ μετήσει τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄλλος τις ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ τύραννος καταστήσεται, οὐδ’ ἔτι ἐν

<sup>392</sup> ἐπιτροπαίην παρὰ Πολυκράτεος λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν, “having received the supreme authority from the hands of Polycrates to hold it in commission.” So iv. 147, *Theras ἐπιτροπαίην εἶχε τὴν ἐν Ζηνότρῳ βασιλίην*. (See note 105 on § 36.) *Mæandrius* is spoken of in v. 27, incidentally, simply as the βασιλεὺς of Samos, probably because Herodotus is there following a Hellespontine authority, uncognizant of the details of Polycrates’s history.

<sup>393</sup> τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπιπλήσσω. The same expression is used in vii. 136, αὐτὸς τὰ κείνοις ἐπιπλήσσει ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσεν.

<sup>394</sup> δεσπόζων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίων ἐωυτῷ. Polycrates was probably one of the old aristocracy himself. See the notes 124,

above, and 396, below.

<sup>395</sup> σὺ γε. See the next note.

<sup>396</sup> ἐὼν ἐν τοῖσι ἀστοῖσι δόκιμος. Probably a member of the old aristocracy of houses which had been put down by Polycrates. Hence his insult to *Mæandrius* as being of mean birth (*γεγονὸς κακός*), and that he at any rate (*σὺ γε*) had not a claim to bear office over *them*. The only office *Mæandrius* had wished for was the priesthood of a particular temple; but the priestly office was in most cases one of the special prerogatives of peculiar families. (See the notes on v. 67, and v. 69, and also on iv. 161.) The party to which *Telesarchus* belonged seems to have recovered power upon the revolution effected by *Aristagoras*. See the first note on vi. 5, and vi. 22.

νόφ εἶχε μετιέναι αὐτήν<sup>397</sup>. ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, his ene-  
 μεταπεμπόμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον ὡς δὴ λόγον τῶν χρημάτων δώσω, mics.  
 συνελαβέ σφεας καὶ κατέδησε· οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐδέδεατο· Μαιάνδριον δὲ His end  
 μετὰ ταῦτα κατέλαβε νοῦσος· ἐλπίζων δέ μιν ἀποθανέσθαι ὁ likely, his  
 ἀδελφεὸς, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λυκάρητος, ἵνα εὐπετεστέρως κατὰσχη brother Ly-  
 τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ πρήγματα, κατακτείνει τοὺς δεσμώτας πάντας. οὐ the prison-  
 γὰρ δὴ, ὡς οἰκασι, ἐβουλέατο εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι. ers to death.

Ἐπειδὴ ὦν ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σάμον οἱ Πέρσαι κατὰγοντες Συλο- 144  
 σῶντα, οὔτε τίς σφι χεῖρας ἀνταίρεται ὑπόσπονδοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι The Per-  
 ἐτοῖμοι οἱ τοῦ Μαιανδρίου στασιῶται<sup>398</sup> καὶ αὐτὸς Μαιάνδριος sian force  
 ἐκχωρήσαι ἐκ τῆς νήσου καταινέσαντος ὃ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ὀτάνεω at Samos,  
 καὶ σπεισαμένου, τῶν Περσέων οἱ πλείστου ἄξιοι θρόνους θέμε- and a truce  
 νοι<sup>399</sup> κατεναντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐκατέατο. Μαιανδρίῳ δὲ τῷ is made  
 τυράνῳ ἦν ἀδελφεὸς ὑπομαργότερος<sup>400</sup> τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Χαρίλεως with them  
 οὗτος ὁ τι δὴ ἑξαμαρτῶν ἐν γοργύρῃ ἐδέδετο· καὶ δὴ τότε ἐπακούσας by the fac-  
 τε τὰ πρησσόμενα καὶ διακύνφας διὰ τῆς γοργύρης, ὡς εἶδε τοὺς tion of Mæ-  
 Πέρσας εἰρηναίως κατημένους, ἐβόα τε καὶ ἔφη λέγων Μαιανδρίῳ 145  
 θέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους· ἐπακούσας δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος λύσαντας  
 αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε ἄγειν παρ' ἐωυτόν· ὡς δὲ ἄχθη τάχιστα, λοιδορέων  
 τε καὶ κακίζων μιν ἀνέπειθε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι Πέρσησι, λέγων  
 τοιάδε· “ ἐμὲ μὲν, ὦ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ἔοντα σεωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὸν καὶ  
 ἀδικήσαντα οὐδὲν ἄξιον δεσμοῦ δήσας γοργύρης ἡξίωσας, ὀρέων δὲ  
 τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκβάλλοντάς τε σε καὶ ἄνοικον ποιεῖντας, οὐ τολμᾷς  
 τίσασθαι οὕτω δὴ τι ἔοντας εὐπετέας χειρωθῆναι; ἀλλ' εἴ τι σύ  
 σφεας καταρρώδηκας, ἐμοὶ δὸς τοὺς ἐπικούρους· καὶ σφεας ἐγὼ  
 τιμωρήσομαι τῆς ἐνθάδε ἀπίζις, αὐτὸν δὲ σε ἐκπέμψαι ἐκ τῆς  
 νήσου ἐτοῖμός εἰμι.” Ταῦτα ἔλεξε ὁ Χαρίλεως· Μαιάνδριος δὲ 146

<sup>397</sup> οὐδ' ἔτι ἐν νόφ εἶχε μετιέναι αὐτήν. For a conjecture as to the origin of the opposition made to Mæandrius's plan, see note 409, below.

<sup>398</sup> στασιῶται. Some MSS have στρα-  
 τιῶται, which perhaps is the preferable  
 reading; as from the expression ἐπικού-  
 ρους (§ 146) the dynasty appears to have  
 been supported by mercenaries.

<sup>399</sup> θρόνους θέμενοι. In the Lycian  
 monument discovered by FELLOWES, the  
 Persian commander is represented sitting  
 upon a δίφρος, not on a θρόνος, with his  
 feet on a footstool, while the prisoners are

brought before him. The same group is  
 found on many of the Nineveh marbles,  
 but in none is the seat a θρόνος, i. e. a  
 high-backed chair. Perhaps the high  
 rank of Otanes (see above, notes 350 and  
 390) caused the adoption of the θρόνος,  
 if he was present in person, or even in  
 actual command of the army of which a  
 detachment formed the expedition to Sa-  
 mos.

<sup>400</sup> ὑπομαργότερος, “half-lunatic.” The  
 same epithet is applied to Cambyzes,  
 (above, § 29,) and to Cleomenes (vi. 75).

ὑπέλαβε τὸν λόγον, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο ἀφροσύνης ἀπικόμενος ὥς δόξαι τὴν ἐωυτοῦ δύναμιν περιέσεσθαι τῆς βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ φθονήσας μᾶλλον Συλοσῶντι εἰ ἀπονητὶ ἔμελλε ἀπολάμψεσθαι ἀκέραιον τὴν πόλιν. ἐρεθίσας ὦν τοὺς Πέρσας, ἔθελε ὥς ἀσθενέστατα ποιῆσαι τὰ Σάμμα πρήγματα καὶ οὕτω<sup>401</sup> παρα-

who, while his brother escapes by a secret passage, attacks the Persians unawares, and kills the men of highest rank.

διδόναι, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος ὥς παθόντες οἱ Πέρσαι κακῶς προσεμ-  
πικρανέεσθαι ἔμελλον τοῖσι Σαμίοισι· εἰδὼς τε ἐωυτῷ ἀσφαλέα  
ἔκδυσιν εὐῶσαν ἐκ τῆς νήσου τότε ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς βούληται· ἐπεποιήτο  
γάρ οἱ κρυπτῇ διάρυξ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος φέρουσα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν.  
αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ ὁ Μαιάνδριος ἐκπλέει ἐκ τῆς Σάμου τοὺς δὲ ἐπικού-  
ρους πάντας ὀπίστας ὁ Χαρίλεις καὶ ἀναπετάσας τὰς πύλας,  
ἐξῆκε ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας οὔτε προσδεκομένους τοιοῦτο οὐδὲν δοκεόν-  
τάς τε δὴ πάντα συμβεβάναι· ἐμπесόντες δὲ οἱ ἐπίκουροι τῶν  
Περσέων τοὺς διφροφορευμένους<sup>402</sup> τε καὶ λόγου πλείστου ἔοντας  
ἔκτεινον. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ταῦτα ἐπόλεον ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιῇ ἡ Περ-  
σικῇ ἐπεβοήθεε· πιεζέμενοι δὲ οἱ ἐπίκουροι, ὀπίσω κατειλήθησαν  
ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Ὅτάνης δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἰδὼν πάθος μέγα

147

Otanes in revenge orders a general massacre.

Πέρσας πεπονθότας, ἐντολάς τε τὰς Δαρειῶς οἱ ἀποστέλλων ἐνε-  
τέλλετο, μήτε κτείνειν μηδένα Σαμίων μήτε ἀνδραποδιζεσθαι ἀπα-  
θέα τε κακῶν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν νήσον Συλοσῶντι, τουτέων μὲν τῶν  
ἐντολέων μεμνημένος ἐπελανθάνετο, ὁ δὲ παρήγγειλε<sup>403</sup> τῇ στρατιῇ,  
πάντα τὸν ἂν λάβωσι καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα ὁμοίως κτείνειν ἐνθαῦτα  
τῆς στρατιῆς οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπολιόρκειον οἱ δὲ ἔκτεινον  
πάντα τὸν ἐμποδὼν γινόμενον, ὁμοίως ἔν τε ἱρῷ καὶ ἔξω ἱροῦ

148 Μαιάνδριος δ' ἀποδράς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἐκπλέει ἐς Λακεδαίμονα<sup>404</sup>.

<sup>401</sup> οὕτω, "then and not before." See note 22 on i. 5.

<sup>402</sup> τοὺς διφροφορευμένους. DINON related that it was a point of etiquette with the Persian kings never to get out of their carriage at once upon the ground, however small the distance might be, nor yet to use the assistance of an attendant's arm, but to step out on to a golden stool (*δίφρος*), which an official, called *διφροφόρος*, always carried behind the carriage. (cp. *Athenæum*, xii. p. 514.) It seems not unlikely that οἱ διφροφορεύμενοι here means those chiefs who were of such a rank as to possess the right of being attended by this functionary.

<sup>403</sup> παρήγγειλε. It does not seem ab-

solutely necessary to suppose that Otanes was on the spot. If he had been, he would probably have been among the διφροφορεύμενοι Πέρσαι,—indeed, in the post of honour among them,—and his rescue would have been so difficult, that it could hardly have escaped mention. The expression seems not inappropriate to orders forwarded from head-quarters, for instance, from some place on the main, like the Panionium, which would be a very few miles from the city Samos.

<sup>404</sup> ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. Thither the Samians opposed to Polycrates had fled just about the time of Cambyses's expedition to Egypt. (Above, § 45.)

ἀπικόμενος δ' ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνευεικάμενος τὰ ἔχων ἐξεχώρησε, <sup>Mæandrius, with great wealth, escapes to Lacedæmon.</sup> ἐποίησε τοιάδε· ὅκως ποτήρια ἀργύρεά τε καὶ χρύσεια προθεῖτο, οἱ μὲν θεράποντες αὐτοῦ ἐξέσμων<sup>445</sup> αὐτὰ, ὁ δὲ ἂν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῷ Κλεομένει τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῃ ἐν λόγοισι ἐὼν, βασιλεύοντι Σπάρτης, προήγγε μιν ἐς τὰ οἰκία· ὅκως δὲ ἴδοιτο Κλεομένης τὰ <sup>Virtuous conduct of Cleomenes the king.</sup> ποτήρια, ἀπεθώμαζε τε καὶ ἐξεπλήσσετο, ὁ δὲ ἂν ἐκέλευε<sup>446</sup> αὐτὸν ἀποφέρεσθαι αὐτῶν ὅσα βούλοιο· τοῦτο καὶ δις καὶ τρίς εἵπαντος Μαιανδρίου, ὁ Κλεομένης δικαιοτάτος ἀνδρῶν γίνεται<sup>447</sup>, ὃς λαβεῖν μὲν διδόμενα οὐκ ἐδίκαιεν μαθὼν δὲ ὡς ἄλλοισι<sup>448</sup> διδούς τῶν ἀστῶν εὐρήσεται τιμωρίην<sup>449</sup>, βὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους ἄμεινον εἶναι ἔφη τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὸν ξείνον τὸν Σάμιον ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἵνα μὴ ἀναπέιση ἢ αὐτὸν ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ Σπαρτητέων κακὸν γενέσθαι· οἱ δ' ὑπακούσαντες ἐξεκέρυξαν Μαιάνδριον<sup>450</sup>.

<sup>445</sup> ἐξέσμων. The more common form is not *σμάω*, but *σμήχω*. *σμήγμα* is an abstergent substance used for the same purpose as our soap. (*Athenæus*, ix. p. 409.) The servants of Mæandrius were employed in cleaning his cups with a plate-powder, which, when wiped off, of course showed their lustre to the greatest advantage, and he took the opportunity to bring Cleomenes home with him exactly on these occasions. Herodotus uses the word *διασμήντες*, "scouring," of the brass goblets of the Egyptians (ii. 37). But here the effect to the eye was produced by *cleaning off* the *σμήγμα*, and showing the maiden lustre of the metal. Hence the compound in the text is the more appropriate.

<sup>446</sup> ἂν ἐκέλευε, "habitually bade him," just as ἂν προήγγε, "habitually led him on," and ἀπελάυνετ' ἂν, "used to be driven away," § 51, above. For this use of ἂν see ΜΑΤΤΗΣ, *Gr. Gr.* § 599, a.

<sup>447</sup> δικαιοτάτος ἀνδρῶν γίνεται. This seems to have been a traditional character of Cleomenes. The Lacedæmonian story related in v. 51 goes to the same point.

<sup>448</sup> μαθὼν δὲ ὡς ἄλλοισι. Probably these were the opposite party in Lacedæmon to that of which Cleomenes may be considered as the representative. That opposite party was unquestionably the one which held the pure Dorian blood in highest estimation, and was favourable to Doric interests, or, in other words, to the maintenance of the aristocratic family governments. If we suppose Cleomenes

to have succeeded his father Anaxandrides between the arrival of the first exiles (§ 46) and that of Mæandrius, an additional reason appears why the former should have succeeded in their application for aid and the latter not. Anaxandrides was apparently of more decided Dorian feeling than his son. *He* had brought the wars with Arcadia to a successful termination (i. 67),—an event which raised the power of the Doric race, and the Lacedæmonians at their head, to an unprecedented pitch. (See i. 68, put together with i. 56.) Cleomenes, on the contrary, disclaimed being a Dorian, (v. 72,) and even tried to organize an Arcadian confederacy (vi. 74). See the notes on v. 41 and v. 75.

<sup>449</sup> τιμωρίην. The more appropriate word would be *βοήθειαν*. But Mæandrius might very likely have put himself forward in Lacedæmon as the representative of the ancient party which had been humbled by Polycrates, to which the exiles (mentioned § 45) belonged; and it is not impossible that the fact which lies at the bottom of the story related by Herodotus in §§ 142, 3, was, that he attempted to reorganize a constitution in which this party should have its due weight. But Telesarchus, like the Bourbons at their restoration to France, showed that he had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing during the suspension of his civil rights.

<sup>450</sup> ἐξεκέρυξαν Μαιάνδριον. The manuscript S has for these words merely the single word *ἀπέκρεμον*.

149 Τὴν δὲ Σάμον σαγηνεύσαντες οἱ Πέρσαι παρέδωκαν Συλοσῶντι<sup>411</sup>,  
 Syloson is  
 left in pos-  
 session of  
 Samos after  
 the popula-  
 tion had  
 been exter-  
 minated.  
 Revolt of  
 the Baby-  
 lonians at  
 the time of  
 the expedi-  
 tion to  
 Samos.

150 Ἐπὶ δὲ Σάμον στρατεύματος ναυτικοῦ οἰχομένον Βαβυλώνιοι  
 ἀπέστησαν<sup>412</sup>, κάρτα εὖ παρεσκευασμένοι. ἐν ὧσφ γὰρ ὁ τε  
 Μάγος ἦρχε καὶ οἱ ἐπτά ἐπανέστησαν, ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ<sup>413</sup>  
 καὶ τῇ ταραχῇ ἐς τὴν πολιορκίην παρεσκευάδατο· καὶ κως ταῦτα  
 ποιούντες ἐλάνθανον. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἀπέστησαν,  
 ἐποίησαν τοιούνδε τὰς μητέρας ἐξελόντες, γυναῖκα ἕκαστος μίαν  
 προσεξαίρετο τὴν ἐβούλετο ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίαν· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς  
 ἀπάσας συναγαγόντες ἀπέπνιξαν τὴν δὲ μίαν ἕκαστος σιτοποιῶν<sup>414</sup>.  
 ἐξαίρετο· ἀπέπνιξαν δὲ αὐτὰς ἵνα μὴ σφῶν τὸν σῖτον ἀναισιμῶ

<sup>411</sup> Τὴν δὲ Σάμον σαγηνεύσαντες οἱ Πέρσαι παρέδωκαν Συλοσῶντι. For these words S has οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι παρέδωκαν Συλοσῶντι· Σάμον, thus continuing the last sentence, and omitting the word *σαγηνεύσαντες*. These variations seem too great to be accidental: and it is remarkable that Herodotus should in vi. 31 give an explanation of the meaning of the word *σαγηνεύειν* at some length, if he had previously used it here. Some presumption hence arises, that when the passage vi. 31 was written, this part of the text is more likely to have existed in the shape at present given by the manuscript S. See what appears like another variation in the note on vi. 101.

<sup>412</sup> Βαβυλώνιοι ἀπέστησαν. The time to which Herodotus assigns this event agrees very fairly with the statement of the Behistun Inscription. In that, the first public event recorded, after the counter-revolution in which the Magian was slain and the kingdom established on the old footing, is the (apparently simultaneous) revolt of Atrines son of Opidarmes, who rebels and becomes king of Susiana, and of Natitabirus who becomes king of Babylon, professing to be Nabokodrosor son of Nabonidus. Darius sends to Susiana, takes Atrines and slays him; but marches in person against Babylon, forces a passage (on the 27th day of the month *Atryiata*) across the Tigris on rafts, defeating the army of Natitabirus, and (on the second day of the month *Anamakata*) engages Natitabirus at Zázana on the Euphrates, and drives his army into the river. He then proceeds to Ba-

bylon, takes it, seizes Natitabirus, and afterwards puts him to death. In the Inscription there is nothing to induce a supposition that the month *Anamakata* does not succeed the month *Atryiata* in the same year. No doubt while Darius is at Babylon a great many nations are in the Inscription recorded to have revolted. But see note 415, below.

<sup>413</sup> ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ. The policy of the Magian would doubtless be favourable to their plans. See the expression in § 67: ὅστε ἀποθανόντες αὐτοῦ πόθον ἔχουσιν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ πάρεξ αὐτῶν Περσέων, and the note 346 on § 126.

<sup>414</sup> σιτοποιῶν, literally, "as a preparer of food." But the word perhaps may be taken generally, so as to mean any female domestic servant. When it is considered how large a portion of domestic service consisted of the preparation of food, (for the wheat had to be *ground* in the family,) and how bare the dwellings of the ancients were of furniture, it is not surprising that this word should be used in a general sense, or at any rate that the office expressed by it should be regarded as important beyond all comparison with any other branch of menial duty. Thus the Platæans, under similar circumstances to those in the text, reserved a certain number of γυναῖκες σιτοποιοί, (THUCYDIDES, ii. 78,) and EURIPIDES makes Polyxena describe her destiny in captivity, by putting the ἀνάγκη σιτοποιεῖς ἐν δόμοις in the first place of the servile tasks she had reason to expect. (*Hecuba*, 362.)

σωσι. Πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρείος, καὶ συλλέξας ἅπασαν τὴν 151  
 ἐκείνου δύναμιν, ἐστρατεύετο ἐπ' αὐτούς· ἐπελάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν  
 Βαβυλῶνα ἐπολιόρκειε φροντίζοντας οὐδὲν τῆς πολιορκίης· ἀνα-  
 βαίνοντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς προμαχεῶνας τοῦ τείχεος οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι  
 κατωρχέοντο, καὶ κατέσκαπτον Δαρείου καὶ τὴν στρατὴν αὐτοῦ·  
 καὶ τις αὐτῶν εἶπε τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος· "τί κάτσητε ἐνθαῦτα, ὦ Πέρ-  
 σαι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεσθε; τότε γὰρ αἰρήσετε ἡμέας ἐπεὶ  
 ἡμίονοι τέκωσι" τοῦτο εἶπε τῶν τις Βαβυλωνίων οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίζων  
 ἂν ἡμίονον τεκεῖν· Ἐπτα δὲ μηνῶν καὶ ἑνιαυτοῦ διεληλυθότος 152  
 ἤδη <sup>115</sup>, ὁ Δαρείος τε ἥσχαλλε καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ πᾶσα οὐ δυνατὴ εἶσα  
 ἐλεῖν τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους· καὶ τοι πάντα σοφίσματα καὶ πάσας  
 μηχανὰς ἐπεποιήκει ἐς αὐτοὺς Δαρείος· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὡς ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν  
 σφέας, ἄλλοισι τε σοφίσμασι πειρησάμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ Κύρος  
 εἰλέ σφεας καὶ τούτῳ ἐπειρήθη· ἀλλὰ γὰρ δεινῶς ἦσαν ἐν φυλα-  
 κῇσι οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, οὐδέ σφεας οἷός τε ἦν ἐλεῖν.

Darius pro-  
 ceeds in  
 person to  
 Babylon,  
 but is re-  
 sisted by  
 the besieged  
 without dif-  
 ficulty

for nineteen  
 months.

Ἐνθαῦτα, εἰκοστῷ μηνί, Ζωπύρῳ τῷ Μεγαβύζου δὲ τῶν ἐπτα 153  
 ἀνδρῶν <sup>116</sup> ἐγένετο τῶν τὸν Μάγον κατελόντων, τούτου τοῦ <sup>117</sup> Με-  
 γαβύζου παιδὶ Ζωπύρῳ ἐγένετο τέρας τόδε· τῶν οἱ σιτοφόρων  
 ἡμίονων μία ἔτεκε <sup>118</sup>. ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐξαγγέλθη καὶ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας <sup>119</sup>  
 αὐτὸς ὁ Ζώπυρος εἶδε τὸ βρέφος, ἀπείπας τοῖσι δούλοισι μηδεὶ  
 φράζειν τὸ γεγονός, ἐβουλεύετο· καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου

In the  
 twentieth  
 month, a  
 mule be-  
 longing to  
 Zopyrus,  
 son of Me-  
 gabyzus,  
 drops a  
 foal,

<sup>115</sup> ἐπτα δὲ μηνῶν καὶ ἑνιαυτοῦ διελη-  
 λυθότος ἤδη. It seems not impossible  
 that this length of time assigned to the  
 siege arises from a confusion on the part  
 of the authorities followed by Herodotus  
 of two sieges; in the first of which Darius  
 commanded in person, while in the other  
 the city was taken by Intaphres, a Median.  
 In the Behistun Inscription the former  
 appears as the third, the latter as the  
 ninth of the great successes which are  
 recorded. See the notes 412, above,  
 418, below, and 1 on iv. 1.

<sup>116</sup> δὲ τῶν ἐπτα ἀνδρῶν. In some MSS  
 these words are preceded by τοῦ or τούτου,  
 the latter of which Gaisford adopts.

<sup>117</sup> τούτου τοῦ. This reading rests on  
 the authority of S. Another MS has τοῦ-  
 τῳ τῷ. Gaisford reads τούτῳ.

<sup>118</sup> τῶν οἱ σιτοφόρων ἡμίονων μία ἔτεκε.  
 Ctesias makes this feature the only one  
 in the narrative of Herodotus which he  
 allows. He himself represents Zopyrus

as being in command of Babylon, and as  
 being slain in a revolt of the inhabitants  
 not under Darius, but under Xerxes.  
 The capture of the city he represents as  
 achieved by a Megabyzus, husband of  
 Xerxes's daughter Amytis (cp. Photium,  
 Bibl. p. 39). See the note 440, below,  
 and also note 631 on i. 187. Herodo-  
 tus also relates Xerxes to have carried  
 off the golden statue from Babylon (i. 183).  
 In the Behistun Inscription Darius is re-  
 presented as having twice taken Babylon  
 after a revolt, which on the second occa-  
 sion is excited by one Aracus, an Armenian,  
 who, like Natitabrus in the first, professes  
 to be Nabokodrosor. See the note 415,  
 above.

<sup>119</sup> ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας. There seems to have  
 been a kind of animal in Cappadocia, con-  
 sidered to be a mule, which habitually  
 produced young. (THEOPHRASTUS, cp.  
 Plin. Hist. Nat. viii. 44.) It was how-  
 ever of a distinct species.

154

and he, considering the fated time to have arrived, devises an artifice.

He mutilates himself,

155

ρήματα, ὃς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔφησε ἐπεὶ περ ἡμίονοι τέκωσι τότε τὸ τεῖχος ἀλώσεσθαι, πρὸς ταύτην τὴν φήμην<sup>420</sup> Ζωπύργῳ ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀλώσιμος ἤδη ἢ Βαβυλῶν σὺν γὰρ θεῷ ἐκείνόν τε εἰπεῖν καὶ ἑωυτῷ τεκεῖν τὴν ἡμίονον. Ὡς δέ οἱ ἐδόκεε μόρσιμον εἶναι ἤδη τῇ Βαβυλῶνι ἀλίσκεσθαι, προσελθὼν Δαρείῳ ἀπεπνυθάνετο, εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ κάρτα ποιέεται τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ελεῖν; πυθόμενος δὲ ὡς πολλοῦ τιμῶτο, ἄλλο ἐβουλεύετο ὅκως αὐτός τε ἔσται ὁ ἐλὼν αὐτὴν καὶ ἑωυτοῦ τὸ ἔργον ἔσται· κάρτα γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Πέρσησι αἱ ἀγαθο-εργαίαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω μεγάθεος τιμῶνται<sup>421</sup>. ἄλλῳ μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐφράζετο ἔργῳ δυνατὸς εἶναι μιν ὑποχειρίην ποιῆσαι, εἰ δ' ἑωυτὸν λωβησάμενος αὐτομολήσειε ἐς αὐτούς. ἐνθαῦτα ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ποιησάμενος, ἑωυτὸν λωβᾷται λῶβην ἀνέκεστον· ἀποταμών γὰρ ἑωυτοῦ τὴν ῥίνα καὶ τὰ ὄτα, καὶ τὴν κόμην κακῶς περικείρας, καὶ μαστιγώσας<sup>422</sup>, ἦλθε παρὰ Δαρείῳ. Δαρείος δὲ κάρτα βαρέως ἤνευκε, ἰδὼν ἄνδρα δοκιμώτατον λελωβημένον ἕκ τε τοῦ θρόνου ἀναπηδήσας<sup>423</sup> ἀνέβωσέ τε καὶ εἵρετό μιν, ὅστις εἴη ὁ λωβησάμενος καὶ ὃ τι ποιήσαντα; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “οὐκ ἔστι οὗτος ὠνήρ ὅτι μὴ σὺ, τῷ ἔστι δύναμις τοσαύτη ἐμὲ δὴ<sup>424</sup> ὥδε διαθεῖναι· οὔτε τις ἀλλοτρίων, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰδε ἔργασται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐμεωυτὸν, δεινὸν τι ποιεύμενος Ἀσσυρίους Πέρσησι καταγελᾶν.” ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο· “ὦ σχετλιάωτατε ἀνδρῶν, ἔργῳ τῷ αἰσχίστῳ οὖνομα τὸ κάλλιστον ἔθει, φὰς διὰ τοὺς πολιορκευμένους σεωυτὸν ἀνέκείτως διαθεῖναι·

<sup>420</sup> φήμην. S has φήμιν both here and in i. 43, where see note 133.

<sup>421</sup> ἐς τὸ πρόσω μεγάθεος τιμῶνται, “are rated with a view to advance in greatness.” The practice appears to have been to keep a kind of register in which “good services” were entered, and perhaps also the reward which was rendered for each. The information given by Mordecai which saved Ahasuerus from assassination was of this kind, and accordingly “it was written in the book of the chronicles before the king” (*Esther* ii. 23). Under this system it was possible to adopt that custom of which Herodotus expresses his admiration (i. 137), i. e. strike a balance of the merits and demerits of any party against whom a charge was brought. Thus, when Ahasuerus could not sleep, and the chronicles were read to him to amuse him, he asked, “What honour and dignity hath been done to Mordecai for this?” (*Esther* vi. 2.) So too Syloson, like Mordecai,

“sat at the king’s gate” (§ 140): καὶ ἔφη Δαρείου εὐεργέτης εἶναι. A curious instance of this distributive justice is given in vii. 194.

<sup>422</sup> μαστιγώσας. The word ἑωυτὸν is to be supplied.

<sup>423</sup> ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου ἀναπηδήσας. The strongest proof which an oriental could give of emotion. See note on vii. 212.

<sup>424</sup> ἐμὲ δὴ. The sense is nearly, but not quite, the same as would be given by ἐμὲ γε. The expression in the text seems to mean “a man of my rank.” Zopyrus intimates that whatever outrages might be committed upon others, yet *when they came to him* (δὴ), there they must stop, whereas ἐμὲ γε would leave it undecided to what cause his security might be due,—for instance, it might be to his personal courage. For an oriental court it is plain that the expression in the text is in better keeping. One manuscript (S) omits the particle δὴ.

τί δ', ὃ μάταιε, λελωβημένον σεῦ θᾶσσον οἱ πολέμοιοι παραστήσου-  
ται<sup>425</sup>; κῶς οὐκ ἐξέπλωσας τῶν φρενῶν<sup>426</sup>, σεωντὸν διαφθείρας;”  
ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “εἰ μὲν τοι ὑπερετίθεα τὰ ἐμελλον ποιήσῃν, οὐκ ἂν με  
περιεΐδες· νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἐμεωντοῦ βαλόμενος ἔπρηξα· ἤδη ὦν, ἦν μὴ  
τῶν σῶν δεήσῃ, αἰρέομεν Βαβυλῶνα· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ, ὡς ἔχω, αὐτο- and after  
μολήσω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ φήσω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς ὑπὸ σεῦ τάδε arranging  
πέπονθα. καὶ δοκέω πείσας σφέας ταῦτα ἔχειν οὕτω combined  
στρατιῆς· σὺ δὲ ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ἐγὼ ἐσέλθω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπὸ operations  
ταύτης ἐς δεκάτην ἡμέρην<sup>427</sup>, τῆς σεωντοῦ στρατιῆς τῆς οὐδεμία with Da-  
ἔσται ὥρῃ ἀπολλυμένης, ταύτης χιλίους τάξον κατὰ τὰς Σεμιρά- rius,  
μιος καλεομένας πύλας· μετὰ δὲ αὐτίς, ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης ἐς ἐβδό-  
μην, ἄλλους μοι τάξον δισχιλίους κατὰ τὰς Νινίων καλεομένας  
πύλας· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐβδόμης διαλείπειν εἴκοσι ἡμέρας, καὶ ἔπειτα  
ἄλλους κάτισον ἀγασθὼν κατὰ τὰς Χαλδαίων καλεομένας πύλας,  
τετρακισχιλίους· ἐχόντων δὲ μήτε οἱ πρότεροι μηδὲν τῶν ἀμυνούν-  
των μήτε οὗτοι, πλὴν ἐγχειριδίων τοῦτο δὲ εἶναι ἔχειν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν  
εἰκοστὴν ἡμέρην, ἰθέως τὴν μὲν ἄλλην στρατιὴν κελεύειν πέριξ  
προσβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος<sup>428</sup>, Πέρσας δὲ μοι τάξον κατὰ τε τὰς  
Βηλίδας καλεομένας πύλας καὶ Κισσίας· ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἐμέο  
μεγάλα ἔργα ἀποδεξαμένου, τά τε ἄλλα ἐπιτράφονται ἐμοὶ Βαβυ-  
λώνιοι καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν πυλέων τὰς βαλανόγρας. τὸ δ' ἐνθεῦτεν,  
ἐμοὶ τε καὶ Πέρσησι μελήσει τὰ δεῖ ποιέειν.”

Ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος ἦγε ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ἐπιστρεφόμενος<sup>429</sup>, ὡς 156  
δὴ ἀληθῶς αὐτόμολος· ὁρέοντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο

<sup>425</sup> παραστήσονται, “will yield,” literally “place themselves by us.” The common use is of the active voice with an ellipse of *ἐαυτοῦς*, just as in the English phrase ‘give up.’ See the note 41 on § 13, above.

<sup>426</sup> κῶς οὐκ ἐξέπλωσας τῶν φρενῶν. A similar expression occurs vi. 12: ἐκπλώσαντες ἐκ τοῦ νόου.

<sup>427</sup> ἐς δεκάτην ἡμέρην, “on the tenth day.” The accusative case is used with the preposition *ἐς* to specify the day on which any given event is to take place. Doubtless the idiom is to be explained by the ellipse of some such word as *ἀναριθμοῦνται*, which from the familiarity of the expression came to be omitted, like *δέοντος* in the phrase *ὀλίγου δέοντος*. Thus

Alcestis, in EURIPIDES, speaking of her impending death, says:—

καὶ τόδ' οὐκ ἐς αἶριον  
οὐδ' ἐς τρίτην μοι μῆνός ἐρχεται κακόν.  
(*Alcest.* 321.)

<sup>428</sup> πέριξ προσβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. This expression shows that in the mind of the original narrator of *this story* walls of such a size as those described in i. 178 were not thought of. He had in view something like what continually occurred in the military operations of Hellas, where, from the size of the fortifications, a simultaneous attack on every point was not an unpromising scheme. See note 437, below.

<sup>429</sup> ἐπιστρεφόμενος, “turning his head back,” i. e. as if to see if he was observed.



deserts to  
Babylon.

τεταγμένοι, κατέτρεχον κάτω, καὶ ὄληγον τι παρακλίναντες τὴν ἑτέραν πύλην, εἰρώτεον τίς τε εἴη καὶ ὅτεν δόμενος ἦκοι ; ὁ δὲ σφί ἠγόρευε, ὡς εἴη τε Ζώπυρος καὶ αὐτομολέει ἐς ἐκείνους ἦγον διήμιν οἱ πυλουργοί, ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσαν, ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καταστὰς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὰ, κατοικτιζέτο φὰς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεπονθῆναι τὰ ἐπεπόνθεε ὑπ' ἑαυτοῦ παθεῖν δὲ ταῦτα, διότι συμβουλευσάι<sup>430</sup> οἱ Ἀπαισιόταται τὴν στρατιήν, ἐπεὶ τε οὐδεὶς πόρος ἐφαίνετο τῆς ἀλώσεως, “ νῦν τε,” ἔφη λέγων, “ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν, ὦ Βαβυλώνιοι, ἤκω μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, Δαρεῖον δὲ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ καὶ Πέρσῃσι μέγιστον κακόν· οὐ γὰρ διή ἐμέ γε ὧδε λαβησάμενος καταπροίξεται<sup>431</sup>. ἐπίσταμαι δ' αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βου-

He carries  
out his  
plan,

157 λευμάτων<sup>432</sup>.” Τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ὁρέοντες ἄνδρα τῶν ἐν Πέρσῃσι δοκιματάων<sup>433</sup> ῥῆνός τε καὶ ὧτων ἐστερημένον μάλιστα τε καὶ αἵμασι ἀναπεφυρμένον, πάγχυ ἐλπίσαντες λέγειν μιν ἀληθεῖα καὶ σφί ἤκειν σύμμαχον, ἐπιτραπέσθαι ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν τῶν ἐδέετο σφένων ἐδέετο δὲ στρατιῆς· ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε αὐτῶν τοῦτο παρέλαβε, ἐπόλεε τά περ τῷ Δαρείῳ συνεθήκατο. ἐξαγαγὼν γὰρ τῇ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ τὴν στρατιήν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, καὶ κυκλωσάμενος τοὺς χιλίους τοὺς πρώτους ἐντετελατο Δαρεῖον τάξαι, τοίτους κατεφόνευσε. μαθόντες δὲ μιν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τοῖσι ἔπεισι τὰ ἔργα παρεχόμενον ὁμοία, πάγχυ περιχαρές ὄντες, πᾶν δὴ ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν ὑπηρετεῖν<sup>434</sup>. ὁ δὲ διαλειπὼν ἡμέρας τὰς συγκεκριμένας, αὐτοὺς ἐπιλαξάμενος τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐξήγαγε καὶ κατεφόνευσε τῶν Δαρείου στρατιωτῶν τοὺς δισχιλίους· ἰδόντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, πάντες Ζώπυρον εἶχον ἐν στόμασι αἰνέοντες· ὁ δὲ

<sup>430</sup> συμβουλευσάι. This contrast of this infinitive with the indicative ἐφαίνετο which presently follows should not be overlooked. Zopyrus professed that he had given counsel, which he had really not given, on grounds which were really solid ones. The change of construction delicately distinguishes what in English an additional sentence is required to express. He professed “that he had been thus treated for having advised Darius”—so he said—“to withdraw the army, seeing that there was no apparent means”—as indeed was the case—“of taking the city.”

<sup>431</sup> καταπροίξεται. See note 106, above.

<sup>432</sup> αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βου-

λευμάτων, “all the ins and outs of his plans.” See note on vii. 234.

<sup>433</sup> τῶν ἐν Πέρσῃσι δοκιματάων. The manuscripts S, V have τὸν ἐν Π. δοκιματάων. Others τῶν ἐν Π. δοκιματάων, which Gaisford adopts. But either the reading of S and V or the one I have adopted seems required. The reading of the other MSS and Gaisford seems to be made up of the mixture of the two.

<sup>434</sup> πᾶν δὴ ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν ὑπηρετεῖν, “then, whatever they might have thought before, offered to follow his counsel in every thing.” See note 424, above, and note 443 on ii. 148.

αὐτὶς διαλιπὼν τὰς συγκειμένους ἡμέρας, ἐξήγαγε ἐς τὸ προειρη-  
 μένον καὶ κυκλωσάμενος κατεφόνευσε τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους ὥς  
 δὲ καὶ τοῦτο κατέρχαστο, πάντα δὴ ἦν ἐν τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι  
 Ζώπυρος καὶ στρατάρχης τε οὗτός σφι καὶ τειχοφύλαξ ἀπεδέ-  
 δεκτο. Προσβολὴν δὲ Δαρείου κατὰ τὰ συγκειμένα ποιευμένου 158  
 πέριξ τὸ τεῖχος, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πάντα τὸν δόλον ὁ Ζώπυρος ἐξέφαινε  
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βαβυλώνιοι ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ἡμύνοντο τὴν  
 Δαρείου στρατιὴν προσβάλλουσιν ὁ δὲ Ζώπυρος τὰς τε Κισσίας  
 καὶ Βηλίδας καλεσμένας πύλας ἀναπετάσας, ἐσήκε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐς  
 τὸ τεῖχος· τῶν δὲ Βαβυλωνίων οἱ μὲν εἶδον τὸ ποιηθὲν οὗτοι  
 ἔφευγον ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βήλου τὸ ἱρὸν, οἱ δὲ οὐκ εἶδον ἔμενον ἐν  
 τῇ ἐκκλισίᾳ τάξι ἕκαστος, ἐς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἔμαθον προδοδόμενοι.

Βαβυλὼν μὲν νῦν οὕτω τὸ δεύτερον αἰρήθη. Δαρείος δὲ ἐπεὶ τε 159  
 ἐκράτησε τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, τοῦτο μὲν σφειν τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλε  
 καὶ τὰς πύλας πάσας ἀπέσπασε· τὸ γὰρ πρότερον ἔλων Κύρος τὴν  
 Βαβυλῶνα ἐποίησε τούτων οὐδέτερον τοῦτο δὲ ὁ Δαρείος τῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν τοὺς κορυφαίους μάλιστα ἐς τρισχιλίους ἀνεσκόλοπισε<sup>435</sup>,  
 τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν οἰκέειν. ὥς δ'  
 ἔξουσι γυναῖκας οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι ἵνα σφι γένηται ὑπογύηται, τὰδε  
 Δαρείος προιδὼν ἐποίησε· τὰς γὰρ ἐκκλισίᾳ, ὥς καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς  
 δεδηλωται, ἀπέπνιξαν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τοῦ σίτου προορέωντες·  
 ἐπέταξε τοῖσι περιοικοῖσι ἔθνεσι γυναῖκας ἐς Βαβυλῶνα κατ-  
 ιστάναι, ὅσας δὴ<sup>436</sup> ἐκάστοισι ἐπιτάσσων ὥστε πέντε μυριάδων τὸ  
 κεφαλαῖωμα τῶν γυναικῶν συνήλθε<sup>437</sup>. ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν  
 οἱ νῦν Βαβυλώνιοι γεγόνασι.

Ζωπύρου δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀγαθοεργίην Περσέων ὑπερεβάλετο παρὰ 160  
 Δαρεῖφ κριτῇ, οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων οὔτε τῶν πρότερον ὅτι

<sup>435</sup> τρισχιλίους ἀνεσκόλοπισε. In the Nineveh bas-reliefs the representation of the taking of a fortress commonly contains figures impaled on stakes, and no doubt the same mode of inflicting death has always continued to prevail under successive suzerains.

<sup>436</sup> ὅσας δὴ. See note 525 on i. 157.

<sup>437</sup> πέντε μυριάδων τὸ κεφαλαῖωμα τῶν γυναικῶν συνήλθε. This number suggests 50,000 as the amount of the surviving marriageable males in the idea of the narrator of the story. Making all allowance for the destruction of the population in the

two sieges, it is difficult to suppose this a natural relic of the inhabitants of an enclosure like that described in i. 178. Let the reader conceive a circle drawn around the London Post Office with a radius of 12,000 yards, or very nearly seven miles, this circle circumscribed by a square, and the square surrounded by a rampart standing 348 feet high and 87 feet thick at the bottom, the whole encompassed by a fosse large enough to supply the material for it; and then imagine the population which the *enceinte* must have been intended to contain.

and succeeds in betraying the city.

Darius destroys the walls, and impales 3000 of the principal inhabitants.

The present Babylonians a new population.

deserts to  
Babylon.

He carries  
out his  
plan,

157

τεταγμένοι, κατέτρεχον κάτω, καὶ ὀλίγον τι παραελάναντες τὴν ἐτέρην πύλην, εἰρώτεον τίς τε εἴη καὶ ὅτευ δεόμενος ἦκοι ; ὁ δὲ σφί ἠγόρευε, ὡς εἴη τε Ζώπυρος καὶ αὐτομολοί εἰς ἐκεῖνους ἦγον δὴ μιν οἱ πύλαιοι, ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσαν, ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καταστὰς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὰ, κατοικτιζέτω φᾶς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεπονθέναι τὰ ἐπεπόνθει ἐπ' ἐωυτοῦ παθεῖν δὲ ταῦτα, διότι συμβουλευσαι<sup>430</sup> οἱ ἀπανιστάμενοι τὴν στρατιὴν, ἐπεὶ τε οὐδεὶς πῶρος ἐφαίνετο τῆς ἀλώσεως, "νῦν τε," ἔφη λέγων, "ἐγὼ ὑμῖν, ὦ Βαβυλώνιοι, ἦκω μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, Δαρεῖον δὲ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ καὶ Πέρσῃσι μέγιστον κακόν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐμέ γε ὧδε λαβησάμενος καταπροίξεται<sup>431</sup>. ἐπίσταμαι δ' αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων<sup>432</sup>." Τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε· οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ὀρέοντες ἄνδρα τῶν ἐν Πέρσῃσι δοκιμασμάτων<sup>433</sup> ῥῆνός τε καὶ ὧτων ἐστερημένον μάστιγι τε καὶ αἵματι ἀναπεφυρμένον, πάγχυ ἐλπίσαντες λέγειν μιν ἀληθεῖα καὶ σφί ἦκειν σύμμαχον, ἐπιτραπέσθαι ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν τῶν ἐδέετο σφέων· ἐδέετο δὲ στρατιῆς· ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε αὐτῶν τοῦτο παρέλαβε, ἐποίησε τά περ τῷ Δαρείῳ συνεθήκατο. ἐξαγαγὼν γὰρ τῇ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ τὴν στρατιὴν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, καὶ κυκλωσάμενος τοὺς χιλίους τοὺς πρώτους ἐντεῖλατο Δαρεῖον τάξαι, τούτους κατεφόνευσεν. μαθόντες δὲ μιν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τοῖσι ἔπεσι τὰ ἔργα παρεχόμενον ὁμοῖα, πάγχυ περιχαρές ὄντες, πᾶν δὴ ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν ὑπηρετεῖν<sup>434</sup>. ὁ δὲ διαλειπὼν ἡμέρας τὰς συγκεκριμένας, αὐτὶς ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐξήγαγε καὶ κατεφόνευσεν τῶν Δαρείου στρατιωτῶν τοὺς δισχιλίους· ἰδόντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, πάντες Ζώπυρον εἶχον ἐν στόμασι αἰνέοντες· ὁ δὲ

<sup>430</sup> συμβουλευσαι. This contrast of this infinitive with the indicative ἐφαίνετο which presently follows should not be overlooked. Zopyrus professed that he had given counsel, which he had really not given, on grounds which were really solid ones. The change of construction delicately distinguishes what in English an additional sentence is required to express. He professed "that he had been thus treated for having advised Darius"—so he said—"to withdraw the army, seeing that there was no apparent means"—as indeed was the case—"of taking the city."

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<sup>432</sup> αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βου-

λευμάτων, "all the ins and outs of his plans." See note on vii. 234.

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<sup>434</sup> πᾶν δὴ ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν ὑπηρετεῖν, "then, whatever they might have thought before, offered to follow his counsel in every thing." See note 424, above, and note 443 on ii. 143.

αὐτὶς διαλιπὼν τὰς συγκειμένους ἡμέρας, ἐξήγαγε ἐς τὸ προειρη-  
 μένον καὶ κυκλωσάμενος κατεφόνευσε τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους ὥς  
 δὲ καὶ τοῦτο κατέρχαστο, πάντα δὴ ἦν ἐν τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι  
 Ζώπυρος καὶ στρατάρχης τε οὗτός σφι καὶ τειχοφύλαξ ἀπεδέ-  
 δεκτο. Προσβολὴν δὲ Δαρείου κατὰ τὰ συγκειμένα ποιευμένου 158  
 πέριξ τὸ τεῖχος, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πάντα τὸν δόλον ὁ Ζώπυρος ἐξέφαινε  
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βαβυλώνιοι ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ἡμύνοντο τὴν  
 Δαρείου στρατὴν προσβάλλουσιν ὁ δὲ Ζώπυρος τὰς τε Κισσίας  
 καὶ Βηλίδας καλεομένας πύλας ἀναπετάσας, ἐσήκε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐς  
 τὸ τεῖχος· τῶν δὲ Βαβυλωνίων οἱ μὲν εἶδον τὸ ποιηθὲν οὗτοι  
 ἔφευγον ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βήλου τὸ ἱρὸν, οἱ δὲ οὐκ εἶδον ἔμενον ἐν  
 τῇ ἐκκλισίᾳ τάξι ἕκαστος, ἐς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἔμαθον προδοδόμενοι.

and suc-  
 ceeds in be-  
 traying the  
 city.

Βαβυλὼν μὲν νῦν οὕτω τὸ δεύτερον αἰρέθη. Δαρείος δὲ ἐπεὶ τε 159  
 ἐκράτησε τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, τοῦτο μὲν σφειν τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλε  
 καὶ τὰς πύλας πάσας ἀπέσπασε· τὸ γὰρ πρότερον ἔλων Κύρος τὴν  
 Βαβυλῶνα ἐποίησε τούτων οὐδέτερον τοῦτο δὲ ὁ Δαρείος τῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν τοὺς κορυφαίους μάλιστα ἐς τρισχιλίους ἀνεσκόλοπισε<sup>435</sup>,  
 τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν οἰκέειν. ὥς δ'  
 ἄξουσιν γυναῖκας οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι ἵνα σφι γένηται ὑπογύνηται, τὰδε  
 Δαρείος προιδὼν ἐποίησε· τὰς γὰρ ἐκκλισίας, ὥς καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς  
 δεδηλωται, ἀπέπνιξαν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τοῦ σίτου προορέωντες·  
 ἐπέταξε τοῖσι περιοικοῖσι ἔθνεσιν γυναῖκας ἐς Βαβυλῶνα κατ-  
 ιστάναι, ὅσας δὴ<sup>436</sup> ἐκάστοισι ἐπιτάσσω ὥστε πέντε μυριάδων τὸ  
 κεφαλαῖωμα τῶν γυναικῶν συνήλθε<sup>437</sup>. ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν  
 οἱ νῦν Βαβυλώνιοι γεγόναντι.

Darius de-  
 stroys the  
 walls, and  
 impales  
 3000 of the  
 principal  
 inhabit-  
 ants.

The present  
 Babylonians  
 a new popu-  
 lation.

Ζωπύρου δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀγαθοεργίην Περσέων ὑπερεβάλετο παρὰ 160  
 Δαρεῖφ κριτῇ, οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων οὔτε τῶν πρότερον ὅτι

<sup>435</sup> τρισχιλίους ἀνεσκόλοπισε. In the Nineveh bas-reliefs the representation of the taking of a fortress commonly contains figures impaled on stakes, and no doubt the same mode of inflicting death has always continued to prevail under successive suzerains.

<sup>436</sup> ὅσας δὴ. See note 525 on i. 157.

<sup>437</sup> πέντε μυριάδων τὸ κεφαλαῖωμα τῶν γυναικῶν συνήλθε. This number suggests 50,000 as the amount of the surviving marriageable males in the idea of the narrator of the story. Making all allowance for the destruction of the population in the

two sieges, it is difficult to suppose this a natural relic of the inhabitants of an enclosure like that described in i. 178. Let the reader conceive a circle drawn around the London Post Office with a radius of 12,000 yards, or very nearly seven miles, this circle circumscribed by a square, and the square surrounded by a rampart standing 348 feet high and 87 feet thick at the bottom, the whole encompassed by a fosse large enough to supply the material for it; and then imagine the population which the *enceinte* must have been intended to contain.

Zopyrus considered by Darius as inferior to no Persian for good services rendered. Honours bestowed on him. His grandson an exile at Athens.

μη Κύρος μῦνος· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐδεις Περσέων ἡξίωσε κω ἐωυτὸν συμβαλέειν. πολλάκις δὲ Δαρεῖον λέγεται γνώμην τήνδε ἀποδέξασθαι, ὡς βούλοιτο ἂν Ζώπυρον εἶναι ἀπαθέα τῆς ἀεικείης<sup>438</sup> μᾶλλον, ἢ Βαβυλωνάς οἱ εἴκοσι πρὸς τῇ εὐσίῃ προσγενέσθαι. ἐτίμησε δὲ μιν μεγάλως· καὶ γὰρ δῶρά οἱ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐδίδου<sup>439</sup> ταῦτα τὰ Πέρσῃσι ἐστὶ τιμωτάτα, καὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνά οἱ ἔδωκε ἀτελέα νέμεσθαι μέχρι τῆς ἐκείνου ζῆς· καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπέδωκε. Ζωπύρου δὲ τούτου γίνεται Μεγάβυζος, ὃς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀντία Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐστρατήγησε· Μεγαβύζου δὲ τούτου γίνεται Ζώπυρος, ὃς ἐς Ἀθήνας αὐτομόλῃσε<sup>440</sup> ἐκ Περσέων.

<sup>438</sup> ἀεικείης. This is the reading of the majority of manuscripts. S has αἰκίης. Gaisford ἀεικίης. See note 404 on i. 115.

<sup>439</sup> δῶρά οἱ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐδίδου. See note 213, above.

<sup>440</sup> ὃς ἐς Ἀθήνας αὐτομόλῃσε. Possibly in the desire of this individual to create an exalted notion of his ancestor's reputation, may be found an explanation of the difference between Herodotus's and Ctesias's accounts of the capture of Babylon. (See note 418, above.) But even then we must suppose the story to have passed through an Hellenic channel before it could acquire the features it possesses at present. (See note 428, above.) At the same time, in its substance it has a genuine Asiatic character. RAWLINSON, after adverting to the statement of Poly-

senus, that the stratagem was copied from one practised by a certain Transoxian Sacan with a view of destroying the army of Darius, well remarks that this latter in all its minutest features is a standard oriental story, applied in different ages by the Persian bards and traditionists to Feruz and the Hiyáthelah, by Abu Rihán to Kanishka and the Indians, and by the historians of Cashmeer to their famous king Lalitáditya. (*Note on the Behistun Inscription*, p. xxi.) The Latin adaptation of the tale to Sextus Tarquinius and Gabii is familiar to every schoolboy (LIVY i. 53, 54), and is worth comparing if only to observe the features belonging to his own age and country with which each writer unconsciously invests it.

## EXCURSUS ON III. 5.

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IN the "Outline of Assyrian History" which RAWLINSON has sketched out from the *data* furnished him by the Nimroud sculptures, an opinion is confidently put forward that the *Kadytis* of Herodotus is in fact Gaza, a name appearing in the Nimroud monuments under the form *Khazita*. This form Rawlinson argues that the Greeks changed into Kadytis, as *Akhziḅ* into *Ecdippa*. Together with this notion, he brings forward the conjecture, that the capture of Gaza by Pharaoh alluded to in the heading of a prophecy of JEREMIAH<sup>1</sup>, is identical with that of Kadytis mentioned by Herodotus<sup>2</sup> as having been effected by Neco, the son of Psammitichus, after the battle of Magdolus; and he adds that the description of Herodotus in the present passage is exactly applicable to Gaza, and will by no means answer to Jerusalem.

I am unable to concur in any of these opinions, except perhaps the one that the description of Kadytis does not correspond with Jerusalem,—a circumstance of which an explanation has been attempted in the foot-note on the passage. But, if possible, the description is even less applicable to Gaza. Whatever Kadytis may have been, and whatever amount of corruption may have crept into the text of Herodotus describing its site, it is quite clear that in the apprehension of that writer there were several *ἐμπόρια* lying between it and *Ienysus*. Now certainly nothing of this sort was to be found between Gaza and Ienysus, for the former was the southernmost of the

<sup>1</sup> xlvii. 1 (in the LXX translation, xxix. 1).

<sup>2</sup> ii. 159.

Philistine cities, and the latter a mere watering-place just on the edge of the desert, a very few miles from it<sup>2</sup>. Indeed ARRIAN calls Gaza itself the actual frontier<sup>3</sup>.

Again, taking Herodotus's views of the proceedings of *Psammitichus*, it seems impossible to conceive that monarch leaving so important a position as Gaza in his rear during a twenty-nine years' siege of *Azotus*. In the course of his gradual encroachments northwards, the Philistine towns would have fallen into his hands one after the other, and Gaza the very first in the natural order of things. But *Kadytis* (whatever Herodotus understood by it) is represented by him as captured, not by *Psammitichus* at all, but by his son *Neco*, at a time which was at least thirty, and perhaps forty, years after the commencement of the siege of *Azotus*.

The hypothesis of the conversion of *Khazita* into both *Kadytis* and *Gaza* appears also to me to involve great difficulties. The Greek language would have presented no obstacle whatever to the direct adoption of the form *Khazita*; so that the only way of accounting for the existence both of *Kadytis* and of *Gaza* as representatives of it involves the assumption that the two words, starting from a common original (*Khazita*), arrived in Hellas by different routes, having in the mean time become so modified as to have acquired on their re-appearance in Greek, two such widely different aspects. But I am not aware of any facts calculated to lend the least plausibility to this hypothesis, unless it be the one, that while Herodotus does not mention *Gaza*, other authors are equally ignorant of *Kadytis*,—although the commercial importance of the former must have brought it under the notice of the Hellenic merchants who traded to Egypt, and through them (if in no other way) under the notice of Herodotus himself.

But if it be necessary to find a reason for our author not naming *Gaza*, I should be more inclined to adopt a conjecture that he does really mean that city when he speaks of the *Syrian Agbatana* (iii. 64),—a place as unknown to other writers as *Kadytis*. The word *Agbatana* is by Rawlinson himself interpreted to mean "a place of strength for treasures<sup>4</sup>,"—a signification which would make it almost a translation of *Gaza*. And indeed if the *Syrian Agbatana* be not *Hamath*

<sup>2</sup> See RENNELL, *Geography of Herodotus*, cited in note 16 on iii. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐσχάτη δ' ἦκετο ὡς ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐκ Φοινίκης ἰστέτι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐρήμου.

<sup>4</sup> See note 348 on i. 98, above.

on the Orontes, it is more likely to be Gaza than any other place. The name is the only ground for its identification with either the one or the other; for, so far as the description in Herodotus is concerned, it may lie any where on the road between the Persian and the Egyptian frontiers. As it seems to be the *same* word with *Hamath*, and only a translation of *Gaza*, I myself should be inclined to regard it as the former, if compelled to decide between the two alternatives<sup>6</sup>. But in such questions, all that can be done is to balance probabilities, and to be distinctly aware that they are only probabilities, and are not to be propounded as ascertained facts.

If the account of Herodotus be taken in combination with the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, it seems clear that from the beginning of the reign of Psammitichus at least, the Egyptian sovereigns commenced a system of aggression which was soon met by resistance on the part of the great monarchs of Mesopotamia, and that the struggle only terminated by the conquest of Egypt under Cambyses. Before the reign of Psammitichus the two powers had indeed come into collision with one another on several occasions, but from this time forward the contest seems to have been nearly continuous. Psammitichus had, when an exile from Egypt, taken refuge in Syria, and, subsequently to his return, had experienced the great use which might be made of foreign auxiliaries<sup>7</sup>. From the time of his becoming sovereign of his native country, he seems to have turned his thoughts to the best means of availing himself of external resources, maintaining an Ionian and Carian force, and encouraging the cultivation of the Hellenic language and Hellenic intercourse<sup>8</sup>. That he had, in the apprehension of Herodotus's informants, extended his influence over the Philistine territory, is evident not only from his capture of Azotus after a blockade of 29 years<sup>9</sup>, but from his meeting the Scythian invaders and concluding a treaty with them, some where on the Philistine side of the desert<sup>1</sup>. All this hangs very ill together with the notion that *Gaza*, the key to the military road, should yet remain to fall before his son Neco several years afterwards as the fruit of victory in a pitched battle at Magdolus. It seems more

<sup>6</sup> See note 171 on iii. 62, above.

<sup>8</sup> Id. ii. 164.

<sup>9</sup> Id. ii. 157.

<sup>7</sup> Herod. ii. 152.

<sup>1</sup> Id. i. 105.



natural, if the common reading of JEREMIAH xlvii. 1 be adopted<sup>2</sup>, that the "smiting of Gaza" should be the *first open* encroachment upon the Philistine towns, of whose conquest the capture of Azotus might be considered to constitute the keystone. Those Philistine towns had been crippled by the kings of Judah<sup>3</sup>, and the kingdom of Judah in its turn (under Manasseh, Hezekiah's son) been humbled by the Assyrian empire<sup>4</sup>. During the turbulent times of Manasseh's successor Amon, and the minority of Josiah, the kingdom of Judah could have had no time to recover strength; and this is the state of things with which Psammitichus's reign synchronizes,—a state obviously most encouraging to an ambitious and powerful neighbour. But the prophet Jeremiah, aware that all the countries on the coast of the Mediterranean were to be regarded as the extremities of the huge body of which Assyria was the heart, may well have warned them, even before a single blow was struck, of the flood that would "rise up out of the north" as the result of this policy of aggression<sup>5</sup>.

The conduct of Neco, as described by Herodotus<sup>6</sup>, is just what might be expected from a king desirous of carrying out the plans of his father, and who had acquired or inherited a predominant influence on the coast of the Mediterranean. His first design in proposing to make his canal may well have been the transporting a fleet from that sea to the Persian Gulf, in order to follow the line of the reputed conquests of Sesostris. Subsequently, either from the cause given by Herodotus or some other, he determined to invade Assyria by the coast road, reckoning on the neutrality of the king of Judah<sup>7</sup>. In this expectation, natural as it may have been, considering the past and present relations of Judah with Assyria, he was disappointed. Josiah attempted to oppose him, and paid the forfeit of his temerity with his life. Jerusalem, if not captured, was at any rate so completely put at the mercy of Neco as to receive his nominee as king, and pay a large contribution in money<sup>8</sup>. Three years after this

<sup>2</sup> The variation of the MSS of the ancient Versions shows that the passage furnishes but a doubtful foundation for a chronological argument, it being obviously only a heading of the prophecy, and not a portion of it.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Chron. xxvi. 6, and 2 Kings xviii. 8.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

<sup>5</sup> xlvii. 2. <sup>6</sup> ii. 158, 159.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Kings xxiii. 29. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20.

<sup>8</sup> 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5.

event the Egyptian army is found on the banks of the Euphrates<sup>9</sup>, and, eleven years after, it has been destroyed or driven back into Egypt, every portion of the territory overrun by it having been in the mean time recovered by the Assyrian monarch, Jerusalem captured, and the vassal of Neco on the throne there carried off into captivity<sup>1</sup>.

But when combining the notices in Herodotus which relate to this time with the account given in the historical books of the Old Testament, it is absolutely necessary to be fully aware how small a portion of the important incidents above enumerated (spreading as they do over the space of eleven or twelve years) is to be found noticed in the Greek writer. If we had no other source of information on the subject than his work affords, all that we should know would be, that Neco, desisting from an ineffectual attempt to connect the Nile with the Arabian Gulf, attempted certain expeditions by land—with what success or against whom the narrative does not say, and we have no reason to believe that the narrator knew. One thing alone is told with any definiteness of detail, and that one is (as in so many other instances of traditionary history) connected with an offering in a temple<sup>2</sup>,—a temple too which in the time of Herodotus was no longer standing<sup>3</sup>. Neco fought a battle with certain Syrians at Magdolus, and afterwards took a city called Kadytis, of no less importance than Sardis. If we were to find in an account of the fortunes of Napoleon nothing but a statement that at one time he endeavoured to create a flotilla on the northern coast of France, and afterwards, desisting from this, made several campaigns, in one of which he captured a large city (of a name otherwise unknown), and sent the standard of the regiment which had guarded his person on the occasion to be suspended in the cathedral of Nôtre Dame; no one could fail to trace in such a selection of incidents the influence of popular tradition, not necessarily false or even exaggerated, but of very little value in assisting the arrangement of more copious or authentic documents. And it is not easy to see any difference between this case and that furnished by our author.

<sup>9</sup> JEREMIAH: xlv. 2.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xxiv. 7. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6.

<sup>2</sup> See note 52 on i. 13, and note 282 on ii. 101, above.

<sup>3</sup> STRABO, x. c. 1, p. 165. See note 327 on i. 92, above.

## EXCURSUS ON III. 74.

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THE deciphering of the Behistun (or Bisutun) Inscription by RAWLINSON, from the light which it has thrown upon the early history of Persia, has enabled us to form a truer estimate than before was possible, both of the nature of the sources of information possessed by Herodotus, and of the amount of allowance to be made in estimating his authority. It has been referred to above in several notes on the First and the Third Books, as a reason for modifying in a very important degree the inferences which have been drawn, and might otherwise legitimately be drawn, from the statements of the "Father of History;" but it seems desirable to explain in a more connected manner than is possible within the limits of a foot-note, the general bearing of the two authorities upon one another.

It is impossible to doubt, that in the *main outline* of the events recorded, the credit to be attached to the Inscription is incomparably greater than that which can be claimed by any existing historian, or by the whole of them put together. The Inscription is a formal account of the acts of Darius, sculptured by his own authority, and consequently possesses as authentic a character as a medal or a contemporaneous state paper; that is to say, its authority is absolute for events and dates, although the colour given to the events would naturally be made conformable to the views of the sovereign by whose order they were recorded.

The site of this inscription is the lower part of a naturally scarped precipice of enormous height—it is said nearly 1500 feet—in which the range of mountains constituting the northern boundary of the

plain of *Kermanshah* suddenly terminates towards the East. At a height of about 100 feet from the base, a smooth surface has been formed by cutting into the rock, and in this, presenting the appearance of a bas-relief set in a frame, Darius, with a crown on his head and a bow in his hand, is represented as setting his foot upon a prostrate figure, who with stretched-out hands appears to ask for mercy. Nine other personages, with their hands pinioned behind them, and connected by a rope which passes round their necks, approach the monarch; and behind him stand two attendants, apparently of high rank,—as their costume, except for the crown, is the same as that of Darius himself—carrying the one a bow, the other a lance upon which he leans. In the air above the group hovers the figure of Ormuzd, which is substantially the same as that in the title-page of Mr. Layard's *Nineveh*, and over the heads of the human figures are tablets containing cuneiform or arrow-headed writing explaining who they are. But the most important part of the whole are the inscriptions in the same character containing the annals of the monarch. These Rawlinson has discovered to be *trilingual*, although the elements of the words in each being cuneiform might induce the belief in a superficial observer that the language was the same throughout. To the three languages he gives the several names of Persian, Median, and Babylonian. The first is contained in five columns (of which the four first are twelve feet in length and about six in breadth), immediately under the group of figures just described. Judging from the scale given together with the drawing of the group<sup>1</sup>, the dignity of the personages seems to have been regarded in the size of which the sculptor represented them. Darius himself, and the figure upon which he is trampling (who is Gomates the Magian), are made full six feet in height. The two attendants on the king are no more than five feet, six or seven inches, while the conquered chiefs with ropes round their necks barely rise above four feet,—with the exception of the last, *Sarukha the Sacan*, who besides being a little taller than his companions in misfortune, wears a tiara, whereas they are all bare-headed.

<sup>1</sup> In the JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, vol. x., which is devoted to Rawlinson's Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria, and contains the interpretation of the Persian tablets on which the views in this Excursus rest.

Of the five columns the first and third are, according to Rawlinson, very fairly legible. They contain ninety-six and ninety-two lines respectively, which are broken up—the one into nineteen, the other into fourteen paragraphs, each beginning with the form *Thātiya Daryavush k'hsháyathiya* (Saith Darius the king). The second column extends to ninety-six lines, but it is much injured by a fissure in the rock, which extends along the whole length of the tablet. The fourth column contains ninety-two lines, the greater part lamentably injured. The last legible paragraph (the 18th) in this column furnishes a list of those individuals who *alone* were with Darius when he “slew Gomates the Magian, who was called Bartius,” and the very natural bias to bring the account given by Herodotus to aid in deciphering this, produced one or two erroneous guesses which a second careful inspection of the Inscription on the spot has corrected. The assistants of Darius are now undoubtedly ascertained to have been Intaphernes son of Veispares, Otanes son of Socres, Gobryas son of Mardonius, Hydarnes son of Megabignes, Megabyzus son of Dadoes, and Ardomanes son of Vaces. Following this list of names there was once another paragraph, which is entirely obliterated, and appears never to have had any equivalent in the Median translation;—a singular circumstance, which suggests the conjecture that its obliteration may have been ordered during the lifetime of the monarch, perhaps as a conciliatory measure towards his Median subjects. The fifth column only extended to half the length of the other four, containing but thirty-five lines, and it is described by Rawlinson as having been of a supplemental character, and to have contained an account of two revolts; the one in Susiana, which was crushed by Gobryas, the other one conducted by Sarukha, the chief of the Sacans who dwelt upon the Tigris, which was put down by Darius himself. Rawlinson states however, that one side of this tablet is completely destroyed, and that it is impossible to give a complete translation, although it appears (he says) that both expeditions ended successfully. The Sacan *Sarukha*, who is the last of the string of figures sculptured in the bas-relief, has been added subsequently to the other eight by a further smoothening of the face of the rock.

Fortunately the *first* column of the inscription, which is in the best preservation, contains by far the most important statements in a

historical point of view. Its four leading paragraphs are a repetition of the contents of a tablet over the head of the monarch in the bas-relief, and run as follows.

"I am Darius the great king, king of kings, king of Persia, king of the provinces, son of Hystaspes, grandson of Arsames, an Achæmenian."

"Saith Darius the king: my father was Hystaspes, of Hystaspes the father was Arsames, of Arsames the father was Aryaramnes, of Aryaramnes the father was Teispes; [whose] father [was] Achæmenes."

"Saith Darius the king: on that account are we called of Achæmenes; from of old we have been unsubdued; from of old those of our race were kings."

"Saith Darius the king: eight of my race were kings before me; I am the ninth."

The fifth paragraph acknowledges his power to be the gift of Ormuzd, and the sixth gives a list of the provinces which, by the favour of Ormuzd, had come under his power<sup>1</sup>. In the seventh and eighth he declares the entire subjection of these to him, and declares that throughout them he maintains the true faith and roots out heresy, and in the next six he gives a complete history of the circumstances which led to his own succession, as follows.

"Saith Darius the king: Ormuzd granted me the empire. Ormuzd brought help to me until I acquired this empire. By the grace of Ormuzd I hold this empire."

"Saith Darius the king: This is what was done by me before I became king. He who was named Cambyses, the son of Cyrus of our race, he was here king before me. Of that Cambyses was a brother named Bartius, of the same mother and the same father<sup>2</sup> as Cambyses. Cambyses slew that Bartius. When Cambyses had slain Bartius, that which Bartius had stirred up was unknown to the state. Afterwards Cambyses proceeded to Egypt. When Cambyses

<sup>1</sup> The list is given in the note 278 on fil. 94. But a subsequent visit to the spot has induced Rawlinson to add *Gadara* after *Sogdiana*, or, as he would now write it, *Suguda*.

<sup>2</sup> Rawlinson reverses in his translation the order of the original, making it "of the same father and the same mother." I have preserved a relative position of the parents which was possibly not unimportant according to Median notions. See note 441 on i. 130, above.

had proceeded to Egypt, afterwards the state became irreligious; afterwards a lie became abundant both in Persia and Media and the other provinces."

"Saith Darius the king: Afterwards was a man, a Magian, named Gomates. He rose up from Pissiachada, a mountain named Arakhdres: from thence on the 14th day of the month Viyakhna, then it was that he rose up; to the state he thus lied: 'I am Bartius, who am Cyrus's son, Cambyses' brother.' Afterwards the whole state came into the conspiracy; it passed from Cambyses to him, both Persia and Media and the other provinces: he seized the empire. On the 9th day of the month Garmapada then it was he thus seized the empire. Afterwards Cambyses chafing died."

"Saith Darius the king: That empire of which Gomates the Magian deprived Cambyses, that empire from of old belonged to our race. After Gomates the Magian had deprived Cambyses of both Persia and Media and the other provinces, he did according to his desire; he became king."

"Saith Darius the king: There was not a man, neither Persian nor Median, nor any one of our family, who would deprive Gomates the Magian of the empire. The state feared to oppose him. He often proclaimed to the state as he had known Bartius do, in that same way he proclaimed to the state, 'Beware it hold me not in other account than as Bartius, son of Cyrus.' No one was bold; every one was standing around Gomates the Magian until I came. Afterward I adored Ormuzd. Ormuzd brought me aid. On the 10th day of the month Bagayadish, then did I with faithful men slay Gomates the Magian and those who were his chief associates. Siktakhotes was the fort named; Nisaea the region of Media: there I slew him: I deprived him of his empire: by the grace of Ormuzd I became king. Ormuzd gave me the empire."

"Saith Darius the king: The empire which had been wrested from our race that I recovered; I established it firmly; as in the days of old, so did I. The *rites* which Gomates the Magian had *introduced*, I *prohibited*<sup>1</sup>. I restored to the state the chants and the worship,

<sup>1</sup> Rawlinson renders this sentence, "He would frequently address the state which knew [the old] Bartius, for that reason he would address the state, saying, 'Beware lest it regard me as if I were not Bartius the son of Cyrus.'"

<sup>2</sup> The words in italics are doubtfully interpreted by Rawlinson.

and to those families which Gomates the Magian had deprived of them. I firmly established the kingdom, both Persia and Media and the other provinces as in the days of old. Thus did I restore what had been taken away. Thus did I, by the grace of Ormuzd, that Gomates the Magian might not blot out our race."

In comparing this official statement with the account of Herodotus, it is plain at the first blush of the matter, that while in the one case the successful sovereign appears as the representative of great interests, the champion of a race of distinct blood and religious faith, and seems pointed out for the position he takes by the illustrious descent which he boasts, if not actually by near relationship to the sovereigns he succeeds; in the other his personal prowess and energetic character are made the sole source of his success, and there is no intimation that by birth he was a person of any distinction. His father holds a provincial government under the Persian king, and he himself, while serving in the Persian army which occupied Egypt, is a person of no importance, glad to accept a present of a cloak, and so little likely to be able to make any kind of return for it, although of a generous temper, that the donor regrets the sudden access of liberality which had induced him to part with his garment<sup>6</sup>. While, therefore, the two accounts of Darius's fortunes are not necessarily incompatible with one another, they certainly do seem to spring from entirely different sources. One could almost as little gather the illustrious connexions and the political party of Darius from Herodotus, as one could his peculiar temperament from the rock tablets. In these we recognize the dry but authentic record of those widely operating influences which issue in momentous political changes; in the narrative of the logographer we may (I apprehend) no less decisively remark the characteristics of popular tradition, which seizes and preserves in a way that nothing else can do the *ethical* characteristics of men of mark, while it soon drops or modifies the *historical facts* which really constituted the staple of their lives. Each of these classes of evidence has its value in after times. The historian of Napoleon will neither neglect the songs of Beranger nor the bulletins of the *Moniteur*, if he wishes to form a complete estimate of his hero. The Dundee Ballads are in their way

<sup>6</sup> HEROD. iii. 139, 140.



quite as valuable as the Annual Register. The greatest misuse of either the one or the other is to consider them as documents of the same kind, and to treat them as if nothing more was required in combining them than to piece out the one with fragments gathered from the other.

If, however, a different principle of interpretation be adopted, and the rock inscription be regarded as the official record of the Persian court, while the narratives of Herodotus and Ctesias are referred to as conveying the current notions of different localities and different classes, embodied in such stories as were likely to come to the knowledge of Hellenic merchants and Persian court-physicians, and moreover modified more or less by their individual habits and ways of thinking, a perfectly coherent idea may be formed of the whole transaction, without either detracting from the character of any one of the sources of information, or attributing the weightiest historical events to motives which belong to the region of fiction. The following sketch is an attempt to supply a clue for the criticism of the early history of these great states, on which at that time the destinies of the world depended.

The relation of Media to Persia, antecedently to the revolution in which Astyages was dethroned, seems to have approached that of a suzerain over a dependency, analogous perhaps to that of the house of Hapsburg over the old Swiss Cantons before the time of Tell. The Persian clans, however much they might value the purity of their own blood, would be naturally despised by the Median courtiers, as the Scotch highlanders were by the frivolous associates of the English Stuarts, and as the Tyrolese are by the aristocracy of Austria. If the Achæmenids were even at first, as seems probable, the most noble of the Persian clans, this circumstance would not in any way help to save them from the contemptuous designation of peasants and herdsmen in the common conversation of the fastidious oligarchy of the capital. A Ban of Croatia would probably have met with no more complimentary a description at Vienna ten years ago.

Cyrus the Great, whom the inscription recognizes as of the family of Darius, without however in any way ascribing to him that heroic character or pre-eminent fame with which he is invested by Herodotus and the later historians, was unquestionably the offspring of a mixed marriage between Mandane, the daughter and *heir* of

Astyages', and some Achæmenid, not considered at the time to be of such a rank as to acquire by this marriage any predominant weight. This is accounted for by Herodotus in exactly the way in which one might expect popular traditions to account for it. He is said to have been of a quiet temper, although of a good family<sup>7</sup>. If the real motive, however, of marrying Mandane to a Persian was to prevent the excessive aggrandizement of her husband, some other security than mere temper would doubtless have been sought; and nothing would be more obvious than to select for her a husband, who, if of royal blood, should at the same time not be likely to succeed to the throne of his country. Now I am disposed to think there is a considerable probability that the individual thus selected was actually a collateral relation of Darius, and so connected with him as to make the latter, at the time of the death of the last surviving child of Cyrus, next heir to the crown of Media.

In Book vii. § 11 of Herodotus, Xerxes is made to trace his own pedigree up to his eponymous ancestor Achæmenes, and so completely without any motive for introducing this scrap of genealogy, that the most obvious reason for his doing it seems to be, that Herodotus, having obtained it from some quarter or other, was desirous of incorporating it in his narrative, and saw no other way of doing so but by putting it in the mouth of the monarch himself. That it does not belong to the cycle of traditions which are the source of the narrative of the infancy of Cyrus is certain from the fact, that in that narrative the father of Cyrus's parent Cambyses bears a name identical with that of his illustrious grandson<sup>8</sup>, whereas in the pedigree of Xerxes that same Cambyses is made the son of *Teispes*. And the exact accordance of the pedigree with the Behistun Inscription for the greater part of its extent would seem to be a decisive proof that it is derived directly or indirectly from the same source, if only the remainder of it can be explained consistently with the same record; and this I will endeavour to show may be done most naturally by adopting the hypothesis just mentioned.

The pedigree Xerxes gives of himself (taken downwards for the sake of convenience) runs as follows. (1) Achæmenes, (2) Teispes,

<sup>7</sup> HEROD. i. 109.

<sup>8</sup> ID. i. 107.

<sup>9</sup> *πυνθάνομαι ὅς ἐστι Μαρδάνης τε εἴη παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγας θυγατρὸς καὶ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κέρου* (i. 111).

(8) Cambysea, (4) Cyrus, (5) Teispea, (6) Ariaramnes, (7) Arsames, (8) Hystaspes, (9) Darius, (10) Xerxes, which (it will be seen) becomes identical with the authentic genealogy of the Behistun Inscription, if the second, third, and fourth terms of the series be taken away. This, however, without some satisfactory explanation of the reason for which Herodotus was induced to adopt them, is a mode of reconciling discordant statements by no means to be approved. But what if the only error here should be, that Herodotus, or rather the authority followed by him, had put two separate genealogies (belonging to the two branches of the same family) *one after the other* instead of *side by side*? What if the pedigree of Cyrus ran (1) Achæmenes, (2) Teispea, (3) Cambysea, (4) Cyrus, and that of Darius *in exact accordance with the Behistun Inscription*, starting from the common ancestor, (1) Teispea, (2) Ariaramnes, (3) Arsames, (4) Hystaspes, (5) Darius? This mistake is so natural a one, and accounts so well for the form given to the genealogical tree in the passage in question, that it can be fairly assumed *as a probable hypothesis*, remaining to be confirmed or weakened by the conformity or disagreement of other facts with it.

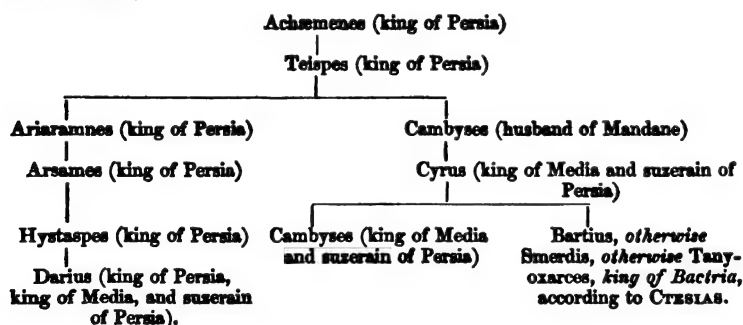
The internal government of Media in the time of Astyages appears clearly to have been a monarchy surrounded by an extremely powerful oligarchy, united to one another by the bond of the Magian religious system. The religion of Persia, on the other hand, appears to have approached very nearly to pure Theism, or at any rate to have been quite alien from the symbolism and the complicated ceremonial of Media. This difference of religion superadded to the differences of civilization must have increased the improbability of Cyrus the Persian succeeding to the throne of Astyages, had not the tyranny of the latter induced his nobles, and among them Harpagus, *his own relation*<sup>1</sup>, to conspire against him, and, with the assistance of Cyrus and his hardy Persian troops, to dethrone him. Jealousy of each other (perhaps aided by the physical force which Cyrus had at command) probably prevented them from doing that which Astyages thought would have been the natural thing,—making one of their own body (Harpagus himself for instance) the successor<sup>2</sup>; and these considerations doubtless added force to the claims of Cyrus through his mother, which of themselves, had he been of pure blood,

<sup>1</sup> Herod. i. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Id. i. 129.

would have been irresistible<sup>3</sup>; and thus the son of Cambyses the Persian became king of Media and *suzerain* of Persia, but not *king* of Persia in the same sense in which the sovereigns of the line mentioned in the Behistun Inscription were, from Achæmenes down to Hystaspes inclusive. Consequently his name would not be introduced into *that* list, although his position would be higher than that of any of his family. But this elevation of Cyrus to the imperial throne could never have been acquiesced in if he had not been able to accommodate himself to the order of things into which he had been introduced. It was only natural that he should adopt the state religion, and be received as a Magian. This, as has been remarked in the note 441 on i. 180, is apparently the principle involved in the strange proceeding recorded by Ctesias, that Cyrus secured his power by first adopting as *his mother*, and then *marrying*, Amytis, the daughter of Astyages, her husband being actually slain to enable him to do this<sup>4</sup>. The first act of the revolution was thus brought to an end, and no further troubles seem to have arisen till after the death of Cyrus.

The pedigree of the Achæmenids may, after what has been said, be with considerable probability set out as follows, in substantial accordance with Herodotus and Ctesias, as well as with the Behistun rock tablets.



<sup>3</sup> Ἀστυάγης μὲν ἐστὶ γέρων, καὶ ἔπαις ἔρσενος γόνου· εἰ δὲ θελήσει, τοῦτου τελευτήσας, ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἢ τυραννὶς κ.τ.λ. (i. 109.)

<sup>4</sup> Nascatur magus ex Gelli matrisque nefando

Conjugio, et discat Persicum aruspicium. CATULLUS, xc.

That the interests of the Magians and that of the dynasty of Astyages were bound up together, and that the possible succession of Cyrus was looked forward to as something fatal to the former as well as the latter, appears from HERODOTUS (i. 128).

It will now in its turn enable us to offer an explanation of some parts of the Inscription which are otherwise unintelligible. Darius, in the first part of what may be called his annals, as well as in the tablet above his own figure in the bas-relief, asserts that there have been *eight kings of his race* before him, and that he himself is the *ninth*. As it is plain from the genealogy which accompanies this assertion that three of the number were not in the direct line from Achæmenes to himself, and consequently were not kings of Persia, they must be sought for elsewhere. I believe that they are Cyrus the Great, Cambyzes, and the true Smerdis. It may be argued against this view, that as he speaks of Smerdis (Bartius) as a fomentor of troubles, it is not to be supposed that he would acknowledge him as a sovereign *de jure*. To this, however, I cannot agree. Ctesias expressly states that Cyrus left his son Tanyoxarces (who is identical with the Bartius of the Inscription) an *independent sovereign* of a portion of his dominions, at the same time that he constituted the elder brother Cambyzes his successor in the *empire*<sup>1</sup>; and although subsequent proceedings cost the younger son his life, yet this would not (I conceive) at all detract from the disposition to acknowledge his royal character. Jehu paid a similar mark of respect to the idolatress Jezebel immediately after he had caused her destruction<sup>2</sup>. And it is to be observed that Bartius's conduct is nowhere spoken of as if it had extended to open rebellion against Cambyzes. He is rather conceived of as secretly tampering with the subjects of the latter, and, if destroyed at all during his reign, as cut off by assassination,—in so mysterious a manner as to occasion very different reports both of the time and the circumstances of his death, and to furnish more than one pretender with plausible grounds for asserting his existence. For until after the death of Cambyzes it was popularly believed that he was alive and reigning; therefore, up to that time it was impossible that he should have been publicly declared a rebel and as such deprived of his royal character, even if we grant that this consequence would, in oriental ways of thinking,

<sup>1</sup> Κύρος δὲ μέλλων τελευτᾶν Καμβόσῃ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον υἱὸν βασιλείᾳ καθίστη, Ταυοξάρκῃ δὲ τὸν νεώτερον ἐπέστησε δεσπότῃν Βακτρίων καὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ Χοραμνίων καὶ Παρθίων καὶ Καρμανίων, ἀτελεῖς ἔχειν τὰς χώρας διορισμένους. *Ap. Photium, Biblioth.*

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings ix. 34.

follow from such a public declaration. And *after* the death of Cambyzes, and the assertion being publicly made that the professed Bartius was an impostor, there would remain no motive for such a gratuitous insult to the memory of a prince who no longer stood in the way of Darius.

To return to the history of the empire after the death of Cyrus; it may be gathered from every account of Cambyzes that his distinctive character was that of a despiser of the prevailing religion, his hostility to which was carried to the extreme of intolerance. A savage in temperament and filled with religious fanaticism, his policy put an end to the calm which had been produced by the compromise of his father Cyrus, and induced the troubles which it was the interest of his brother Bartius, king of the Bactrians<sup>7</sup>, to foment. It was only natural under such circumstances that the Medians should seize the opportunity of Cambyzes's absence in Egypt to endeavour to rid themselves of him, and at the same time revive the supremacy of their own religion. It had become a question between supremacy or extinction; and accordingly the general revolt spoken of in the Behistun tablets took place, and was for a time eminently successful, until the Ormuzd worshippers under the guidance of Darius—the next heir to the empire after the death of Bartius—once more obtained the victory, and by the consummate skill of their champion succeeded in consolidating it. Indeed the true political significance of the Magian usurpation,—represented as it is by Herodotus in the light of a private scheme, carried into effect by an ambitious and unprincipled pretender,—yet shows itself here and there in his narrative, in insulated passages which harmonize ill with the story that he follows in his main account, but are in exact agreement with the course of proceedings as recorded in the Behistun tablets. Several of these undesigned confirmations of the official account have been remarked in the notes<sup>8</sup>, and probably more will be detected by a reader whose attention has been once called to the subject.

The narrative of Herodotus represents the cadastral system introduced by Darius as his *first* measure after setting up the monument to

<sup>7</sup> See the passage of Ctesias quoted above, and also one cited in note 441 on i. 130, by which the ardent attachment of the Bactrians to the Magian system is proved to demonstration.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, note 439 on i. 130; note 204 on iii. 70; note 238 on iii. 88.

which the strange story of his horse was attached<sup>2</sup>. But this system, from its very nature, implies a centralization of government. It was calculated by its operation to render the monarch far more independent of his powerful vassals<sup>1</sup>, and likewise to procure him personal popularity in the outlying countries, the imposts on which were fixed by it at a definite sum, instead of being left dependent on the will of the ruffianly chiefs who happened to be in command. It was only to be expected that this limitation of arbitrary power should be unpalatable to the semi-barbarous Persian chivalry, and that they should express their contempt for the financial turn of their sovereign by nicknaming him "a tradesman<sup>3</sup>." Now when Herodotus puts the erection of the monument and the introduction of the cadastral scheme together, this is (I apprehend) due to the circumstance of the two relating to the salient points of Darius's life. His accession to the throne of Media not merely made him the feudal superior of the king of Persia, but united in one family the hereditary sovereignty of both countries, and thus furnished him with a power that his predecessors had not possessed,—that of converting a bundle of states into an organic whole. Except under such circumstances, it is likely that the centralization effected by him would have been impossible; and we see that those Persians who were not Achæmenida, as well as the Magian usurpers, are represented by Herodotus as pursuing the opposite policy, and one calculated to encourage the independence of the separate states<sup>4</sup>. But even with such advantages of position it is inconceivable that such a revolution as that effected in the creation of the Persian empire (as we find it at the end of Darius's reign) can have been brought about by him rapidly. It is more reasonable to consider it as the ultimate state into which things subsided at the end of a long series of wars and civil troubles. And this is exactly what the Behistun Inscription would lead us to believe. The annals, which take up the greater portion of the first and the whole of the

<sup>2</sup> iii. 89.

<sup>1</sup> See the note 50 on iii. 127.

<sup>3</sup> κἀπηλος, HEROD. iii. 89.

<sup>4</sup> The Magians were greatly regretted by all the Asiatic states when they were killed, with the solitary exception of the Persians (iii. 67). Oroctes abstained from aiding the movement against them, when he had the whole force of Asia at his command (iii. 127. See note 350 thereon). And Aryandes asserted the power of a sovereign by issuing a coinage (iv. 166).

remaining three tablets which completed the original monument, are nothing more or less than the details of those campaigns which issued in the acquisition of absolute dominion over the twenty-three provinces, these provinces themselves being enumerated immediately after the formal recitation of Darius's titles, that is, in the *very beginning* of the Inscription. The acquisition of the empire and its reduction under a system of central government is plainly regarded by the Persian monarch, in the same light as the French Code was by Napoleon: it is the great work in which he looks to go down to posterity, —the résumé of his achievements. Before it could have been effected the spirit of the individual races must have been quelled, their separate interests fused together, and the weight of individual nobles diminished to an extent which could scarcely have been produced by any other agency than that which the Inscription shows us to have been at work, viz. bloody wars of race and religion, terminating in the establishment of a central predominant power wielding the resources of the whole empire.

Such a course of events is quite natural, and in accordance with what has taken place in many other countries. The struggles which resulted in the supremacy of Darius have their parallel in the Thirty Years' War of modern Europe, and in our own Wars of the Roses. Henry the Seventh is the English Darius in many important elements of his character and fortunes, although wanting his personal accomplishments and generous temper.

Conformably to what might have been expected from a train of events such as has been sketched out, it appears that Darius changed the seat of government from Agbatana to Susa. This was as important a step as it would be to transfer the British court and legislature from London to Edinburgh; or as it would have been if the Bourbons on their restoration had made Bourdeaux the capital of France. Yet the fact only appears *indirectly* from the narrative of Herodotus<sup>4</sup>, who is perfectly unconscious of the momentous revolution of interests necessarily involved in such a policy, and never explicitly notices it at all.

Again, the extreme anxiety about the personal identity of Bartius, and the very mysterious circumstances attending his death, receive

<sup>4</sup> See i. 153 and iii. 64, compared with vi. 119; vii. 3; iii. 129; ix. 108.



an entirely new illustration of the relationship of Darius to Cyrus was what we have suggested. It is perfectly certain that very many persons believed Gomates to be the genuine son of Cyrus, and perhaps with justice. Darius believed himself to be the *only* person cognizant of the death of the real Smerdis<sup>5</sup>. Prexaspes must have believed the same<sup>6</sup>. Otanes, in his turn, fancied the pretender's secret known only to him<sup>7</sup>. One thing is clear, that it was absolutely necessary for the Persian party to destroy Gomates, and that they had the same motive for denying his claim to be the son of Cyrus that the Orange party in the reign of James II. had for trumping up the story of the warming-pan. The claim of legitimate succession has always been too powerful an engine not to be coveted by aspirants to power, and secured, if necessary, by the commission of crime; and the removal of the only obstacle to Darius's accession (whether Gomates or Bartius) was at last achieved by a *small band* of conspirators<sup>8</sup>, who justified their act to the world by the equivocal evidence of producing the head of their victim and that of his brother<sup>9</sup> in public.

But by whatever means Darius may have acquired his power, it is plain from various incidents mentioned in the narrative of Herodotus, that he used it in a prudent and temperate manner. If he spared nothing to establish the supremacy of the religious party of which, according to the Behistun Inscription, he was the champion, yet, that result having been obtained, he appears to have been at least tolerant of the conquered party. The fierce fanaticism which had served him excellently as a weapon of offence must have become very inconvenient when he had no longer rivals to overthrow; and it was only to be expected that he should revert to the policy of Cyrus and carefully avoid that of Cambyases. And hence, probably, arose that revival of Median customs and religious rites in the court of the new dynasty, which is indicated in the consultation of Magian

<sup>5</sup> HEROD. iii. 71.

<sup>6</sup> ID. iii. 74.

<sup>7</sup> ID. iii. 68.

<sup>8</sup> This is the statement of the Behistun tablets as well as of Herodotus.

<sup>9</sup> I am much inclined to suspect that the *two* Magians of Herodotus's story (iii. 78, 79) grew out of the *two* pretenders, Gomates and Veisdates, of the Behistun annals. Each of these professed to be Bartius the son of Cyrus; but there seems to have been a considerable interval between their attempts,—the one being the first, the other the seventh of the nine figures which in the original bas-relief appear as conquered by Darius. See note 415 on iii. 152, for a parallel case.

soothsayers by his son Xerxes<sup>1</sup>, the Magian hero worship at Ilium<sup>2</sup>, the scrupulous reverence for Delos exhibited by the Median commander Datis<sup>3</sup>, and (as it would seem) the recognition in later times of the necessity of a Magian priest even where the ceremonial belonged to a simple religious system<sup>4</sup>. Indeed the remarkable tendency of the Persians to adopt foreign customs, which Herodotus himself remarks as an especial characteristic, would probably have baffled the attempt of Darius, had he even been desirous of making one, to retain them, after inheriting the wealth and civilization of their late masters, in the simplicity of their ancient manners and ancient faith. The more sagacious chiefs of the old school doubtless, like Artembares<sup>5</sup>, prophesied the degeneracy of a generation brought up in habits which would have excited the horror of Cyrus, but their protest was in vain; and in the time of Herodotus it can scarcely be doubted that the court of the Great King presented in morals, religion, and social indulgence of all kinds, a picture in no respect different from that which might have been seen in the worst days of the Median or Assyrian dynasties.

<sup>1</sup> vii. 19. 37, compared with iii. 35, and note 103, thereon.

<sup>2</sup> vi. 97.

<sup>4</sup> i. 132.

<sup>3</sup> vii. 43.

<sup>5</sup> ix. 122.

# ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

## ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ.

### ΜΕΛΠΟΜΕΝΗ.

**1** *META* δὲ τὴν Βαβυλῶνος αἴρεσιν ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Σκύθας αὐ τοῦ Δαρείου<sup>1</sup> ἔλασις<sup>2</sup>. ἀνθεύσης γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀνδράσι καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων συνιόντων, ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Δαρεῖος τίσασθαι Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐκείνοι πρότεροι ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν καὶ νικῆσαντες μάχῃ τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ὑπήρξαν ἀδικεῖς<sup>3</sup>. τῆς γὰρ ἄνω Ἀσίης

After the capture of Babylon, Darius undertakes an expedition against Scythia to

<sup>1</sup> αὐ τοῦ Δαρείου. Schweighäuser reads αὐτοῦ Δαρείου, as if Darius had not taken Babylon in person. And perhaps this was the notion of the authority followed by Herodotus in the Scythian history. See the note 415 on iii. 152.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦ Δαρείου ἔλασις. The narrative is continued below, § 82. In the Behistun inscription there are four original columns in which the conquests of Darius are recorded, the fourth being a recapitulation of them. From this it appears that Babylon was twice taken by his troops, the second time commanded by Intaphres, a Median; and this is the last of his feats in the original inscription. But there is a *supplementary column*, unfortunately illegible, which appears to relate to an expedition against the Sacæ,—the name by which, according to Herodotus, the Persians called *all* the Scythians (vii. 64). No doubt he was represented as succeeding here as well as in the other campaigns; for in a field cut in the rock above all the inscriptions, in which the figure of Darius is seen trampling upon Gomates the Magian, there comes a string of

eight kings pinioned, and behind these a figure in a pointed cap, with the inscription, "This is Sarúhka the Sacan." Although the inscription of the supplementary column is unreadable, it is yet plain, 1. That if it described the Scythian expedition, the Persian arms were represented as victorious. 2. That the expedition must have taken place at a later period in Darius's reign than is supposed by Herodotus; for the supplementary column is of a later date; and the latter part of the fourth of the original inscription is taken up with an address to the king's successors to follow up his policy, by which he had preserved the favour of Ormuzd and consolidated the empire.

<sup>3</sup> ὑπήρξαν ἀδικεῖς. The anxiety shown by all nations, except those who, like the Caunians (i. 173), have a war-god for their tutelary deity, to justify themselves by pretexts even the flimsiest for beginning war on their neighbours is very remarkable. It would seem that naked injustice is an unbearable spectacle even to uncivilized races. See the pretence of the Ægi-netans for enslaving the Samian refugees

ἦρξαν, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, Σκύθαι ἔτεα δυνῶν δέοντα <sup>punish a former in-</sup> <sup>Asia.</sup> <sup>trihékonta·</sup> Κιμμερίους γὰρ ἐπιδιώκοντες<sup>4</sup> ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, καταπαύσαντες τῆς ἀρχῆς Μήδους· οὗτοι γὰρ πρὶν ἢ Σκύθας ἀπικέσθαι ἦρχον τῆς Ἀσίης.

Τοὺς δὲ Σκύθας ἀποδημήσαντας ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα, καὶ<sup>5</sup> διὰ χρόνον τοσοῦτον κατιόντας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην, ἐξεδέξατο οὐκ ἐλάσσω πόνος τοῦ Μηδικοῦ· εὗρον γὰρ ἀντιουμένην σφί στρατιὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην· αἱ γὰρ τῶν Σκυθῶν γυναῖκες, ὡς σφί οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπῆσαν χρόνον πολλόν, ἐφοίτεον παρὰ τοὺς δούλους. Τοὺς δὲ δούλους οἱ <sup>2</sup> Σκύθαι πάντας τυφλοῦσι<sup>6</sup>, τοῦ γάλακτος εἵνεκεν τοῦ πίνουσι, <sup>The Scythians blind their slaves, living mainly on mare's milk.</sup> ποιεῦντες ὥδε· ἐπεὰν φυσητήρας λάβωσι ὅστείνους αὐλοῖσι προσεμφερεστάτους, τούτους ἐσθέντες ἐς τῶν θηλέων ἵππων τὰ ἄρθρα φυσῶσι τοῖσι στόμασι· ἄλλοι δὲ, ἄλλων φυσεύντων, ἀμέλγουσι· (φασὶ δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, τοῦ τὰς φλέβας<sup>7</sup> τε πίμπλασθαι φυσεωμένας τῆς ἵππου καὶ τὸ οὖθαρ κατῆσθαι) ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀμέλξωσι τὸ γάλα, ἐσχέαντες ἐς ξύλινα ἀγγήια κοῖλα καὶ περιστίζαντες κατὰ τὰ ἀγγήια τοὺς τυφλοὺς, δονέουσι τὸ γάλα<sup>8</sup>· καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάμενον ἀπαρύσαντες ἡγεῦνται εἶναι τιμώτερον τὸ δ' ὑπιστάμενον ἡσσον τοῦ ἑτέρου. τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα<sup>9</sup> ἅπαντα τὸν ἀν λάβωσι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐκτυφλοῦσι· οὐ γὰρ ἀρόται εἰσὶ, ἀλλὰ νομάδες. Ἐκ τούτων δὴ ὦν σφί τῶν δούλων καὶ τῶν <sup>3</sup> <sup>A mixed race from</sup> γυναικῶν ἐπετράφη νεότης· οἱ ἐπεὶ τε ἔμαθον τὴν σφετέρην γένεσιν,

(iii. 59), and that of the Corinthians for invading Samos (iii. 48, 49). See also the notes on v. 96, and on vi. 140.

<sup>4</sup> Κιμμερίους γὰρ ἐπιδιώκοντες. See note on § 11.

<sup>5</sup> καί. This word is omitted from the manuscript F.

<sup>6</sup> τοὺς δὲ δούλους οἱ Σκύθαι πάντας τυφλοῦσι. In the place of these words the manuscript S has οὓς Σκύθαι τυφλοῦσι πάντας.

<sup>7</sup> τοῦ τὰς φλέβας. The manuscript S has this reading. The others, which Gaisford follows, omit τοῦ.

<sup>8</sup> δονέουσι τὸ γάλα. Herodotus describes this as if the stirring the milk were a step in the process of getting cream from it. But in fact it is a part of the operation of making *koumiss*. The Calmucks found among the Cossacks of the Don are described by CLARKE as mixing one-sixth of warm water with five-

sixths of mare's milk, which mixture is kept in continual agitation till fermentation ensues. This result is hastened by adding a little old koumiss by way of leaven. They also go through an additional step, by distilling this liquor over fires of dung, and getting from it a kind of bad brandy (*Travels in Russia*, vol. i. pp. 313, seqq.); but this seems to belong to modern civilization.

<sup>9</sup> τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα. The meaning of the writer is, not that the blindness of the slaves rendered them more serviceable for the duty imposed upon them, but that they were blinded because they could perform this service—the only one put upon them—equally well. Of course their blindness prevented the possibility of their ever absconding, which would otherwise be rendered very easy by the nomad life their masters led.

these slaves opposed their masters on the return from the invasion of Asia,

and after obstinate resistance, took to flight on the masters substituting whips for their weapons.

ἡντιοῦντο αὐτοῖσι κατιούσι ἐκ τῶν Μήδων καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν χώραν ἀπετάμοντο, τάφρον ὀρυζάμενοι εὐρέαν<sup>10</sup>, κατατείνουσιν ἐκ τῶν Ταυρικῶν οὐρέων ἐς τὴν Μαιώτιν λίμνην, ἥπερ ἐστὶ μεγίστη μετὰ δὲ, πειρεωμένοισι ἐσβάλλειν τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐμάχοντο· γινωμένης δὲ μάχης πολλάκις, καὶ οὐ δυναμένων οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχειν τῶν Σκυθῶν τῇ μάχῃ, εἰς αὐτῶν ἔλεξε τάδε “οἷα ποιεῦμεν, ἄνδρες Σκύθαι; δούλοισι τοῖσι ἡμετέροισι μαχόμενοι, αὐτοὶ τε ἐλάσσονες κτεινόμενοι γινόμεθα καὶ ἐκείνους κτείνοντες ἐλασσόνων τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρξομεν νῦν ὧν μοι δοκεῖ αἰχμὰς μὲν καὶ τόξα μετεῖναι, λαβόντα δὲ ἕκαστον τοῦ ἵππου τὴν μάστιγα ἰέναι ἄσπον αὐτῶν μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ὥρεον ἡμέας ὅπλα ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ ἐνόμιζον ὁμοιοὶ τε καὶ ἐξ ὁμοίων ἡμῖν εἶναι· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἴδωνται μάστιγας ἀντὶ ὅπλων ἔχοντας, μαθόντες ὥς εἰσι ἡμέτεροι δούλοι 4 καὶ συγγρόντες τοῦτο, οὐκ ὑπομένουσι.” Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐπολεὺν ἐπιτελέα· οἱ δ' ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ γινωμένῳ, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπελάθοντο καὶ ἔφευγον<sup>11</sup>. οὕτω οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς τε

<sup>10</sup> τάφρον ὀρυζάμενοι εὐρέαν. RYBAUQUIS (in 1253) found a ditch extending across the isthmus of the Crimea, and a custom house for levying duties,—chiefly on salt. The distance is very little more than two geographical miles, and the position would appear by the account of BARON TOTT (*quoted by Rennell*, p. 98) to be a very strong one. He says that if properly palisaded and armed, it would defend the Crimea from an army of 100,000 men. From this circumstance, and from that of ΣΤΡΑΒΟ (vii. c. 4, p. 92) giving the name of *Taphrii* to the inhabitants of the coast of the Καρκινίτης κόλπος (the modern *Ulu Deyniz*, or *Dead Sea*), which runs up to the isthmus from the west, Rennell and others have assumed that the trench mentioned here by Herodotus must be at *Pericop*. But from § 20 it seems pretty certain to have been in the neighbourhood of *Taganrock*. That there was the appearance of a dyke at *Pericop* in very early times is quite to be expected from the nature of the locality. The Crimea, which rises abruptly on the south to the height of 1200 feet above the sea, sinks gradually to the north, and at last with so easy a slope as to lose itself insensibly in the great plain of the adjacent country N. of the isthmus,—which is very little above the level of the Buxine.

But the isthmus across which the lines of *Pericop* are drawn, although itself a plain, overtops the plain without by about 40 feet. This however it joins with so gentle a slope as to appear artificially joined. (TOTT, *op. Rennell*, p. 67—70.) From this description it is obvious that the alluvial deposits of the Borysthenes and the accumulations of sea sand must have gradually converted the Crimea from an island into a peninsula, but have been confined to the lower level during the process. In the mean time the difference of level mentioned by Tott will have produced to the eye the effect of an escarpment, and given the channel, as it gradually narrowed, the appearance of a dyke.

<sup>11</sup> καὶ ἔφευγον. An exactly similar story to this in the text is related in the *Chronicles of Novgorod*; and, as in Herodotus's tale, the tradition attaches to a certain locality. The slaves of Novgorod, who had cohabited with the wives of the citizens during their seven years' absence in the siege of a Greek town, fly, when their old masters begin to brandish their whips, to a place which continued to bear the name of *Chlappigrod* (Slaves' Castle). See the note on vii. 129: Ποσειδέωνα ποιῆσαι τὸν αἰλῶνα.

Ἀσίης ἦρξαν, καὶ ἐξελασθέντες αὐτὶς ὑπὸ Μήδων, κατήλθον  
τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ ἐς τὴν σφετέρην. τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα ὁ Δαρείος τίσασθαι  
βουλόμενος, συνήγειρε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στράτευμα.

Ὡς δὲ Σκύθαι λέγουσι, νεώτατον ἀπάντων ἐθνέων εἶναι τὸ 5  
σφέτερον· τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι ὧδε· ἄνδρα γενέσθαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ  
ταύτῃ, εὐύση ἐρήμῳ, τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Ταργίταον<sup>12</sup>. τοῦ δὲ Ταργι-  
τάου τούτου τοὺς τοκέας<sup>13</sup> λέγουσι εἶναι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ  
λέγοντες, λέγουσι δ' ὧν<sup>14</sup> Δία τε καὶ Βορυσθένης τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
θυγατέρα· γένεος μὲν τοιούτου δὴ τινος γενέσθαι τὸν Ταργίταον,  
τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι παῖδας τρεῖς, Λειπόξαιν, καὶ Ἀρπόξαιν, καὶ νεώ-  
τατον Κολάξαιν ἐπὶ τούτων ἀρχόντων<sup>15</sup>, ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φερόμενα  
χρῦσα ποιήματα, ἄροτρον τε καὶ ζυγὸν καὶ σάγαριν καὶ φιάλην,  
πεσέειν ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν καὶ τῶν ἰδόντα πρῶτον τὸν πρεσβύτατον,  
ἄσσον ἵναμι βουλόμενον αὐτὰ λαβεῖν<sup>16</sup>. τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν ἐπιόντος καί-  
εσθαι ἀπαλλαχθέντος δὲ τούτου προσίεμαι τὸν δεύτερον, καὶ τὸν  
αὐτὶς ταῦτα ποιεῖν τοὺς μὲν δὴ καίόμενον τὸν χρυσὸν ἀπώσα-  
σθαι<sup>17</sup>, τρίτῳ δὲ τῷ νεωτάτῳ ἐπελθόντι κατασβῆναι· καὶ μιν ἐκείνον  
κομίσαι ἐς ἑωυτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀδελφεοὺς πρὸς ταῦτα  
συγγινόντας, τὴν βασιληὴν πᾶσαν παραδούναι τῷ νεωτάτῳ. Ἀπὸ 6  
μὲν δὴ Λειποξάϊος γεγονέναι τούτους τῶν Σκυθέων, οἱ Αὐχάται<sup>18</sup>  
γένος καλέονται· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μέσου Ἀρποξάϊος, οἱ Κατίαιοι τε καὶ  
Τράσπιοι<sup>19</sup> καλέονται· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νεωτάτου αὐτῶν τοὺς βασιλῆας,  
Paralatae,

<sup>12</sup> τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Ταργίταον. In this name some have supposed the root of the word 'Turk' to exist. What the derivation of that name is remains an uncertain point; but it is one by which all the Tartars of the north of the Black Sea and Caspian (a region including the whole of Herodotus's Scythia) prefer to be designated (ADELUNG, *Mithridates*, i. p. 453), although the Nogay and Crim Tartars, who coincide more closely with Herodotus's Scythians, call themselves 'Mankat.' (Id. *ib.* p. 471.)

<sup>13</sup> τοκέας. The manuscripts M, F, a, b, c have γόντας.

<sup>14</sup> λέγουσι δ' ὧν. See note 220 on iii. 80.

<sup>15</sup> ἀρχόντων. This word is omitted by S and V.

<sup>16</sup> ἄσσον ἵναμι βουλόμενον αὐτὰ λαβεῖν. The manuscripts S and V have ἄσσον ἵναμι αὐτῶν βουλόμενον λαβεῖν.

<sup>17</sup> ἀπώσασθαι. The two manuscripts S and V have for this word the reading ἀπαλάσσεσθαι, which Schweighäuser and Gaisford consider to have arisen from a gloss. To me it appears to be a genuine variant, although not preferable to the reading of the other MSS.

<sup>18</sup> Αὐχάται. These tribes are placed by PLINY (*N. H.* iv. 12) as inland of *Tephra*, which is on the Sinus Carcinites in the immediate vicinity of the isthmus. See above, note 10. He defines the site by saying that the *Hypæris* rises in the midst of their territory,—which river he connects with the *Bug* by an artificial channel. None of the four names Auchtæ, Catiari, Traspies, and Paralatae occur in the account of Scythia which follows.

<sup>19</sup> Τράσπιοι. The MSS vary between this form, Τράπιοι, and Τράπιοι. The last is the reading of S and V.

Scythian traditions of the origin of their race; which is derived from the youngest son of Targitæus, who was a son of Zeus and a daughter of the Borysthenes.

They call themselves Auchtæ, Catiari, Traspies, Paralatae,

and gene-

7  
rically *Skoti*. The  
Greeks call  
them *Scythians*.  
They had  
existed 1000  
years at the  
time of Da-  
rius's inva-  
sion.

Their sacred  
fetishes of  
gold.

In the coun-  
try to the  
north they  
say the air  
is full of  
feathers.

8  
Traditions  
of the Pon-  
tine Greeks  
make *Hera-  
cles* the an-  
cestor of the  
Scythians,

οἱ καλέονται Παραλάται· σύμπασι δὲ εἶναι οὖνομα Σκολότους, τοῦ βασιλέως ἑπωνυμίην Σκύθας δὲ Ἕλληνες οὐνόμασαν<sup>20</sup>. Γεγονέναι μὲν νῦν σφεας ὧδε λέγουσι οἱ Σκύθαι· ἔτεα δὲ σφι, ἐπεὶ τε γεγόνασι, τὰ σύμπαντα λέγουσι εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλῆος Ταργιταίου ἐς τὴν Δαρείου διάβασιν τὴν ἐπὶ σφέας χιλιῶν οὐ πλέω, ἀλλὰ τοσαῦτα. τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τοῦτον τὸν ἱρὸν φυλάσσουσι οἱ βασιλῆες ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι ἱλασκόμενοι μετέρχονται<sup>21</sup> ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ὃς δ' ἂν ἔχων τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἱρὸν ἐν τῇ ὁρτῇ ὑπαίθριος κατακοιμηθῇ, οὗτος λέγεται ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν οὐ διενιαντίζειν δίδοσθαι δὲ οἱ διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα ἂν ἵππῳ ἐν ἡμέρῃ μὴ περιελάσῃ αὐτός· τῆς δὲ χώρας εὐσύης μεγάλης, τριφασίας τὰς βασιλῆας τοῖσι παισὶ τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ καταστήσασθαι Κολάξαιν, καὶ τουτέων μίαν μεγίστην ποιῆσαι ἐν τῇ τὸν χρυσὸν φυλάσσεσθαι. Τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορρὴν λέγουσι ἄνεμον τῶν ὑπεροίκων τῆς χώρας, οὐκ οἶά τε εἶναι ἔτι προσωτέρω οὔτε ὀρᾶν οὔτε διεξιέναι, ὑπὸ πτερῶν κεχυμένων πτερῶν γὰρ καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν ἥρα εἶναι πλέον<sup>22</sup>, καὶ ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ ἀποκληῖοντα τὴν ὄψιν.

Σκύθαι μὲν ὧδε ὑπὲρ σφέων τε αὐτῶν, καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς κατύπερθε λέγουσι· Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες<sup>23</sup> ὧδε Ἑρακλέα ἐλαύνοντα τὰς Γηρύνεω βοῦς ἀπικέσθαι ἐς γῆν ταύτην εὐόσαν ἐρήμην, ἣν τινα νῦν Σκύθαι νέμονται· Γηρύνεα δὲ οἰκέειν ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου κατοικημένον<sup>24</sup> τὴν οἱ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι Ἐρύθειαν

<sup>20</sup> Σκύθας δὲ Ἕλληνες οὐνόμασαν. If this statement be true, one would expect that the word Σκύθης would be significant in Greek, and accordingly it has been supposed to be of the same etymology with the old Norse *skyta*, Swedish *skjuta*, and English *shoot*. It does not seem a valid objection to this view that in the northern languages *k* is generally softened before *e*, *i*, and *y*, whereas in Greek the *k* always remains hard. There can be no doubt that the English 'ship' and the Greek σκάφος are cognate,—the word 'skiff' filling the intermediate place between the two; and the cases seem exactly parallel.

<sup>21</sup> θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι ἱλασκόμενοι μετέρχονται. Herodotus uses the expression λιτῆσι μετέρχεσθαι below (vi. 69). The phrase ἱλασκόμενοι, as applied to the gold, will not surprise, if we consider that the objects were regarded as sacred fetishes. In the same way the Israelites burnt in-

cense before the brazen serpent, which Hezekiah on that account destroyed. (2 Kings xviii. 4.)

<sup>22</sup> πτερῶν γὰρ καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν ἥρα εἶναι πλέον. This is, as Herodotus conjectures below (§ 31), a misrepresentation of the falling flakes of snow, which in the old German mythology was represented as feathers tumbling from the bed of the goddess *Holda*, when she shook it in making it. *Holda* as a deity comes pretty near to the Latin *Diana*. See GRIMM, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 165.

<sup>23</sup> οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκόντες. This expression seems to prove, not indeed that Herodotus's information of the Scythians was derived directly from themselves, but that it was something different from the legends current in the Pontine towns.

<sup>24</sup> κατοικημένον. This is the reading of all the MSS except two, *b* and *d*, which have κατοικημένον. Schweighäuser, con-

νῆσον, τὴν πρὸς Γηδείροις τοῖσι ἔξω Ἑρακλήων στηλέων ἐπὶ τῷ  
 Ὠκεανῷ (τὸν δὲ Ὠκεανὸν λόγῳ μὲν λέγουσι ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων  
 ἀρξάμενον γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ῥέειν, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεκνύσι) ἐνθεύ-  
 τευ τὸν Ἑρακλέα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν νῦν Σκυθίην χώραν καλο-  
 μένην καταλαβεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν χειμῶνά τε καὶ κρυμὸν ἐπειρυσά-  
 μενον δὲ τὴν λεοντήν, κατυπνῶσαι· τὰς δὲ οἱ ἵππους τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 ἄρματος νεμομένας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἀφανισθῆναι θείῃ τύχῃ  
 Ὡς δ' ἐγερθῆναι τὸν Ἑρακλέα, διῆσθαι, πάντα δὲ τὰ τῆς χώρας 9  
 ἐπεξελθόντα, τέλος ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλαινὴν καλομένην γῆν, <sup>through inter-  
 course</sup>  
 ἐνθαῦτα δὲ αὐτὸν εὔρεῖν ἐν ἄντρῳ μίξοπαρθενίῳ τινα ἔχιδναν <sup>with Echid-  
 na in the re-  
 gion called</sup>  
 διφυέα· τῆς τὰ μὲν ἄνω ἀπὸ τῶν γλουτέων εἶναι γυναικὸς, τὰ δὲ <sup>The Bush.</sup>  
 ἔνερθεν ὄφιος· ἰδόντα δὲ καὶ θαυμάσαντα, ἐπείρεσθαι μιν εἰ κον  
 ἴδοι ἵππους πλανωμένας; τὴν δὲ φάναι ἐωντὴν ἔχειν, καὶ οὐκ  
 ἀποδώσειν ἐκεῖνῳ πρὶν ἢ οἱ μυχθῆναι· τὸν δὲ Ἑρακλέα μυχθῆναι  
 ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τούτῳ· κείνην τε δὴ ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν  
 τῶν ἵππων βουλομένην ὥς πλεῖστον χρόνον συνεῖναι τῷ Ἑρακλεῖ,  
 καὶ τὸν κομισάμενον ἐθέλειν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι<sup>20</sup>. τέλος δὲ ἀποδι-  
 δοῦσαν αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν “ἵππους μὲν δὴ ταύτας ἀπικομένας ἐνθάδε  
 ἔσωσά τοι ἐγὼ· σώστρα δὲ σὺ παρέσχες, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκ σεῦ τρεῖς  
 παῖδας ἔχω· τούτους, ἐπεὰν γένωνται τρόφιες, ὃ τι χρὴ ποίειν  
 ἐξηγέο σύ· εἴτε αὐτοῦ κατοικίξω, χώρας γὰρ τήσδε ἔχω τὸ κράτος  
 αὐτῇ, εἴτε ἀποπέμπω παρὰ σέ;” τὴν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπειρωτᾶν τὸν  
 δὲ λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν “ἐπεὰν ἀνδρωθέντας ἰδῇαι τοὺς  
 παῖδας, τάδε ποιεύσα οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτάνοις· τὸν μὲν ἂν ὄρῃς αὐτῶν  
 τόδε τὸ τόξον ὧδε διατεινόμενον, καὶ τῷ ζωστήρι τῷδε κατὰ τάδε

sidering that there is a clumsiness in the combination *οἰκεῖν κατοικημένον* would read *κατοικημένην*, which is often used by Herodotus as the equivalent of *κειμένην*. (See i. 142. 193; iv. 196.) But although the sentence would run better by adopting this suggestion, this reason is a very insufficient one for resorting to conjecture.

<sup>20</sup> *μίσχοπαρθενίῳ τινα ἔχιδναν*. The tradition (given as Scythian) by Diodorus (ii. 43) makes Zeus (not Heracles) the progenitor of Scythes by Echidna. Probably the insignia of the Scythian Zeus were such as to suggest Heracles to the imagination of the Pontine Greeks. These would be the bow, the belt, and the drinking-cup (see below, § 10), i.e. the idol

would be attired in the garb of a native warrior. Just so the deity worshipped on the banks of the Libyan lake Tritonis wore the costume of the women of the country. See note 487, below.

<sup>20</sup> *καὶ τὸν κομισάμενον ἐθέλειν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι*. These words answer to the clause *κείνην ὑπερβαλέσθαι*, κ.τ.λ., and are to be taken after the word *λέγουσι*, with which the whole narrative is introduced. “They relate that while she kept putting off the restoration of the steeds in the wish to enjoy Heracles’s society as long as possible, he wanted to get them and be gone.” Τὸν is the equivalent of *ἐκεῖνον*, as continually in Herodotus.



10

She bears three sons; Agathyrsus, Gelonus, and Scythas, of whom only the youngest was able to string his father's bow.

He is the ancestor of the Scythian chiefs.

11

Another story, to which the author inclines, brings the Scythians

ζωννύμενον, τούτον μὲν τήσδε τῆς χώρας οἰκίτορα ποιεῖν ὃς δ' ἂν τούτων τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐντέλλομαι λήπεται, ἔκπεμπε ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ ταῦτα ποιέουσα, αὐτὴ τε εὐφρανεῖται καὶ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ποιήσεις." Τὸν μὲν δὴ εἰρύσαντα τῶν τόξων τὸ ἕτερον, (δύο γὰρ δι' ἑκατέρωθεν φορέειν τέως Ἑρακλέα,) καὶ τὸν ζωστήρα προδέξαντα, παραδοῦναι τὸ τόξον τε καὶ τὸν ζωστήρα ἔχοντα ἐπ' ἄκρης τῆς συμβολῆς φιάλην χρυσήν, διδόντα δὲ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι τὴν δ', ἐπεὶ οἱ γενομένους τοὺς παῖδας ἀνδρωθῆναι, τοῦτο μὲν σφί οὐνόματα θέσθαι, τῷ μὲν Ἀγάθυρσον αὐτῶν, τῷ δ' ἐπομένῳ Γελωνὸν, Σκύθην δὲ τῷ νεωτάτῳ· τοῦτο δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς<sup>27</sup> μεμνημένην αὐτὴν ποιῆσαι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα· καὶ δὴ δύο μὲν οἱ τῶν παιδῶν, τὸν τε Ἀγάθυρσον καὶ τὸν Γελωνὸν, οὐκ οἷους τε γενομένους ἐξικέσθαι πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον ἀεθλον, οἷχεσθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐκβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς γενομένης, τὸν δὲ νεώτατον αὐτῶν Σκύθην, ἐπιτελέσαντα, καταμείναι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ· καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σκύθεω τοῦ Ἑρακλέος γενέσθαι τοὺς αἰεὶ βασιλέας γινομένους Σκυθέων ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς φιάλης ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε φιάλας ἐκ τῶν ζωστήρων φορέειν Σκύθας, τὸ δὴ μῦθον μηχανήσασθαι τὴν μητέρα Σκύθη. ταῦτα δὲ Ἑλλήνων οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες λέγουσι.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος ἔχων ὧδε, τῷ μάλιστα λεγομένῳ αὐτὸς πρόσκειμαι· Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας, οἰκέοντας ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, πολέμῳ πιεσθέντας ὑπὸ Μασσαγετῶν οἷχεσθαι διαβάντας ποταμὸν Ἀράξην<sup>28</sup> ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν Κιμμερίην· τὴν γὰρ νῦν νέμονται Σκύθαι, αὕτη λέγεται τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι Κιμμερίων<sup>29</sup>. τοὺς δὲ Κιμμερίους,

<sup>27</sup> ἐπιστολῆς. This word is used in the sense of a 'suggestion' or 'instruction,' quite independently of any notion of a 'missive,' in this passage, and also in vi. 50, ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς τῆς Δημαρχίου.

<sup>28</sup> ποταμὸν Ἀράξην. It seems quite unquestionable from this passage that whatever the river may be which is spoken of here, it certainly is not the Araxes of STRABO,—i.e. the river which, with the Cyrus (Κυρὸς or Κούρα), drains the n.w. portion of Armenia, and falls with a n.e. or e. direction into the Caspian Sea. For an attempt to analyse the notions entertained by Herodotus with regard to the river or rivers to which he gives the name of Araxes, see note 677 on i. 201.

<sup>29</sup> τὴν γὰρ νῦν νέμονται Σκύθαι, αὕτη λέγεται τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι Κιμμερίων. The Cimmerians, in the apprehension of those persons from whom Herodotus obtained his information, appear to have been regarded as a distinct race formerly over-spreading the plains to the north of the Black Sea as far as to the bank of the Danube on the west, and that of the Wolga on the east (see note 677 on i. 201) who had been expelled by the Scythians, the then existing inhabitants of the region. But the only remaining memorials of the race seem to have been the names Κιμμέρια τείχεα, Πορθμήτια Κιμμέρια, &c. (below, § 12) in Europe, and insulated traditions current in different localities,—for instance, at Sardis (i. 15), and at Sinope

ἐπιόντων Σκυθῶν, βουλευέσθαι ὡς στρατοῦ ἐπιόντος μεγάλου over a river  
καὶ δὴ τὰς γνώμας σφέων κεχωρισμένας, ἐντόνους μὲν ἀμφοτέρας, from Asia  
ἀμείνω δὲ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων τὴν μὲν γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου φέρειν into the  
γνώμην ὡς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι πρῆγμα εἴη, μηδὲ πρὸς πολλοὺς δεό- land of the  
μενον κινδυνεύειν<sup>30</sup>. τὴν δὲ τῶν βασιλέων, διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς Cimme-  
χώρης τοῖσι ἐπιούσιν· οὐκ ἔθελον πείθεσθαι οὔτε τοῖσι βασι-  
λεῦσι τὸν δῆμον, οὔτε τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς βασιλέας· τοὺς μὲν δὲ ἀπαλ-  
λάσσεσθαι βουλευέσθαι ἀμαχητὶ, τὴν χώραν παραδόντας τοῖσι  
ἐπιούσιν· τοῖσι δὲ βασιλεῦσι δόξαι ἐν τῇ ἐωντῶν κέεσθαι ἀποθανόν-  
τας, μηδὲ συμφεύγειν τῷ δήμῳ· λογισαμένους ὅσα τε ἀγαθὰ  
πεπύοντασι καὶ ὅσα φεύγοντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος κακὰ ἐπίδοξα κατα-  
λαμβάνειν<sup>31</sup>. ὡς δὲ δόξαι σφί ταῦτα, διαστάντας, καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἴσους  
γενομένους, μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποθανόντας

Tombs of  
the Cimme-

(iv. 12).—relative to one or more invasions of Asia by them. STRABO shows the very indefinite character of these traditions, and the doubt attaching even to the name of the invaders: οἱ τε Κιμμέριοι, οὗς καὶ Τρήωνας ὀνομάζουσι, ἢ ἐκείνων τι ἔθνος, πολλάκις ἐπέδραμον τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τὰ συνεχῆ αὐτοῖς, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ Παφλαγόνας, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ Φρύγας ἐμβαλόντες· ἥλικα Μίδα αἶμα τάβρου πίνοντα φασὶν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ χρεῖον. Λύδαμιν δὲ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἄγων μέχρι Λυδίας καὶ Ἰωνίας ἤλασε, καὶ Χάρδεις εἰλεν ἐν Κιλικίᾳ δὲ διεφθόρη. Πολλάκις δὲ καὶ οἱ Κιμμέριοι καὶ οἱ Τρήες ἐποσέσαντο τὰς τοιαύτας ἐφόδους· τοὺς δὲ Τρήας καὶ Κῶβον ὑπὸ Μάδβου τὸ τελευταῖον ἐξελαθῆναι φασὶ· τοῦ τῶν Κιμμερίων βασιλέως (i. c. 3, p. 97. See note 59 on i. 15). In the story to which Strabo refers a *Madys* is king of the Cimmerians, but in Herodotus, i. 103, *Madyes* (which is essentially the same name) is king, not of them, but of their Scythian enemies. The later geographers, identifying the Κίμβριοι of Roman history with the Κιμμέριοι, endeavoured to bring the race from the German Ocean to the Tauric Chersonese. (POSEIDONIUS, *ap. Strabon.* vii. c. 2, p. 69.) This is a course precisely parallel to that adopted by ERHOMUS with regard to the Pelasgians. (See note 179 on i. 56.) ADELUNG is very earnest in protesting against the identification of the races denoted by the two names. He conceives the Cimmerians to be a Thracian tribe, and to be represented by the *Tauri*

in the time of Herodotus (iv. 99). That they were Thracian he considers to follow from the prevalence of the same names *Cotys*, *Seleucus*, *Rhescuporis*, and *Rhemetalces* among both the Thracian and the Bosporane sovereigns. Names terminating in *-sades* (such as *Berisades* and *Medosades*) are likewise found among both. The Cimbri, on the other hand, he considers to be genuine Germans. (*Mithridates*, ii. p. 353.) The Κιμμέριοι of the *Odyssey* (xi. 14) are a purely mythical people; and the Alexandrines, ARISTARCHUS and CRATES, read *Κερβερίων* in that passage.

<sup>30</sup> μηδὲ πρὸς πολλοὺς δεόμενον κινδυνεύειν. This reading, which is adopted by Gaisford, rests upon A, B, S, V, and appears to me to be genuine. But it does not seem that *δεόμενον* is to be in any way connected with *πρῆγμα*. I should render the passage, "and that there was no need to fight against such numbers,"—an euphemistic expression for the sentiment that it would be absurd to do so. There is no ellipse of any other word in the phrase *πρῆγμα εἶναι*, any more than in *ἔργον εἶναι*, which is often used in just the same way, meaning to be 'the proper thing to be done.'

<sup>31</sup> καταλαμβάνειν. This is a conjecture of Valcknaer's. The MSS have *καταλαμβάνει*, which Gaisford retains. But the infinitive seems requisite. See i. 89: *τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι*. vi. 12: *πολλοὶ ἐπίδοξοι τανυτὸ τοῦτο πείσεσθαι εἰσι*.

rian chiefs  
on the banks  
of the *Tyras*,  
and other  
traces of the  
race.

Settlement  
of the flying  
Cimmerians  
in the region  
about  
*Sinope*, and  
Scythian  
invasion of  
*Media*.

πάντας ὑπ' ἑωυτῶν, θάψαι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Κιμμερίων παρὰ ποταμόν Τύρην—καὶ σφειν ἔτι δῆλός ἐστι ὁ τάφος—θάψαντας δέ, οὕτω τὴν ἔξοδον ἐκ τῆς χώρας ποιεέσθαι. Σκύθας δὲ ἐπελθόντας

- 12 λαβεῖν ἐρήμην τὴν χώραν. Καὶ νῦν ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ Κιμμέρια τείχεα· ἔστι δὲ Πορθμῖα Κιμμέρια· ἔστι δὲ καὶ χώρα οὖνομα Κιμμερίη<sup>33</sup>. ἔστι δὲ Βόσπορος Κιμμέριος καλεόμενος. φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Κιμμέριοι φεύγοντες ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ τὴν χερσόνησον κτίσαντες, ἐν τῇ νῦν Σινώπῃ πόλιν Ἑλλὰς οἰκισται<sup>34</sup>. φανεροὶ δὲ εἰσι καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι διώξαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐσβαλόντες ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀμαρτύντες τῆς ὁδοῦ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Κιμμέριοι αἰεὶ τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔφευγον· οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Καύκασον ἔχοντες ἐδίωκον· ἐς δ' ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν γῆν, ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς ὁδοῦ τραφθέντες. οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος ξυγὸς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων λεγόμενος λόγος<sup>34</sup> εἴρηται.

- 13 "Εφη δὲ Ἀριστέης ὁ Καῦστροβίου, ἀνὴρ Προκοννήσιος, ποιέων ἔπεα, ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ἴσσηδόνας φοιβόλαμπτος γενόμενος· Ἴσσηδό-

<sup>33</sup> χώρα οὖνομα Κιμμερίη. STRABO speaks of a κόμη Κιμμερικὴ as the point from which vessels which entered the Sea of Azof laid their course for the emporium which formerly existed at the mouth of the Tanais (xi. c. 2, p. 402). The nomads both of Europe and Asia used to bring slaves and hides to this market, and exchange them for wine and articles of dress brought thither by the Bosphorane Greeks, of whom this emporium was a settlement. (Id. *ib.* p. 401.) The existence of the names appears to be a main foundation for the history of the Cimmerians. See for a parallel case STRABO cited in note 286 on ii. 102.

<sup>34</sup> ἐν τῇ νῦν Σινώπῃ πόλιν Ἑλλὰς οἰκισται. Sinope was a colony from Miletus, and the most important of the settlements on this part of the coast of the Euxine. It was situated on the neck of a promontory, and had a port on each side. The original cause of the settlement probably was the great abundance of the smaller tunny-fish (called by the name *πηλαμύδια*), in which it even exceeded Byzantium. The rock-bound shore in the neighbourhood rendered it very dangerous of access, while the soil was remarkably fertile. (STRABO, xii. c. 3, p. 23.)

<sup>34</sup> ξυγὸς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων

λεγόμενος λόγος. That this account should be common both to Greeks and barbarians, and yet not (in all probability) a true one, may be easily explained. See the note 364 on i. 104. It was a fact that the Cimmerians were pressed by nomad hordes, the same which afterwards inhabited the Scythia of Herodotus's time. It was also a fact that similar hordes called by the same name, i.e. *Sacæ* (by which the Persians denominated all Scythians, vii. 64), invaded Media. The problem with the *λόγιοι* was to connect these two facts; and the story in the text served excellently (while the geography was obscure) for this purpose. But it will be observed that in this passage the site of Media is undoubtedly mistaken, and that ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς ὁδοῦ τραφθέντες is an exact description of what would be likely to happen to a pastoral horde on turning the spur of Caucasus which runs down to the w. coast of the Caspian Sea. They would spread up the valley of the Cyrus, far away from Media. But still in after times this country might, for commercial purposes, be regarded as Median by Greek merchants,—as has been shown in the note 363 on i. 104,—and thus justify the phrase ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν.

νων δὲ ὑπεροικέειν Ἀριμασποὺς, ἄνδρας μονοφθάλμους<sup>35</sup>, ὑπὲρ δὲ  
 τούτων τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας Γρύπας<sup>36</sup>, τούτων δὲ, τοὺς Ὑπερβο-  
 ρεύς, κατήκοντας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. τούτους ὦν πάντας πλὴν Ὑπερ-  
 βορέων, ἀρξάντων Ἀριμασπῶν, αἰεὶ τοῖσι πλησιοχώροισι ἐπι-  
 τίθεσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἀριμασπῶν ἐξωθέεσθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρας  
 Ἰσσηδόνας, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων Σκύθας, Κιμμερίους δὲ οἰκέοντας  
 ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσῃ<sup>37</sup> ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν πιεζομένους ἐκλείπειν τὴν  
 χώραν. οὕτω οὐδὲ οὗτος συμφέρεται περὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης Σκύ-  
 θησι. Καὶ ὅθεν μὲν ἦν Ἀριστεύς ὁ ταῦτα ποιήσας<sup>38</sup>, εἴρηται<sup>39</sup>. 14  
 τὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἤκουον λόγον ἐν Προκοννήσῃ καὶ Κυζίκῃ<sup>40</sup>,  
 λέξω. Ἀριστεύην γὰρ λέγουσι, ἔοντα τῶν ἀστῶν οὐδενὸς γένους ὑπο-  
 δεέστερον, ἐσελθόντα ἐς κναφήιον ἐν Προκοννήσῃ ἀποθανεῖν καὶ  
 τὸν κναφέα κατακληῖσαντα τὸ ἐργαστήριον, οἰχέσθαι ἀγγελέοντα  
 τοῖσι προσήκουσι τῷ νεκρῷ ἐσκεδασμένου δὲ ἤδη τοῦ λόγου ἀνὰ  
 τὴν πόλιν ὡς τεθνεὺς εἶη ὁ Ἀριστεύς, ἐς ἀμφισβασίας τοῖσι  
 λέγουσι ἀπικέσθαι ἄνδρα Κυζικηνὸν ἤκοντα ἐξ Ἀρτάκης πόλιος,  
 φάντα συντυχεῖν τέ οἱ ἰόντι ἐπὶ Κυζίκου καὶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικέσθαι  
 καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἐντεταμένως ἀμφισβητεῖν<sup>41</sup>. τοὺς δὲ προσήκοντας  
 τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπὶ τὸ κναφήιον παρῆναι ἔχοντας τὰ πρόσφορα, ὡς  
 ἀναμνησομένους ἀνοιχθέντος δὲ τοῦ οἰκήματος, οὔτε τεθνεῶτα οὔτε

in his poem  
 professed to  
 have been  
 rapt among  
 the *Issedones*, the  
 northern  
 neighbours  
 of the  
 Scythians,  
 beyond  
 whom are  
*Arimaspi*,  
*Griffins*, and  
*Hyperbo-*  
*reans*.  
 A story of  
 Aristeas  
 himself  
 current at  
*Proconneus*  
 and *Cyzicus*,  
 where the  
 author  
 heard it.

<sup>35</sup> Ἀριμασποὺς, ἄνδρας μονοφθάλμους. The name *Arimaspi* is derived by Herodotus from two Scythian words. See below, § 27.

<sup>36</sup> τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας Γρύπας. See above, iii. 116.

<sup>37</sup> ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσῃ. This is a phrase more suitable for a person who believed in the existence of a northern ocean than for Herodotus, who discredited the report of such a thing. (See iii. 116.) Possibly he is not only here following Aristeas, but adopting his very words.

<sup>38</sup> ποιήσας. This is the reading of Gaisford, on the authority of the manuscripts K, P, F, b. Others, including S, have *εἴπας*, a reading which ORIGEN appears to have found (c. *Cels.* iv. 3).

<sup>39</sup> εἴρηται. This is the reading adopted by Gaisford, though the MSS which he follows in the last line have *εἴρηκα*; and so has ORIGEN.

<sup>40</sup> ἐν Προκοννήσῃ καὶ Κυζίκῃ. There would be considerable traffic between these places on account of the marble

quarries in the former, which supplied material for the finest buildings in all the cities of this region, especially *Cyzicus*. (STRABO, xiii. c. 1, p. 92.) It is the modern *Marmora*, which gives its name to the sea in which it lies. It will be observed that each of these two places was held as a fief of Persia in the time of Darius, as dynasts from each of them were among the number left in charge of the bridge over the Ister (§ 138, below). There is no account of their being conquered, and probably all that took place was the transfer of their allegiance from a Lydian to a Persian suzerain. See note on vi. 37, ἐν γνώμῃ γεγονώς.

<sup>41</sup> ἀμφισβητεῖν. This is the reading of all the MSS (except S, which has *ἀμφισβητεῖν*), and it is retained by Gaisford. ORIGEN, however, has the form *ἀμφισβητεῖν*, which, as Kenrick has remarked, is formed after the analogy of *παρὰβατεῖν*, and appears to be the genuine form in other places. (See note on ix. 74.) In the next line he has *νεκρῷ* for *νεκρῷ*.

ζῶντα φαίνεσθαι Ἀριστέην μετὰ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει φανέντα αὐτὸν ἐς Προκόννησον ποιῆσαι τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα τὰ νῦν ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων Ἀριμάσπεα καλέεται<sup>42</sup>. ποιήσαντα δὲ ἀφανισθῆναι τὸ δεύτερον.

15 ταῦτα μὲν αἱ πόλεις αὗται λέγουσι. Τάδε δὲ οἶδα Μεταποντί-

Metapontine story of Aristaeas appearing there (an event which must have happened 340 years after his second disappearance from Proconnesus),

νοιοῖσι<sup>43</sup> τοῖσι ἐν Ἰταλίῃ συγκυρήσαντα μετὰ τὴν ἀφάνισιν τὴν δευτέρην Ἀριστέω ἔτεσι τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίοισι, ὥς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος ἐν Προκοννήσῳ τε καὶ Μεταποντίῳ εὗρισκον Μεταποντῖνοί φασι αὐτὸν Ἀριστέην, φανέντα σφι ἐς τὴν χώραν κελεύσαι βωμὸν Ἀπόλλωνι ιδρύσασθαι, καὶ Ἀριστέω τοῦ Προκοννησίου ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντα ἀνδριάντα παρ' αὐτὸν ἰστάναι· φάται γάρ, σφι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἰταλιωτέων μόνουσι δὴ ἰπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν χώραν, καὶ αὐτός οἱ ἔπεσθαι ὁ νῦν ἐὼν Ἀριστέης· τότε δὲ, ὅτε εἶπετο τῷ θεῷ, εἶναι κόραξ<sup>44</sup>. καὶ τὸν εἰπαντα ταῦτα ἀφανισθῆναι, σφέας δὲ (Μεταποντῖνοι λέγουσι) ἐς Δελφοὺς πέμψαντας τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρωτᾶν ὅ τι τὸ φάσμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἴη; τὴν δὲ Πυθίην σφέας κελεύειν πείθεσθαι τῷ φάσματι, πειθομένοισι δὲ ἄμεινον συνόλσεσθαι· καὶ σφῆας δεξαμένους ταῦτα ποιῆσαι ἐπιτελέα. καὶ νῦν ἔστηκε ἀνδριάς ἐπωνυμίην ἔχων Ἀριστέω παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· περίξ δὲ αὐτὸν δάφναι ἐστᾶσι<sup>45</sup>. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ ἱδρυται. Ἀριστέω μὲν νῦν περὶ τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

connected with a statue of Aristaeas by the side of Apollo in the agora at Metapontum.

16 Τῆς δὲ γῆς, τῆς περὶ ὅδε ὁ λόγος ὥρμηται λέγεσθαι<sup>46</sup>, οὐδεὶς

No one knows what

οἶδε ἀτρεκές<sup>47</sup> ὅ τι τὸ κατύπερθε ἐστὶ· οὐδενὸς γὰρ δὴ αὐτόπτω

<sup>42</sup> τὰ νῦν . . . καλέεται. ORIGEN has & δὴ νῦν . . . Ἀριμάσπεα καλέεται.

<sup>43</sup> τάδε δὲ οἶδα Μεταποντῖνοιοι. See note 271 on § 99, below.

<sup>44</sup> εἶναι κόραξ. The crow or raven was originally a symbol of the prophetic deity. Afterwards it became an attendant of him, the poetical mythologers furnishing a reason for the satisfaction of the imagination of the worshipper. Aristaeas and the crow are to Apollo just what Callisto and the bear were to Artemis. See notes 164 and 366 on i. 52 and 106.

<sup>45</sup> ἐστᾶσι. So Gaisford and the MSS. ORIGEN has ἐστί. The reading of the MSS is the more appropriate one, as the laurel trees were bronze representations of the natural shrub. (THEOPOMPUS, *ap. Athenæum*, xiii. p. 605.) It was very natural that this should be in the *agora*, where one would hardly look for real

laurels. A similar representation seems to have existed in the temple at Jerusalem in the time of king Josiah. (2 *Kings* xiii. 6.) Compare too 1 *Kings* xv. 13. No doubt the pools and groves of nature were the original sites of the ritual in the elemental religions, but when cities were built and the form of ceremonial still retained, artificial representations became necessary in many cases.

<sup>46</sup> τῆς περὶ ὅδε ὁ λόγος ὥρμηται λέγεσθαι. STRABO (l. c. 2, p. 21) distinctly asserts that the geographical knowledge of τὰ πέραν τοῦ Ἰστροῦ τὰ μέχρι Τύρας ποταμοῦ was due to the Romans, while that of the parts beyond the Τύρας, μέχρι Μαυριῶν καὶ τῆς εἰς Κόλχους τελευτώσης παραλίας, dates only from the time of Mithridates.

<sup>47</sup> ἀτρεκέις. So Gaisford following A, B, S, V. The manuscript M has ἀτρε-

εἶδέναι φαμένον δύναμαι πυθέσθαι οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ Ἀριστέης, τοῦ περ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων μνήμην ἐποιεύμην, οὐδὲ οὗτος <sup>17</sup> προσωτέρῳ Ἰσσηδόνων, ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἔπεισι ποιέων ἔφησε ἀπικέσθαι ἄλλα τὰ κατύπερθε ἔλεγε ἀκοῇ, φὰς Ἰσσηδόνας εἶναι τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας. ἀλλ' ὅσον μὲν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκέως ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἰοί τ' ἐγενόμεθα ἀκοῇ ἐξικέσθαι <sup>18</sup>, πᾶν εἰρήσεται. Ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθε-  
νεϊτέων ἐμπορίου, (τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν παραθαλασσίων μεσαίτατόν ἐστι πάσης τῆς Σκυθίας <sup>19</sup>), ἀπὸ τούτου πρῶτοι Καλλιπίδαι νέμονται, εὐόντες Ἑλλήνες Σκύθαι ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἄλλο ἔθνος, οἱ Ἀλάζωνες καλέονται· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Καλλιπίδαι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ ταῦτα Σκύθησι ἐπάσκειουσιν, σῖτον δὲ καὶ σπείρουσιν καὶ σιτέονται, καὶ κρόμμυα καὶ σκόροδα καὶ φακοὺς <sup>20</sup> καὶ κέγχρους. ὑπὲρ δὲ Ἀλαζώνων οἰκέουσιν Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ σιτήσῃ σπείρουσιν τὸν σῖτον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πρήσει. τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσιν Νευροὶ <sup>21</sup>. Νευρῶν δὲ τὸ πρὸς βορρῇν ἀνεμὸν ἐρήμος <sup>22</sup> ἀνθρώπων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἑπανν ποταμόν ἐστι ἔθνεα, πρὸς ἑσπέρης τοῦ Βορυσθένεος. Ἀτὰρ διαβάντι τὸν Βορυσθένεα, ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρῶτον μὲν ἡ Ἑλλαίη <sup>23</sup>. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἄνω <sup>24</sup> οἰκέουσιν

lies beyond Scythia.

The author gives the best account he can from hearsay.

17 Starting from the factory of the Borys-thenites, and going up the banks of the Hypanis, there come the Cal-lipidae : Alazones : Corn growers : Newri : all west of the Borys-thenes.

18 East of the Borysthenes is the Bush,

κίως ὡς. Bekker reads ἀτρεκέως. See note 80 on § 25, below.

<sup>18</sup> οὐδὲ οὗτος. This accumulation of negatives is quite in accordance with the genius of the Greek language. PLATO has : τιθῶμεν γε αὐτοὺς λέγειν, μηδενὶ μηδὲν μηδεμίαν δύναμιν ἔχειν κοινωνίας εἰς μηδὲν. (Sophist. p. 251.)

<sup>19</sup> ὅσον μὲν ἡμεῖς . . . ἀκοῇ ἐξικέσθαι. The same expression is used above (i. 171), ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατός εἰμι μακρότατον ἐξικέσθαι ἀκοῇ, where see the note 572 for other instances.

<sup>20</sup> Σκυθίας. S and V have Σκυθικῆς.

<sup>21</sup> κρόμμυα καὶ σκόροδα καὶ φακοὺς. These articles of food are united in *Numb. xi. 5*. They, with salt fish, furnished the only seasoning to the bread which was the staple food of the common people almost universally in the time of Herodotus. See ii. 125, and note 371 thereon.

<sup>22</sup> Νευροί. COOLEY, who places these people in the north of Poland, says, in confirmation of his view, that the river upon which Wilna stands is still called *Neris* in the Lithuanian language. But see note 282 on § 105, below.

<sup>23</sup> ἐρήμος. The manuscripts S and V accentuate this word on the first syllable.

The grammarians assert that it was the practice of the old Ionian and Attic dialect to sound it as with the circumflex on the penult, as also in the case of *ὁμοίος* and *ἐτοίμος*.

<sup>24</sup> ἡ Ἑλλαίη. Herodotus mentions this region by name in several other places (§§ 19, 54, 55, 76), and in the *last* of these defines its position more carefully than in any other, and in terms which are appropriate to a maritime trader familiar with the landmark constituted by the Ἀχιλλεῖος δρόμος. In the other passages the site is laid down as it might be by a land traveller or geographer in a general description of Scythia. The timber obtained from it no doubt rendered it an object of interest to the Hellenic traders, but they would know it rather as the place from which the timber floats came than by having personally visited it. It is said now to be quite bare of wood.

<sup>25</sup> ἄνω. This is an ingenious emendation of Valcknaer's from *ἀνθρωποι*, the reading of all the MSS, which would be written in its abbreviated form *ἄνοι*. It is confirmed by a passage of ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ (*ap. Scymnum Chium*, t. ii. p. 49, ed. Hudson), which is no doubt taken from

and above it the Corn-growing Borysthenites, who call themselves Olbiopolitans.

After eleven days to the north is a desert, and beyond it

19

the Cami-bals, a peculiar race. East of the corn growers is the Panti-capes, and east of this the Nomad Scythians,

20

for fourteen days' journey

Σκύθαι γεωργοί, τοὺς Ἑλλήνες οἱ οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰππί ποταμῷ<sup>55</sup> καλέουσι Βορυσθενίτας, σφέας δὲ αὐτοὺς Ὀλβιολίτας· οὗτοι ὧν οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι νέμονται, τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδοῦ, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τῷ οὐνομα κεῖται Παντικάρης, τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορῇν ἄνεμον, πλόον ἀνὰ τὸν Βορυσθένα ἡμερῶν ἔνδεκα<sup>56</sup>. ἡ δὲ<sup>57</sup> κατύπερθε τούτων ἐρήμιός ἐστι ἐπὶ πολλόν μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐρήμον Ἀνδροφάγοι<sup>58</sup> οἰκέουσι, ἔθνος ἔον ἴδιον καὶ οὐδαμῶς Σκυθικόν· τὸ δὲ τούτων κατύπερθε ἐρήμος ἦδη ἀληθὲς, καὶ ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ γεωργῶν τούτων Σκυθῶν, διαβάντι τὸν Παντικάρην ποταμὸν, Νομάδες ἦδη Σκύθαι νέμονται<sup>59</sup>, οὔτε τι σκεῖροντες οὐδὲν, οὔτε ἀρουντες· (ψιλῇ δὲ δενδρέων πᾶσα αὕτη γῆ, πλὴν τῆς Ἰλίας.) οἱ δὲ Νομάδες οὗτοι τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, ἡμερῶν τεσσέρων καὶ δέκα ὁδόν<sup>61</sup>, νέμονται χώραν κατατείνουσιν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Γέρρον. Πέρην δὲ τοῦ Γέρρου ταῦτα δὴ τὰ καλούμενα Βασιλῆιά<sup>62</sup>

Herodotus's description: πρὸς ἀνατολὰς δ' ἐκβάντι τὸν Βορυσθένην τοὺς τὴν λεγομένην Ἰβλάν (legendum Ἰλίαν) οἰκοῦντας Σκύθας· εἶναι δὲ γεωργοὺς ἐχομένους τούτων ἄνω. Gaisford adopts it.

<sup>55</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰππί ποταμῷ. The city Olbia stood upon the right bank of the Hypanis, about six miles above the junction with the Borysthenes. The site bears the name of *Stomogil* (Hundred mounds), from the number of tumuli in the neighbourhood. In an inscription found there mention is made of certain *μιέλληνες*, which no doubt are the hybrid population called by Herodotus *Callipidae* and *Alazones* (above, § 17).

<sup>56</sup> πλόον ἀνὰ τὸν Βορυσθένα ἡμερῶν ἔνδεκα. STRABO makes the Borysthenes navigable for only 600 *stadia*, and places the town *Borysthenes* (which he identifies with *Olbia*) 200 *stadia* from the mouth. Herodotus appears (from § 53) to conceive of the river as being navigable for forty days' sail. But at the distance of about 220 miles from the mouth there occur 13 cataracts, which entirely stop the navigation.

<sup>57</sup> ἡ δέ. So Gaisford prints on the authority of S, V, and c. The other MSS have ἡδη δέ, a variation certainly not inferior to the text.

<sup>58</sup> Ἀνδροφάγοι. He mentions these cannibals again below (§ 106).

<sup>59</sup> τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, κ.τ.λ. It is

extremely difficult to reconcile the topography of this section with that of §§ 99—101. Perhaps we may suppose that Herodotus is here following Olbiopolitan accounts, which took no account of any thing but the hordes along the line of a caravan route, by which the traffic from the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Tanais arrived. In the last two sections the description likewise suggests that Olbia is the source of the account, being probably the mart to which the commodities from the several localities mentioned in § 17 were floated down.

<sup>61</sup> ἡμερῶν τεσσέρων καὶ δέκα ὁδόν. This would give seventeen days (perhaps caravan marches) from the Borysthenes to the river Gerrhus. In § 101 the distance from the Borysthenes to the *Mæotis* is estimated at only ten.

<sup>62</sup> τὰ καλούμενα Βασιλῆία. It is not clear whether these words imply merely a region, so called from being tenanted by the Royal Scythians, or whether they refer to any definite landmark,—such for instance as a remarkable assemblage of barrows,—called by some name of which τὰ βασιλῆία may be the Greek translation. It is quite certain that on the banks of the river Tyras there were barrows which went by the name of 'the Kings' Grave' (see above, § 11), and it is only to be expected that similar names should be given to similar appearances elsewhere.

ἐστὶ, καὶ Σκύθαι οἱ ἄριστοι τε καὶ πλείστοι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομίζοντες Σκύθας δούλους σφετέρους εἶναι· κατήκουσι δὲ οὗτοι, τὸ μὲν πρὸς μεσαμβρίην ἐς τὴν Ταυρικὴν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἡῶ ἐπὶ τε τᾶφρον, τὴν δὴ οἱ ἐκ τῶν τυφλῶν γενόμενοι ὠρυξαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος<sup>63</sup> τὸ ἐμπόριον τὸ καλεῖται Κρημνοί<sup>64</sup>. τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν κατήκουσι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Τάναϊν. τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορρὴν ἄνεμον τῶν βασιλητῶν Σκυθῶν οἰκέουσι Μελαγχλαῖνοι, ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ οὐ Σκυθικόν· Μελαγχλαῖνων δὲ τὸ κατύπερθε, λίμναι καὶ ἐρήμὸς ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπων, κατόσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

eastward to the river Gerra. East of this are the Royal Scythians, who extend as far as Crenni, and even to the Tanais. North of these are the Melanchlaeni,

Τάναϊν δὲ ποταμὸν διαβάντι οὐκέτι Σκυθικὴ, ἀλλ' ἡ πὲν πρώτη τῶν λαξίων Σαυροματέων<sup>65</sup> ἐστὶ· οἱ ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ<sup>66</sup> ἀρξάμενοι τῆς Μαιήτιδος λίμνης, νέμονται τὸ πρὸς βορρὴν ἄνεμον ἡμερέων πεντεκαίδεκα ὁδόν, πᾶσαν ἐούσαν ψιλὴν καὶ ἀγρίων καὶ ἡμέρων δένδρεων ὑπεροικέουσι δὲ τούτων δευτέρην λάξιν<sup>67</sup> ἔχοντες Βουδίνων δὲ<sup>68</sup> γῆν νεμόμενοι πᾶσαν δασέην ὕλην παντοίῃ Βουδίνων δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορρὴν, ἔστι πρώτη μὲν ἐρήμος ἐπ' ἡμερέων ἑπτὰ ὁδόν, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐρήμον, ἀποκλίνουντι μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον<sup>69</sup>, νέμονται Θυσσαγέται, ἔθνος πολλὸν καὶ ἴδιον ζῶουσι δὲ ἀπὸ θήρης. συνεχέες δὲ τούτοις ἐν τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι τόποισι κατοικη-

marshes, and a desert. On the east bank of the Tanais are the Sauromatae. North of these the Budini;

It seems however very unlikely that actual regal palaces should have existed, as some commentators have imagined.

<sup>63</sup> Μαιήτιδος. This is the reading of Gaisford. Several MSS have the form Μαιώτιδος, which is universal in § 3, above. In viii. 23 two MSS alone have the form Ἰστιαήτιδος, the others Ἰστιαιώτιδος.

<sup>64</sup> Κρημνοί. This would probably be at or near the modern Taganrock.

<sup>65</sup> Σαυροματέων. See note 296 on § 116, below.

<sup>66</sup> ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ. In this bay there was an emporium called by the same name as the river (Tanais), where the Cimmerian Bosphoranes of Corococondame and Phanagoria used to exchange wine and articles of dress for skins and slaves which were brought thither by the nomads on each side of the Tanais. By the way in which Strabo speaks of these places, there can be little doubt that they existed in the time of Herodotus, yet they are obviously unknown to him. Yet independently of this important traffic, the sea of Azof was the head quarters of the

fisheries in these parts (xi. c. 2, p. 401). It would seem therefore as if from some cause or other this line of traffic was closed at the time Herodotus wrote, and that the commerce of the north and east was obliged to find its way overland to the Borysthenes or Hypanis (§ 17, above). Strabo expressly mentions (xi. c. 5, p. 423) that the carriage of the merchandize from Babylon and from India was once in the hands of the *Aorsi* and *Sirakes* (whom he places in the plains of the Don and Kouban), and that they received it from the Armenians and the Medes; and though the time to which he refers is later than Alexander, yet the route can hardly then have been first struck out.

<sup>67</sup> λάξιν. The manuscripts S and V have τάξιν. The word λάξις is derived from a root λαχ, still traceable in the form *ελαχον*, which is the regular aorist of *λαγχάνω*. *Lachesis*, the name of one of the Moere, has the same origin.

<sup>68</sup> Βουδῖνοι. For the description of these see below, § 108.

<sup>69</sup> ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον. This is the s.e. wind, or perhaps the s. by s.



then a desert seven days in extent; then more eastward come the *Thysagetae* and *Iyrcae*; and beyond them other Scythians, a swarm from the Royal Scythians.

23

In the flanks of the mountains which bound the plain of Scythia live the *Argipaeans*, a sacred race of bald men, who live under trees, possess no weapons, are appealed to as judges, and possess the privilege of sanctuary.

μένοι εἰς τοῖσι οὖνομα κείται Ἰύρκαι", καὶ οὗτοι ἀπὸ θήρης ζῶντες τρόπῳ τοιῷδε λοχῶ" ἐπὶ δένδρεον ἀναβάς (τὰ δέ ἐστι πυκνὰ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν) ἵππος δὲ ἐκάστῳ, δεδιδυγμένος ἐπὶ γαστέρα κείσθαι ταπεινότητος εἵνεκα, ἐτοῖμός ἐστι, καὶ κύων ἑπεὰν δὲ ἀπιδῇ τὸ θηρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ δενδρέου, τοξεύσας καὶ ἐπιβάς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον διώκει, καὶ ὁ κύων ἔχεται. ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων, τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἀποκλίνοντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἄλλοι, ἀπὸ τῶν βασιληῶν Σκυθέων ἀποστάντες καὶ οὕτω ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χώρον.

Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῆς τούτων τῶν Σκυθέων χώρας, ἔστι ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα πεδιάς τε γῆ καὶ βαθύγεος· τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου, λιθώδης τ' ἐστὶ καὶ τρηχέη. διεξελλόντι δὲ καὶ τῆς τρηχέως χώρον πολλόν, οἰκέουσι ὑπῶρεα οὐρέων ὑψηλῶν ἄνθρωποι λεγόμενοι εἶναι πάντες φαλακροὶ ἐκ γενεῆς γινόμενοι", καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θήλειαι ὁμοίως, καὶ σιμοὶ καὶ γένεια ἔχοντες μεγάλα, φωνὴν δὲ ἰδίην ἰέντες ἐσθῆτι δὲ χρεώμενοι Σκυθικῇ, ζῶντες δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων ποικτικὸν μὲν οὖνομα τῷ δενδρέῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ζῶσι<sup>72</sup>, μέγας δὲ κατὰ συκὴν μάλιστα κη' καρπὸν δὲ φορεῖ κυάμφῳ ἴσον, πυρῆνα δὲ ἔχει· τοῦτο ἑπεὰν γένηται πέπον, σακκέουσι ἱματίοισι· ἀπορρέει δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παχὺ καὶ μέλαν οὖνομα δὲ τῷ ἀπορρέοντι ἐστὶ ἄσχυρ τοῦτο καὶ λείχουσι καὶ γάλακτι συμμίσχοντες πίνουσι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς παχύτητος αὐτοῦ τῆς τρυγὸς παλάθας συντιθέασι, καὶ ταύτας σιτέονται· πρόβατα γάρ σφι οὐ πολλά ἐστὶ, οὐ γάρ τι σπουδαῖαι νομαὶ αὐτόθι· εἰς δὲ ὑπὸ δενδρέῳ δὲ ἕκαστος κατοικῆται· τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα, ἑπεὰν τὸ δένδρεον περικαλύψῃ πύλῳ στεγνῷ λευκῷ<sup>73</sup>. τὸ

<sup>69</sup> Ἰύρκαι. VON HAMMER says that the phrase *Yuruk* (wanderers) is one still existing among the Turkish hordes. If so, it is possible that it is only by mistake attributed to a distinct tribe.

<sup>70</sup> λοχῶ, i.e. ὁ θηρῶν, to be gathered by inference from what has preceded, just as ὁ θῶν is in ii. 47: ἔπειν θῶν, and in i. 132: τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκάστῳ θῶν θέλει, if the text be not corrupt in this last case.

<sup>71</sup> φαλακροὶ ἐκ γενεῆς γινόμενοι. MALTEBRUN (cited by Bähr) says that it is the practice among the Calmucks to shave, from the very earliest years, the heads of those whom they destine for the priesthood. Possibly such a priestly caste is the foundation for the statement in the text.

<sup>72</sup> ποικτικὸν μὲν οὖνομα τῷ δενδρέῳ ἀπὸ

τοῦ ζῶσι. This tree is the *bird-cherry* (*Prunus Padus*). ERMAN, *Reise um die Erde*, i. p. 427—9, quoted by Cooley, says that the present inhabitants of the southern parts of the Ural are called *Baskirs*, which he strangely maintains to be etymologically equivalent to φαλακροί. They are not Monguls, but Turks; although they have the Mongul physiognomy, and consequently accord with Herodotus's description. Their mode of preparing the fruit of the bird-cherry is exactly what Herodotus describes; and the acid strained off is called by the Russians of the present day by the name *Aischui*. But these points of similarity may well exist without establishing the identity of the races.

<sup>73</sup> πύλῳ στεγνῷ λευκῷ. This is the

δὲ θέρος, ἄνευ πίλου. τούτους οὐδεὶς ἀδικεῖ ἀνθρώπων ἱροὶ γὰρ λέγονται εἶναι· οὐδέ τι ἀρήϊον ὄπλον ἐκτέαται· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοῖσι περιουκένουσι οὗτοί· εἰσι οἱ τὰς διαφορὰς διαιρέοντες· τοῦτο δὲ ὃς ἂν φεύγων καταφύγῃ ἐς τούτους, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀδικεῖται· οὖνομα δὲ σφί ἐστι Ἀργιππαῖοι.<sup>74</sup>

Μέχρι μὲν νυν τῶν φαλακρῶν τούτων, πολλὴ περιφάνεια τῆς 24  
 χώρας ἐστὶ, καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἐθνέων<sup>75</sup>. καὶ γὰρ Σκυθέων τινὲς ἀπικνέονται ἐς αὐτοὺς, τῶν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ πυθέσθαι, καὶ Ἑλ-  
 λήνων τῶν ἐκ Βορυσθενέος τε ἐμπορίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ποντικῶν  
 ἐμπορίων Σκυθέων δὲ οἱ ἂν ἔλθωσι ἐς αὐτοὺς, δι' ἑπτὰ ἐρμηνέων  
 καὶ δι' ἑπτὰ γλωσσέων<sup>76</sup> διαπρήσσονται. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων 25  
 γινώσκεται· τὸ δὲ τῶν φαλακρῶν κατύπερθε οὐδεὶς ἀτρεκέως<sup>77</sup> οἶδε  
 φράσαι· οὐρεὰ τε γὰρ ὑψηλὰ ἀποτάμνει ἄβατα, καὶ οὐδεὶς σφρα  
 ὑπερβαίνει· οἱ δὲ φαλακροὶ οὗτοι λέγουσι (ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ  
 λέγοντες) οἰκέειν τὰ οὐρεα αἰγίποδας ἄνδρας· ὑπερβάντι δὲ τού-  
 τους ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, οἱ τὴν ἐξάμηνον καθεύδουσι<sup>78</sup>. τοῦτο δὲ  
 οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι [τὴν<sup>79</sup>] ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἡῶ τῶν φαλακρῶν  
 γινώσκεται [ἀτρεκέως<sup>80</sup>], ὑπὸ Ἰσσηδόνων οἰκούμενον<sup>81</sup>. τὸ μέντοι

Information of the above tribes is to be gained from Scythians and Hellenic merchants

25 in the ports of the Euxine. Beyond the bald race are impassable mountains, said to be inhabited by satyrs, who hibernate for six

felt out of which the Tartar tents are commonly made. The epithet στεγνός (close) differences it from textile fabrics.

<sup>74</sup> Ἀργιππαῖοι. The manuscripts S and V have Ὀργιμπαῖοι. ADLUNG (*Mithridates*, i. p. 499) considers that these Argippæi are Monguls. He places them in the Altai mountains.

<sup>75</sup> τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἐθνέων, "of the tribes before you (as you travel on)." Larcher contends that πολλὴ περιφάνεια means "a thorough knowledge," and quotes two or three passages from Demosthenes to defend his view. But although it may be conceded that something like this is the upshot of the meaning, such a translation would entirely mask the association of ideas suggested by the expression. τὸ περιφανές is the opposite of τὸ ἐν γυνίᾳ πεπραγμένον, and in the passages of Demosthenes which Larcher cites this is most plain. A better version of πολλὴ περιφάνεια would be "a perfectly easy means of seeing."

<sup>76</sup> δι' ἑπτὰ ἐρμηνέων καὶ δι' ἑπτὰ γλωσσέων. This seems to show that there were seven distinct tribes through which the caravan traffic passed between its departure from the oriental mart and its

arrival on the Borysthènes or Hypanis. This would induce the belief that the extent of the journey must be very great, perhaps even as far as China.

<sup>77</sup> ἀτρεκέως. So Gaisford, following the majority of MSS. But S has ἀτρεκέως. See above, note 47 on § 16.

<sup>78</sup> οἱ τὴν ἐξάμηνον καθεύδουσι. The notion contained in these words doubtless arose from the circumstance of the long nights in the arctic regions being known by report. We need not however conclude that any Hellenic travellers had ever arrived within the arctic circle. See note 128 on § 42, below.

<sup>79</sup> [τὴν]. This word is omitted in S and V.

<sup>80</sup> [ἀτρεκέως]. This word is omitted in the manuscripts M, K, P, F.

<sup>81</sup> ὑπὸ Ἰσσηδόνων οἰκούμενον. The knowledge of this race seems to be derived from the travellers by the caravans which brought the eastern commodities to the Βορυσθενέων ἐμπόριον on the Dnieper. Possibly they occupied the western side of the Ural river, having the Massagetsæ originally on the opposite bank. See i. 201, and note 677 thereon.

months in  
the year.

26

Habits of  
the *Issedones*, who  
are to the  
east of the  
*Argippeans*.

κατύπερθε πρὸς βορὴν ἄνεμον οὐ γινώσκεται, οὔτε τῶν φαλακρῶν οὔτε τῶν Ἰσσηδόνων, εἰ μὴ ὅσα αὐτῶν τούτων λεγόντων. Νόμοισι δὲ Ἰσσηδόνες τοιοῖσδε λέγονται χρᾶσθαι· ἐπεὰν ἀνδρὶ ἀποθάνῃ πατὴρ, οἱ προσήκοντες πάντες προσάγουσι πρόβατα· καὶ ἔπειτα ταῦτα θύσαντες, καὶ καταταμώντες τὰ κρέα, κατατάμνουσι καὶ τὸν τοῦ δεκομένου τεθνεῶτα γονέα· ἀναμίζαντες δὲ πάντα τὰ κρέα<sup>23</sup>, δαῖτα προτιθέαται· τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ φιλάσαντες καὶ ἐκκαθῆραντες, καταχρυσοῦσι καὶ ἔπειτα ἅτε ὀγάλματι χρέωνται, θυσίας μεγάλας ἐπετέους ἐπιτελέοντες· παῖς δὲ πατρὶ τούτο ποιεεί, κατὰ περ οἱ Ἕλληνες τὰ γενέσια· ἄλλως δὲ δίκαιοι καὶ οὔτοι λέγονται εἶναι· ἰσοκρατέες δὲ ὁμοίως αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖσι ἀνδράσι· γινώσκονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὔτοι<sup>24</sup>.

27

The *Arimaspi* and

Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων τὸ κατύπερθε, Ἰσσηδόνες εἰσὶ οἱ λέγοντες τοὺς μουννοφθάλους ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας Γρύκας<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> δέ. The manuscript S omits this word, as if the paragraph next following were of the nature of a note.

<sup>24</sup> ἀναμίζαντες δὲ πάντα τὰ κρέα. It is observable that this custom, which Herodotus ascribes to the Issedones here and to the Massagetae (i. 216), the printing in colours which he attributes to the inhabitants of Caucasus (i. 203), the diet which he gives to the natives of the islands in the Araxes (i. 202), and the promiscuous intercourse which he imputes to the Massagetae (i. 216), are by STRABO all given to *one* people, viz. the nomadic inhabitants of the basins of the Jaxartes and Oxus, whom *he* calls the Massagetae (xi. c. 8, pp. 432, 433). The variation is in my opinion solely due to the circumstance, that Strabo is writing after the growth of geography as a science, and under the guidance of Eratosthenes and the other learned Greeks, who had *reduced* the accounts of travellers into a systematic form, whereas Herodotus has no geographical system of his own, and merely *combines* in a rough way information derived from different channels. See the note 677 on i. 201; 681 on i. 202; and 685 on i. 203.

<sup>25</sup> γινώσκονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὔτοι. This expression refers back to what had been said in § 26, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς . . . γινώσκεται ὑπὸ Ἰσσηδόνων οἰκόμενον. See note 92 on iii. 23.

<sup>26</sup> Ἰσσηδόνες εἰσὶ οἱ λέγοντες . . . χρυσοφύλακας Γρύκας. This apparently refers

to the stories of the war continually going on for gold between the Arimaspi and the Griffins,—which appears to have formed a portion of the Ἀριμασπείων ἔπος attributed to Aristæus in the time of Herodotus, but considered as spurious by later writers. Compare §§ 13, 16, above, with iii. 116. These passages agree well enough with the present on the supposition, that in the Arimaspea the poet feigned himself to be rapt by the inspiration of Apollo into the country of the Issedones, and then made them the vehicle for the main subject of his composition, of which he laid the scene in the lands beyond; while all the time the materials for these fictions were derived from the Scythians, with whom the Hellenic traders on the Euxine had dealings. That witchcraft should enter largely into legends proceeding from such a source is very natural; and Aristæus very probably made himself the hero of some of the scenes. Hence perhaps sprang the current notion of his being a conjurer (ἄνηρ γόης, εἰ τις ἄλλος. STRABO, xiii. c. 1, p. 92). The work was very little known in the Roman times. GELLIIUS (*Noct. Att.* ix. 4) bought it together with a bundle of other old books (including Ctesias and Onesicritus) at Brundisium, for a sum so small as to astonish him. All the volumes "ex dictino situ squalabant, et habitu aspectuque tetra erant."

εἶναι παρὰ δὲ τούτων Σκύθαι παραλαβόντες λέγουσι παρὰ δὲ *Griffins rest*  
 Σκυθέων ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄλλοι νενομμάμεν, καὶ οὐνομάζομεν αὐτοὺς *on the au-*  
 Σκυθιστὶ Ἀριμασπούς· ἈΡΙΜΑ γὰρ ἐν καλέουσι Σκύθαι *thority of*  
 ΣΠΟΤ δὲ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν. Δυσχείμερος δὲ αὕτη ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα *the asse-*  
*donea.* 28  
 πᾶσα χώρα οὕτω δὴ τί ἐστι, ἐνθα τοὺς μὲν ὁκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν  
 ἀφόρητος οἶος γίνεται κυμῶς<sup>86</sup>, ἐν τοῖσι ὕδωρ ἐκχέας πηλὸν οὐ  
 ποιήσεις, πῦρ δὲ ἀνακαίων ποιήσεις πηλόν· ἡ δὲ θάλασσα πῆγνυ-  
 ται, καὶ ὁ Βόσπορος πᾶς ὁ Κιμμέριος· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου<sup>87</sup>  
 οἱ ἐντὸς τάφρης<sup>88</sup> Σκύθαι κατοικημένοι στρατεύονται, καὶ τὰς  
 ἀμάξας ἐπελαύνουσι πέρην ἐς τοὺς Σινδοὺς<sup>89</sup>. οὕτω μὲν δὴ τοὺς  
*The climate*  
*of all these*  
*countries is*  
*excessively*  
*severe for*  
*eight*  
*months in*  
*the year :*  
*the Bos-*  
*porus is*  
*frozen, and*  
*there is a*

<sup>86</sup> ἈΡΙΜΑ γὰρ ἐν καλέουσι Σκύθαι. EUSTATHIUS, in citing this passage, makes *ἀρ*, not *ἄριμα*, the Scythian for "unity," and *μασπός* to mean "an eye."

<sup>87</sup> τοὺς μὲν ὁκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἀφόρητος οἶος γίνεται κυμῶς. That this is a great exaggeration of the length of the winter is allowed; but the ancients universally described the cold season as of very long duration. HIPPOCRATES says of Scythia: ὥστε τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα αἰεὶ εἶναι, τὸ δὲ θέρος δλίγας ἡμέρας καὶ ταύτας μὴ λίγην. Heeren and others have endeavoured to explain the exaggeration by supposing a considerable change to have taken place in the climate. But, as compared with either Italy or Greece, the climate was no doubt always sufficiently severe to make a Scythian winter proverbial, and favour the reception of exaggerated accounts. The extension of the winter to *eight* months is, I believe, due entirely to the circumstance that the commercial season lasted only *four*. From November to March the *Mæotis* is frozen, and navigation is seldom safe earlier than April. From April to midsummer a s.w. wind prevails, which brings up the shipping from the Propontis, and greatly increases the depth of water in the sea of *Azof*. At midsummer the water is at its greatest height. But soon after the wind sets from the east and diminishes the depth rapidly. The merchandize which comes down the Tanais is brought in barks which will not bear the sea, and they are broken up at *Rastoff*. The cargoes, being placed in lighters, are carried to *Taganrock* and to the ships which lie in the roads there. As the water gets shallower with the east wind, the ships anchor farther and farther out to sea, and are

sometimes obliged to sail without completing their cargo. This singular kind of monsoon takes place almost every year after midsummer. (HEBER: *MS Journal* quoted by Clarke, i. p. 424.) Clarke, who was at *Taganrock* early in July after a prevalence of east wind, found ships drawing no more than eight or ten feet of water obliged to lie ten miles off the shore, and in the autumn the greatest depth in the whole sea of *Azof* is often no more than fourteen feet.

<sup>88</sup> ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου. The manuscript S has ἐπὶ τοῦτον τοῦ κρυστάλλου. The freezing of the strait is not at all uncommon now in severe winters, and to such an extent that loaded wagons cross from shore to shore. This however arises mainly from the pack ice brought down the Tanais into the *Mæotis*, which is carried by the current towards the Bosphorus and caught in the narrow channel,—which, according to STRABO (vii. c. 4, p. 96), is, between *Parthenium* on the European shore and *Achilleum* on the Asiatic, no more than twenty *stades*. Prince Gleb, son of Vladimir, measured the distance from *Tmutaracan* to *Kerichy* (which, according to Clarke, corresponds with that from *Phanagoria* to *Panticapæum*) on the ice in the year 1065, and found it 30,054 fathoms. (CLARKE, *Travels*, ii. p. 85.) It was said that Neoptolemus, the general of Mithridates, gained a cavalry skirmish on the ice in the winter in exactly the same locality in which he had won a naval action the summer before. (STRABO, vii. c. 3, p. 91.)

<sup>89</sup> τάφρης. See note on § 201.

<sup>90</sup> Σινδοὺς. This is Gaisford's reading from a conjectural emendation, the manuscripts having *Ἰνδοὺς*. STEPHANUS BY-

passage  
across the  
Sind.  
Atmo-  
spherical  
peculiar-  
ities.

Asses and  
mules die  
of the cold.

29

Cattle are  
hornless  
from the  
same cause.

ὁκτὰ μῆνας διατελέει χειμῶν ἐὼν τοὺς δ' ἐπιλοίπους τέσσερας ψύχρα αὐτόθι ἐστὶ κεχώρισται δὲ οὗτος<sup>11</sup> ὁ χειμῶν τοὺς τρόπους πᾶσι τοῖσι ἐν ἄλλοισι χωρίοισι γινομένοισι χειμῶσι ἐν τῇ τῇ μὲν ὥρα ἰνῃ οὐκ ἔστι λόγου ἄξιον οὐδὲν, τὸ δὲ θέρος ἔκον οὐκ ἀνίει<sup>12</sup> βρονταί τε ἡμος τῇ ἄλλῃ γίνονται, τηλικαῦτα μὲν οὐ γίνονται θέρος<sup>13</sup> δὲ ἀμφιλαφές· ἦν δὲ χειμῶνος βροντὴ γένηται, ὥς τέρας νενόμισται θωμάζεσθαι· ὥς δὲ καὶ ἦν σεισμὸς γένηται, ἦν τε θέρος ἦν τε χειμῶνος, ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ τέρας νενόμισται· ἵπποι δὲ ἀνεχόμενοι φέρουσι τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον, ἡμίονοι δὲ καὶ ὄνοι οὐκ ἀνέχονται ἀρχὴν<sup>14</sup>. τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἵπποι μὲν ἐν κρυμῷ ἐστώτες ἀποσφακελίζουσι, ὄνοι δὲ καὶ ἡμίονοι ἀνέχονται. Δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν βοῶν τὸ κόλον διὰ ταῦτα οὐ φύειν κέρεα αὐτόθι· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ Ὀμήρου ἔπος ἐν Ὀδυσσειῇ, ἔχον ὡς

Καὶ Λιβύην, ὅθι τ' ἔρρεε ἄφαρ κεραὶ τελέουσιν

ὀρθῶς εἰρημένον, ἐν τοῖσι θερμοῖσι ταχὺ παραγίνεσθαι τὰ κέρεα· ἐν δὲ τοῖσι ἰσχυροῖσι ψύχεσι ἢ οὐ φύει κέρεα τὰ κτήνεα ἀρχὴν<sup>15</sup>, ἢ φύοντα φύει μόγις. ἐνθαῦτα μὲν νυν διὰ τὰ ψύχρα γίνεταί ταῦτα. Θωυμάζω δὲ, (προσθήκας γὰρ δὴ μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδίξητο,) ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλείῃ πάσῃ χώρῃ οὐ δυνάταί γίνεσθαι ἡμίονοι, οὔτε ψυχροῦ τοῦ χώρου ἐόντος οὔτε ἄλλου φανεροῦ αἰτίου οὐδενός· φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἑλλείῳ ἐκ κατάρης τευ οὐ γίνεσθαι σφι ἡμίονους· ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν προσίῃ ἡ ὥρη κύσκεισθαι τὰς ἵππους, ἐξελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους<sup>16</sup> αὐτάς· καὶ ἔπειτά σφι ἐν τῇ τῶν πέλας ἐπιείσι τοὺς ὄνους, ἐς οὐ ἂν σχώσι αἱ ἵπποι ἐν γαστρὶ·  
31 ἔπειτα δὲ ὅπισω ἀπελαύνουσι. Περὶ δὲ τῶν πτερόν, τῶν Σκίθαι

30  
There are  
no mules  
bred in  
Elis, and  
the author  
wonders  
why.

ΞΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ (sub v. Σινδοί) says Σινδοί ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας τῆς Μαυρίτιδος λίμνης· ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ Σινδικὸν γένος φασὶν εἶναι τῶν Μαιωτῶν ἀπόσπασμα. For a probable reason of the variation observable in the MSS see note 25 on i. 5. In ix. 15 the MSS vary between ἐς Σκῶλον and ἐς Κῶλον.

<sup>11</sup> οὗτος. This word is omitted in S and V.

<sup>12</sup> ἀνίει. See note 604 on i. 180.

<sup>13</sup> θέρος. S and V have θέρος, which is the reading of the MSS without exception two lines back.

<sup>14</sup> ἡμίονοι δὲ καὶ ὄνοι οὐκ ἀνέχονται ἀρχὴν. See the note on § 129, below.

<sup>15</sup> οὐ φύει κέρεα τὰ κτήνεα ἀρχὴν. This expression seems to show that the information which reached Herodotus came from travellers to whom the regions inhabited by the elk and the rein-deer were entirely unknown even by hearsay. Hence if the animals spoken of below (§ 109) are seals, which seems not improbable, they will have been caught in the Caspian and the mouths of the Volga, not in the Northern Sea.

<sup>16</sup> ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους. These would be the Arcadians, whose breed of asses was celebrated. "Arcadiae pecuaria" (PERSIUS, Sat. iii. 9).

λέγουσι<sup>97</sup> ἀνάπλεων εἶναι τὸν ἡέρα, καὶ τούτων εἵνεκα οὐκ οἷά τε Explanation of the story of the feather maid to fill the air.  
 εἶναι οὔτε ἰδεῖν τὸ πρόσω τῆς ἡπείρου οὔτε διεξιέναι, τήνδε ἔχων  
 περὶ αὐτῶν τὴν γνώμην τὰ κατύπερθε ταύτης τῆς χώρης αἰεὶ  
 νίφεται, ἐλάσσονι δὲ τοῦ θέρους ἢ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ καὶ οἰκός·  
 ἤδη ὦν ὅστις ἀγγχόθεν χιόνα ἀδρὴν πίπτουσαν εἶδε, οἶδε τὸ λέγων  
 ἔοικε γὰρ ἢ χιῶν πτεροῖσι· καὶ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον ἐόντα  
 τοιοῦτον, ἀοίκητα τὰ πρὸς βορρὴν ἐστὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης· τὰ ὦν  
 πτερὰ<sup>98</sup> εἰκάζοντας τὴν χιόνα τοὺς Σκύθας τε καὶ τοὺς περιόλους  
 δοκέω λέγειν. ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὰ λέγεται μακρότατα εἶρηται.

Ἵπερβορέων δὲ πέρι ἀνθρώπων οὔτε τι Σκύθαι λέγουσι, οὔτε 32  
 τινὲς ἄλλοι τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα Ἴσσηδόνες· ὥς δ' ἐγὼ Of Hyperbo-  
reans there is no  
 δοκέω, οὐδ' οὔτοι λέγουσι οὐδέν· ἔλεγον γὰρ ἂν καὶ Σκύθαι, ὥς Scythian  
 περὶ τῶν μουννοφθάλμων λέγουσι· ἀλλ' Ἡσιόδῳ μὲν ἐστὶ περὶ account, though such  
 Ἵπερβορέων εἰρημένα, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ ἐν Ἐπυγόνουσι, εἰ δὴ are men-  
tioned by  
 τῷ ἐόντι γε Ὀμηρος ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα ἐποίησε<sup>99</sup>. Πολλῷ δέ τι 33  
 πλεῖστα περὶ αὐτῶν Δῆλιοι λέγουσι, φάμενοι ἰρὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν Hesiod and  
 καλάμῃ πυρῶν, ἐξ Ἵπερβορέων φερόμενα ἀπικνέεσθαι ἐς Σκύθας. Homer.  
 ἀπὸ δὲ Σκυθῶν ἤδη δεκομένους αἰεὶ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἐκάστους, Delian legend of  
 κομίζειν αὐτὰ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἐκαστάτῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίην<sup>100</sup>. certain  
 ἐνθεύτεν δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην προπεμπόμενα πρώτους Δωδωναίους fetishes  
 Ἑλλήνων δέκεσθαι· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Μηλιέα wrap in  
 κόλπον, καὶ διαπορεύεσθαι ἐς Εὐβοίαν· πόλιν τε ἐς πόλιν πέμπειν, barley-straw  
 μέχρι Καρύστου· τὸ δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης, ἐκλιπεῖν Ἀνδρὸν Καρυστίους brought  
 γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς κομίζοντας ἐς Τήνον, Τηνίους δὲ ἐς Δῆλον. ἀπικνέ- from them  
 εσθαι μὲν νυν ταῦτα τὰ ἰρὰ οὕτω<sup>101</sup> λέγουσι ἐς Δῆλον· πρώτων δὲ by way of  
the Adri-  
atic and

<sup>97</sup> τῶν Σκύθαι λέγουσι. See § 7, above.

<sup>98</sup> τὰ ὦν πτερὰ. The force of the article is to be observed. "The feathers then (i.e. of which we were speaking) is a name which the Scythians, in my opinion, give to the snow, indicating the similarity."

<sup>99</sup> ἀλλ' Ἡσιόδῳ . . . τὰ ἔπεα ἐποίησε. The manuscript S has the genitives Ἡσιόδου, Ὀμήρου. F. A. Wolf suspected this sentence to proceed not from Herodotus, but from a grammarian. His opinion is treated unfavourably by Schweighäuser, on the ground that similar paragraphs occur in many other parts of the work. This objection is not to me a valid one, except as showing that Wolf's

remark has a wide application. See note 432 on ii. 145. In another passage (v. 67) the Ὀμήρεια ἐπη which Herodotus speaks of are probably the *Thebais*, which began with the words Ἄργος θεῖδε, θεά, πολυδίσχιον, and the *Erigoni* was so closely connected with this poem, that it would hardly be questioned by any one who believed in the authenticity of the former. See CLINTON, *F. H.* i. p. 352. The mention of the Hyperboreans by *Hesiod* must have been made in some work now lost.

<sup>100</sup> ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίην, "to the Adriatic bay," the word κόλπον being understood. See note 536 on i. 163.

<sup>101</sup> ἀπικνέεσθαι . . . οὕτω. In the time of PAUSANIAS the route of these offerings

to Tenos,  
and thence  
to them.

τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους πέμψαι φερούσας τὰ ἱρὰ δύο κόρας, τὰς οἶνο-  
μάζουσι Δῆλιοι εἶναι Ὑπερόχην τε καὶ Λαοδικήν ἅμα δὲ αὐτῇσι  
ἀσφαλῆς εἵνεκεν πέμψαι τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρας  
πέντε πομποὺς, τούτους οἱ νῦν Περφερέες<sup>102</sup> καλέονται τιμὰς  
μεγάλας ἐν Δῇλῳ ἔχοντες· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖσι Ὑπερβορέοισι τοὺς ἀπο-  
πεμφθέντας ὀπίσω οὐκ ἀπονοστέειν, δεινὰ ποιευμένους εἰ σφέας  
αἰεὶ καταλάμπεται ἀποστέλλοντας μὴ ἀποδέκεσθαι, οὕτω δὲ  
φέροντας ἐς τοὺς οὖρους τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν πυρῶν καλάμῃ τοῖς  
πλησιοχώροις<sup>103</sup> ἐπισκίπτειν κελεύοντας προπεμπόμενα σφέα ἀπὸ  
ἐωυτῶν ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω προπεμπόμενα ἀπικνέ-  
εσθαι λέγουσι ἐς Δῆλον· οἶδα δὲ αὐτὸς τοῦτοις τοῖσι ἱροῖσι τὸδε  
ποιούμενον προσφέρειν τὰς Θρηκίϊας καὶ τὰς Παιονίδας γυναι-  
κας<sup>104</sup>, ἐπεὰν θύωσι τῇ Ἀρτέμειδι τῇ Βασιλῇ<sup>105</sup>, οὐκ ἄνευ πυρῶν  
καλάμης θυόουσας τὰ ἱρὰ<sup>106</sup>. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οἶδα ταύτας ποιέ-  
σας. Τῇσι δὲ παρθένοισι ταύτῃσι τῇσι ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων τελευ-  
τησάσῃσι ἐν Δῇλῳ, κείρονται καὶ αἱ κόραι καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Δη-

Analogous  
use of bar-  
ley-straw  
by the  
Thracian  
and Paeon-  
ian women

34

in the Ar-  
temis wor-  
ship.

was changed, at least in the local tradi-  
tions of Attica. They were said to come  
by the hand of Scythians to *Sinope*, and  
from thence to be forwarded to *Prasie* in  
Attica,—the *Athenians* being the parties  
by whose hand they ultimately arrived at  
Delos (i. 31. 2). Probably the route  
varied with the varying course of commer-  
cial enterprise, which had considerably  
changed between the time of Herodotus  
and Pausanias.

<sup>102</sup> *Περφερέες*. So Gaisford prints on  
the authority of several MSS. But  
some have *περιφερέες*, and one (S) *rep-  
φέρες*.

<sup>103</sup> τοῖς πλησιοχώροις. So Gaisford  
prints, although the MSS without excep-  
tion have τοὺς πλησιοχώρους. The change  
does not appear to be necessary, although  
the construction becomes a more usual  
one when it is made.

<sup>104</sup> τὰς Θρηκίϊας καὶ τὰς Παιονίδας γυ-  
ναῖκας. The Paeonians represented them-  
selves as a colony from the *Teucrians* of  
Troy, and they were of the same race with  
the *Thracians* of the European continent.  
See note on v. 13. It is not necessary to  
suppose that the writer is here speaking  
of the Paeonians of the Strymon; he may  
very well mean some of the tribes of the  
same race who skirted the northern shore  
of the Propontia. No doubt some of these

are the Paeonians, who struck so heavy a  
blow to Perinthus (v. 1).

<sup>105</sup> Βασιλῇ. All the MSS agree in  
this form, but in i. 205 all have *Βασιλεια*.  
The Thracian name of the goddess was  
*Βερέις* (HERSCHEL, *sub v.*), and a festi-  
val in honour of her (called τὰ Βερέϊεια)  
was introduced at the Piræus in the time  
of Socrates, a prominent part in it being  
a procession of *Thracians*. (PLATO, *Polit.*  
i. p. 327.) It seems not impossible that  
the λαμπαδηφορία, which was introduced  
into the Athenian festival, symbolized the  
transmission from tribe to tribe of the  
sacred rites of the deity no less than did  
the barley-straw and its contents sent from  
the Hyperboreans. This would be the  
more likely if the ritual was introduced  
into Athens not direct from Thracæ, but  
from Lemnos, which is likely from other  
circumstances. See SMITH'S *Dictionary  
of Greek and Roman Mythology*, v. *Bendi-*  
*dis*. There was a *Thracian* tribe in Lemnos  
called *Sinti* (STRABO, vii. fr. 21), the same  
which received Hephestus when ejected  
from Olympus. (*Iliad* i. 594.)

<sup>106</sup> θυόουσας τὰ ἱρὰ. So Gaisford prints  
from S and V. The great majority of  
MSS have *ἐχοόουσας*, which might stand in  
the sense of "holding." The word has  
been considered a corruption from *ἐρθεό-*  
*ουσας*.

λίων αἱ μὲν, πρὸ γάμου πλόκαμον ἀποταμνόμεναι<sup>107</sup> καὶ περὶ Delian rites  
to Hyper-  
oche and  
Laodice.  
 ἀτρακτον εἰλῆσαι, ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα τιθεῖσι· (τὸ δὲ σῆμά ἐστι ἔσω ἐς  
 τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός· ἐπιπέφυκε δὲ οἱ ἐλαίη)  
 οἱ δὲ παῖδες τῶν Δηλίων, περὶ χλόην τινα εἰλίζαντες τῶν τριχῶν,  
 προτιθεῖσι καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα· αὗται μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν τιμὴν  
 ἔχουσι πρὸς τῶν Δήλου οἰκητόρων. Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὴν 35  
 Ἀργὴν τε καὶ τὴν Ὠπίω, ἐούσας παρθένους, ἐξ Ἑπερβορέων κατὰ Delian  
legend of  
Arge and  
Opi,  
 τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἀνθρώπους πορευομένας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Δῆλον  
 ἔτι πρότερον Ἑπερόχης τε καὶ Λαοδίκης· ταύτας μὲν νυν τῇ Εἰ-  
 λειθυίῃ ἀποφερούσας ἀντὶ τοῦ ὠκυτόκου τὸν ἐτάξαντο φόρον ἀπ-  
 ικέσθαι· τὴν δὲ Ἀργὴν τε καὶ τὴν Ὠπίω ἅμα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι  
 ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι, καὶ σφι τιμὰς ἄλλας δεδόσθαι πρὸς σφέων  
 καὶ γὰρ ἀγείρειν σφι τὰς γυναῖκας, ἐπονομαζούσας τὰ οὐνόματα ἐν  
 τῷ ὕμνῳ τὸν σφι Ὠλὴν ἀνὴρ Λύκιος ἐποίησε· παρὰ δὲ σφέων who are  
celebrated  
in the hymn  
of Olen a  
Lycian.  
 μαθόντας νησιώτας τε καὶ Ἰωνας ὕμνείει Ὠπίω τε καὶ Ἀργῇ,  
 ὀνομάζοντάς τε καὶ ἀγείροντάς· (οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ὠλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 τοὺς παλαιοὺς ὕμνους ἐποίησε ἐκ Λυκίας ἐλθὼν<sup>108</sup>, τοὺς ἀειδομέ-  
 νους ἐν Δήλῳ) καὶ τῶν μηρίων καταγιζομένων ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τὴν  
 σποδὸν, ταύτην ἐπὶ τὴν θήκην τῆς Ὠπίως τε καὶ Ἀργῆς ἀναισι-  
 μοῦσθαι ἐπιβαλλομένην· ἡ δὲ θήκη αὐτέων ἐστὶ δπισθε τοῦ Ἀρτε-  
 μίσιου, πρὸς ᾗ δὲ τετραμμένη, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κητῶν ἱστοητορίου<sup>109</sup>.  
 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἑπερβορέων περὶ εἰρήσθω· τὸν γὰρ περὶ Ἀβάριος 36  
 λόγον<sup>110</sup> τοῦ λεγομένου εἶναι Ἑπερβόρῳ οὐ λέγω, λέγων ὥς τὸν Herodotus  
disbelieves

<sup>107</sup> πρὸ γάμου πλόκαμον ἀποταμνόμεναι. PAUSANIAS mentions that at Megara the marriageable virgins used to offer a similar sacrifice on the tomb of Iphinoe (i. 4. 3). This is obviously a ritual belonging to exactly the same religious system, and differing only in the name of the deity. See the notes 164 and 366 on i. 52 and 105.

<sup>108</sup> ἐκ Λυκίας ἐλθὼν. Probably Olen was connected with a colony of Apollo-worshippers from Patara in Lycia. See note 612 on i. 182.

<sup>109</sup> ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κητῶν ἱστοητορίου. Larcher gathers from this passage that each island of the Cyclades had an edifice in which to lodge its deputies sent to the grand festivals at Delos. I should rather conceive the building to be one for the use of the traders from Ceos. BENJAMIN OF

TUDELA (in the year 1168) speaks of the *fontechi* or hostels for the several nations which traded to Alexandria at that time.

<sup>110</sup> τὸν περὶ Ἀβάριος λόγον. The first form of the story of Abaris seems to have been that he was a priest of Apollo, who made a begging pilgrimage, carrying what professed to be an arrow belonging to his god as a sacred symbol. This is the way in which he was described by the orator LYCURGUS. (See LOBECK, *Aglaophamus*, p. 314, note p.) In subsequent times the legend took a different form, and the arrow was represented as a magical vehicle (like the broomstick of the witches) upon which he travelled. In this shape CELSUS quoted it in his book against which ORIGEN wrote (c. *Cels.* iii. p. 129). But it can scarcely be doubted that the arrow



the legend of *Abaris's* pilgrimage, and the existence of *Hyperboreans*, and derides the circularity of the earth and its envelopment by an ocean.

His own geographical system. *Asia*.

διστόν περιέφερε κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν οὐδὲν σιτέομενος. εἰ δὲ εἰσὶ  
τινες Ὑπερβόρειοι ἄνθρωποι, εἰσὶ καὶ ὑπερνότιοι ἄλλοι <sup>111</sup>. γελῶ δὲ  
ὁρέων γῆς περιόδους γράψαντας πολλοὺς ἤδη, καὶ οὐδένα νόον  
ἔχοντας ἐξηγησάμενον <sup>112</sup>. οἱ Ὀκεανὸν τε ῥέοντα γράφουσι πέριξ  
τὴν γῆν εἴουσιν κυκλοτερέα ὡς ἀπὸ τόρνου <sup>113</sup>, καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ  
Εὐρώπῃ ποιεύντων ἴσῃν ἐν ὁλόγοισι γὰρ ἐγὼ δηλώσω μέγαθός τε  
ἐκάστης αὐτέων, καὶ οἷα τίς ἐστι ἐς γραφὴν ἐκάστη.

37 Πέρσαι οἰκεῖουσιν <sup>114</sup> κατήκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίην θάλασσαν, τὴν  
Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην τούτων δ' ὑπεροικέουσιν <sup>115</sup> πρὸς βορρᾶν ἀνέ-  
μου Μῆδοι, Μῆδων δὲ Σάσπειρες, Σασπείρων δὲ Κόλχοι, κατ-  
ήκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν βορήνῃν θάλασσαν ἐς τὴν Φάσις ποταμὸς ἐκδιδού-

was originally the symbol of the Deity for whom the mendicant expedition was undertaken. The most sturdy beggars among the Pagan priests were those who advocated the claims of the Mother, so that the term *μητρειότης* was from them applied to all. But they were not the only mendicants. SOPHOCLES, in a satyric drama (*Inachus*), introduced Here herself as a priestess begging, with the words *Νύμφαις δρεσιγόνοις θεαῖσιν ἀγείρω*, Ἰνᾶχου Ἀργεῖον ποταμὸν παῖσι βιοδώροισι. (PLATO, *Resp.* ii. p. 431. *Schol. Aristoph. Ran.* 1385.) Sometimes the sacred symbol was an animal, as a crow, or a goose. The early Christians were very bitter against these collections in favour of what they called the 'Di tributarii.' "Non sufficimus," says TERTULLIAN, "et hominibus et Diis vestris opem ferre."

<sup>111</sup> εἰ δὲ εἰσὶ τινες Ὑπερβόρειοι . . ἄλλοι. This passage is cited as by Herodorus in the SCHOLIAST on *Apollon. Rhod.* ii. 676. The two names are very often confounded. HECATÆUS wrote two books on the subject of the Hyperboreans, and positively asserted that they existed in his time. (*Schol. Apoll.* i. c.)

<sup>112</sup> γελῶ δὲ ὁρέων . . . ἐξηγησάμενον. This passage appears to be corrupt in the latter part. Dobree proposes to read *ἐχόντας* for *ἔχοντας*; a conjecture which is adopted by Bekker. I should be more disposed to read *ἔχοντα*, and write οὐδ' ἓνα instead of οὐδένα. The final letter of the word *ἔχοντας* might have arisen in an uncial manuscript through the error of the transcriber writing C (σ) instead of ε, and the subsequent corrector, on observing that *ἐξηγησάμενον* was deficient in its initial letter, at once inserting

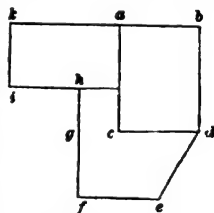
it. If *ἔχοντα* be adopted, it is to be taken as the accusative plural after *ἐξηγησάμενον*. Translate: "But I smile to see multitudes of persons up to the present time drawing up charts of the earth, and not a soul giving explanations that have sense."

<sup>113</sup> εἴουσιν κυκλοτερέα ὡς ἀπὸ τόρνου. See note 71 on ii. 21.

<sup>114</sup> Πέρσαι οἰκεῖουσιν. Schweighäuser conceives that the word *Ἀσίην* must have originally preceded these words. It is not found however in any existing MS. It will be remarked that the *νοτίη θαλάσση* here and in § 42 is a very different sea from that mentioned above. (See note 17.)

<sup>115</sup> τούτων δ' ὑπεροικέουσιν, κ.τ.λ. NIEBUHR (*Kleine Schriften*, p. 153) endeavours to explain the geographical system which follows by the annexed diagram.

The space *a, b, c, d* is the part of Asia occupied by the four nations, Persians, Medes, Saspies, and Colchi, *d* being supposed to be the head of the Persian Gulf. *a, k, i, h* is the northern *ἄκτῃ*, Phasis being at *a*, and Sigeum at *k*. From *d* to *h* is the *χωρὸς πλεονὺς καὶ πολλὰς*, *h, g* being the Phœnician line of coast. *g, d, e, f* is the other *ἄκτῃ*, in which, reckoning from *d, g* as a base, there occur the "three nations," which Niebuhr makes to be Persians, Assyrians, and Arabians. But see below, note 121.



ταῦτα τέσσερα ἔθνεα οἰκέει ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θάλασσαν <sup>116</sup>. Ἐνθεῦ- 38  
 τεν δέ, τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης, ἀκταὶ διφάσαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς κατατείνουσι ἐς  
 θάλασσαν, τὰς ἐγὼ ἀπηγγέσομαι· ἔνθεν μὲν ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ ἐτέρη τὰ  
 πρὸς βορῆν, ἀπὸ Φάσιος ἀρξαμένη, παρατέταται ἐς θάλασσαν  
 παρά τε τὸν Πόντον καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μέχρι Συγείου τοῦ  
 Τρωϊκοῦ <sup>117</sup>. τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον <sup>118</sup>, ἡ αὐτὴ αὕτη ἀκτὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μυριαν-  
 δρικοῦ κόλπου <sup>119</sup>, τοῦ πρὸς Φοινίκῃ κειμένου, τίνει τὰ ἐς θάλασσαν  
 μέχρι Τριοπίου ἄκρης· οἰκέει δ' ἐν τῇ ἀκτὴ ταύτῃ ἔθνεα ἀνθρώπων  
 τριήκοντα <sup>120</sup>.

Αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ ἐτέρη τῶν ἀκτέων ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐτέρη, ἀπὸ Περσέων 39  
 ἀρξαμένη, παρατέταται ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν, ἥ τε Περσικὴ  
 καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκδεκομένη Ἀσσυρίῃ καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀσσυρίης ἡ Ἀρα-

<sup>116</sup> ταῦτα τέσσερα ἔθνεα οἰκέει ἐκ θαλάσσης εἰς θάλασσαν. These are apparently the nations through which much merchandise from the east would come into Greece, viâ Colchis. The goods would go by land carriage to the Caspian sea, and from thence pass up the river Cyrus. See note 363 on i. 104, and note 124, below.

<sup>117</sup> Συγείου τοῦ Τρωϊκοῦ. The promontory Sigeum (upon which the town of the same name was built) is an outlying spur from Mount Ida, standing up so boldly in the sea that at a distance it presents the appearance of an insulated rock. On the top of it there are at the present time a number of windmills, which form a landmark to the mariner. The same use was doubtless made of the buildings in the time of Herodotus; and hence perhaps the reference to it in the text. Three or four miles to the north of Sigeum another spur from Ida runs into the sea, forming the promontory Rhæteum, near which was the city of the same name (vii. 43); and between these two was the marshy mouth of the Scamander and Simois united in one stream. The alluvium brought down by these waters continually changes the appearance of the plain between, and the position of the mouth is said to be much nearer Sigeum than was formerly the case. (HOFFMANN, *Griechenland u. die Griechen*, pp. 1657—60.)

Immediately opposite to Sigeum on the Chersonese coast was the temple of Protesilaus and the town Eleusa (STRABO, xiii. c. 1, p. 103), of which Herodotus speaks (vii. 33; ix. 120).

<sup>118</sup> τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον. Some of the

MSS have τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον. Above, all without any exception have πρὸς βορῆν (or βορέην). It is more likely in this passage that the genitive should have been altered into the accusative for the sake of producing symmetry than the reverse.

<sup>119</sup> Μυριανδρικοῦ κόλπου. This is the reading of Gaisford, following a conjecture of Wesseling; but it rests on a very doubtful foundation. XENOPHON (*Anab.* i. 4. 6) mentions a town called *Myriandrus*, which was a Phœnician settlement on the coast, five parasangs south of the pass between Syria and Cilicia. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS (sub v.), quoting that passage, adds τὸ κτητικὸν Μυριανδρικοῦ κόλπου, but without any reference to Herodotus (although he had quoted him very little before, sub v. Μυκάλη). No MSS support the reading, they varying between *Μαριανδρικοῦ*, *Μαριανδρῶν*, *Μαριανδρῶν*, and *Μαριανδρῶν*, every one of which variations point to the north of Asia Minor instead of the south. But whatever the reading be, it seems plain that the gulf alluded to is the gulf of Issus, and also that it is not accurately known to the narrator. Perhaps the traffic with the east by way of the Orontes was in the hands of the Phœnicians, and no Hellenic vessel allowed to go near the coast, north of Poseideum. (See note 13 on iii. 5; iii. 91; and note 624 on i. 185.) Xenophon found a great number of merchant vessels in the roads at Myriandrus, but does not say to what nation they belonged.

<sup>120</sup> ἔθνεα ἀνθρώπων τριήκοντα. Some of these are named in i. 28, but it seems very unlikely that the two accounts rest on the same authority.

βίη<sup>121</sup>. λήγει δὲ αὕτη (οὐ λήγουσα εἰ μὴ νόμῳ) ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον, ἐς τὸν Δαρείους ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχα ἐσήγαγε<sup>122</sup>. (μέχρι μὲν νυν Φοινίκης ἀπὸ Περσέων, χώρος πλατὺς καὶ πολλὸς ἐστὶ· τὸ δ' ἀπὸ Φοινίκης παρήκει διὰ τήσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ ἀκτὴ αὕτη παρά τε Συρίην τὴν Παλαιστίνην καὶ Αἴγυπτον, ἐς τὴν τελευτᾷ) ἐν τῇ ἔθνεά ἐστι τρία μῦνα<sup>123</sup>. ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ Περσέων  
 40 τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρης τῆς Ἀσίας ἔχοντά ἐστι. Τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε Περσέων, καὶ Μήδων, καὶ Σασπειρων, καὶ Κόλχων<sup>124</sup>, τὰ πρὸς ἧν τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, ἐνθεν μὲν ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ παρήκει θάλασσα· πρὸς βορῶν δὲ ἡ Κασπίη τε θάλασσα, καὶ ὁ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς, ῥέων πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα<sup>125</sup>. μέχρι δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς οἰκείται Ἀσίῃ τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐρήμος ἤδη τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, οὐδ' ἔχει οὐδεὶς φράσαι οἶον δὴ τί ἐστὶ τοιαύτη μὲν καὶ τοσαύτη ἡ Ἀσίῃ

<sup>121</sup> ἢ τε Περσικὴ . . . ἢ Ἀραβίη. I can give no satisfactory explanation of these words, and do not believe them to be genuine. Persia is apparently not reckoned by Herodotus in either ἀκτὴ, but is a portion of the base from which the two ἀκταὶ spring. The "three nations" spoken of as lying in the ἀκτὴ are, I conceive, the Phœnicians, Assyrians, and Arabians.

<sup>122</sup> ἐς τὸν Δαρείους ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχα ἐσήγαγε. See note 485 on ii. 158. It seems strange that Herodotus should here think it necessary to describe the Arabian gulf by this notice, after the very full account of it in ii. 11. But that passage may be a subsequent addition.

<sup>123</sup> ἐν τῇ ἔθνεά ἐστι τρία μῦνα. See above, notes 116, 121.

<sup>124</sup> τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε Περσέων, καὶ Μήδων, &c. This phrase is a strange one, except we suppose the writer to speak as a merchant might, taking the countries through which his own line of traffic passed as the base of his geographical system, and referring every thing else to this. See note 363 on i. 104. The regions *Syspiritis* and also *Hyspiratis* are mentioned by STRABO in his description of Armenia (xi. c. 14), but it is not easy to assign their exact position; and it is questionable whether the writer himself had any definite notion of it. But one can scarcely doubt that the two forms are merely dialectal varieties, and that the *Saspires* of Herodotus (at any rate in this passage and in i. 104) are the people from whom the region takes its name. Now *Hyspiratis* is described by STRABO (p. 461) as a dis-

trict abounding in gold, a proof of the productiveness of which he gives in the enormous gratuity which Tigranes was enabled to bestow upon Pompey's army. This peculiarity of the region may perhaps explain Herodotus's use of the word *Saspires* in i. 104 and this passage, where he seems to take in the whole (or greater part) of that which STRABO calls Iberia and Albania. If he is in these passages following a commercial authority, the commercial importance of the commodity gold might, in such a case, cause the name of the particular region where it was found to be extended to the whole of the country of which this region constituted a part. It is to me very doubtful whether the *Saspires* of iii. 94 and vii. 79 are co-extensive with the *Saspires* of this passage.

<sup>125</sup> ὁ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς, ῥέων πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα. The Araxes here is perhaps the same river which is spoken of in i. 201, but certainly not the same as that mentioned in iv. 11. See the note on the former passage. Down the Oxus the eastern traffic came from Bactria, and found its way by the Caspian, and up the river Cyrus to the Colchians, by whom it was transmitted down the Phasis to the Greek ports on the Black Sea. For a reason of the erroneous direction given to the stream by Herodotus, see note 681 on i. 202. It is however far from impossible that he here gives the name of Araxes to a third river, viz. that one which terminates in Lake Lob in Thibet.

ἐστὶ. Ἡ δὲ Λιβύη ἐν τῇ ἀκτῇ τῇ ἐτέρῃ ἐστὶ· ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου 41  
 Λιβύη ἤδη ἐκδέκεται. κατὰ μὲν νυν Αἴγυπτον ἡ ἀκτὴ αὕτη στεινή *Libya.*  
 ἐστὶ· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν <sup>126</sup>  
 δέκα μυριάδες εἰσὶ ὀργυιῶν· αὐταὶ δ' ἂν εἰεν χίλιοι στάδιοι· τὸ δὲ  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ στεينوῦ τούτου κάρτα πλατέα τυγχάνει εὐόσα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἥτις  
 Λιβύη κέκληται.

Θωυμάζω ὦν τῶν διουρισάντων καὶ διελόντων Λιβύην τε καὶ 42  
 Ἀσίην καὶ Εὐρώπην· οὐ γὰρ σμικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα αὐτέων ἐστὶ· *Criticism*  
 μήκει μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἀμφοτέρας παρήκει ἡ Εὐρώπη, εὐρεος δὲ πέρα, *of writers*  
 οὐδὲ συμβαλέειν ἀξίη φαίνεται μοι εἶναι. Λιβύη μὲν γὰρ δηλοῖ *who divided*  
 ἑωυτὴν εὐόσα περίρρυτος, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίην *the earth*  
 οὐρίζει, Νεκὸς τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως πρώτου τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν *into Libya,*  
 καταδέξαντος· ὃς ἐπεὶ τε τὴν διώρυχα ἐπαύσατο ὀρύσσων τὴν ἐκ *Asia, and*  
 τοῦ Νείλου διέχουσαν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, ἀπέπεμψε Φοίνικας *Europe.*  
 ἄνδρας πλοίοισι, ἐντειλάμενος ἐς τὸ ὀπίσω δι' Ἡρακλετῶν στη- *Circumna-*  
 λέων διεκπλέειν ἕως ἐς τὴν βορητὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ οὕτω ἐς Αἴγυ- *vigation of*  
 πτον ἀπικνέεσθαι· ὀρμηθέντες ὦν οἱ Φοίνικες ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς *Libya by*  
 θαλάσσης, ἔπλεον τὴν νοτιήν θάλασσαν ὅκως δὲ γίνονται φθινό- *Phœnicians*  
 πωρον, προσίσχοντες <sup>127</sup> ἂν σπεύρεσκον τὴν γῆν, ἵνα ἐκάστοτε τῆς *under Neco,*  
 Λιβύης πλείοντες γινοίετο, καὶ μένεσκον τὸν ἄμμητον θερίσαντες δ'  
 ἂν τὸν σῆτον ἔπλεον ὥστε δύο ἐτέων διεξελθόντων, τρίτῃ ἔτει  
 κάμψαντες Ἡρακλετίας στήλας ἀπίκοντο ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἔλεγον,  
 ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ ἄλλω δὲ δή τεφ, ὡς περιπλάωντες τὴν Λιβύην  
 τὸν ἥλιον ἔσχον ἐς τὰ δεξιὰ <sup>128</sup>. Οὕτω μὲν αὕτη ἐγνώσθη τὸ 43

<sup>126</sup> ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. By this phrase must here be meant the Arabian gulf. The distance by the artificial navigation from sea to sea appears to have been estimated at 1000 *stades*. See note 488 on ii. 158.

<sup>127</sup> προσίσχοντες. This is Gaisford's reading, on the authority of S and V. The other MSS have προσχόντες. So have they just below γινοίετο for γινούετο (which is the reading of S and V), and several γένοιτο for γίνοντο, just above.

<sup>128</sup> τὸν ἥλιον ἔσχον ἐς τὰ δεξιὰ. This passage is relied on by RENNELL, who is a strong advocate for the truth of Herodotus's story of the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phœnicians under Neco's instructions, as decisively proving the truth of his view. But whichever way

the balance of probability may incline in the general question, it appears a complete assumption that even the equinoctial line *must* have been passed in order that this notion should prevail. It would be known by the Arabians that the further south a traveller went (within the limits of their knowledge), the nearer he would approach to the sun; and hence they may well have *assumed* that when he got beyond a certain line he would leave the sun behind him. An exact parallel to this process of reasoning is furnished by the authorities (Tartars of the extreme north of Central Asia) on whom MARCO POLO depended for his accounts of the Northern Sea. "In an island of that sea," he says, "are bred the gerfalcons; and I assure you that the place is so far north, *that the polestar*

afterwards  
by Carthagi-  
nians, as  
they assert.

Failure of  
the Persian  
Sataspes.

Adventures  
of Sataspes  
in the course  
of his voy-  
age.

πρώτον μετὰ δὲ, Καρχηδόνιοι εἰσι οἱ λέγοντες <sup>130</sup>. ἐπεὶ Σατάσπης γε ὁ Τεάσπιος <sup>130</sup>, ἀνὴρ Ἀχαιμενίδης, οὐ περιέπλωσε Λιβύην, ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεμφθεὶς· ἀλλὰ δείσας τὸ τε μῆκος τοῦ πλόου καὶ τὴν ἐρημίην, ἀπῆλθε ὀπίσω, οὐδ' ἐπετέλεσε τὸν ἐπέταξέ οἱ ἡ μήτηρ ἄεθλον· θυγατέρα γὰρ Ζωπύρου τοῦ Μεγαβύζου ἐβίησατο παρ-  
θένον· ἔπειτα μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην ἀνασκολοπι-  
εῖσθαι ὑπὸ Ξέρξῳ βασιλέως, ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Σατάσπεος, ἐούσα Δαρείου ἀδελφεῖ, παραιτήσατο, φᾶσά οἱ αὐτὴ μέζω ζήμην ἐπι-  
θήσειν ἥπερ ἐκείνων· Λιβύην γάρ οἱ ἀνάγκην ἔσεσθαι περιπλώειν,  
ἐς δ' ἂν ἀπίκηται περιπλέων αὐτὴν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον·  
συγχωρήσαντος δὲ Ξέρξῳ ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὁ Σατάσπης ἀπικόμενος  
ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ λαβὼν νέα τε καὶ ναύτας παρὰ τούτων, ἔπλεε  
παρὰ Ἡρακλεΐας στήλας· διεκπλώσας δὲ καὶ κάμψας τὸ ἄκρω-  
τήριον τῆς Λιβύης τῷ οὐνομα Σολόεις <sup>131</sup> ἐστὶ, ἔπλεε πρὸς μεσαμ-  
βρίην· περήσας δὲ θάλασσαν πολλὴν ἐν πολλοῖσι μήνεσι, ἐπεὶ τε  
τοῦ πλεῦνος αἰεὶ ἔδεε, ἀποστρέψας ὀπίσω ἀπέπλεε ἐς Αἴγυπτον·  
ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἀπικόμενος παρὰ βασιλέα Ξέρξα, ἔλεγε φᾶς τὰ

remains behind, and is seen to the south" (p. 263). The process of reasoning by which this impossible conclusion was arrived at, shows itself manifestly from passages in other parts of his work. Of Sumatra he says, that "it lies so far south, that the north star is never seen" (p. 282). At Cape Comorin, "the north star, which we had not seen since leaving Java, appeared to us, when thirty miles out at sea, rising about a cubit above the horizon" (p. 311). At Malabar, "the north star at its greatest height appears two cubits above the water" (p. 312). The *Hyperborei* owe their existence to the same way of thinking. They are in the original notion a mythical people dwelling *beyond* the home of the northern storm-blasts (*βίται*), which was supposed to be certain mountains (ὁ τὰ Πιταῖα ὄρη καὶ τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους μυθοποιούντες, STRABO, vii. c. 3, p. 71); and hence Herodotus could reasonably say, that on the same principle there must be also *Hyperboreans*, i.e. human beings living further off than the region out of which the south wind blew (above, § 36). See also note 78 on § 26, above.

<sup>130</sup> Καρχηδόνιοι εἰσι οἱ λέγοντες. It does not appear at what time the voyage of which Herodotus here speaks was made,

but it must have been subsequent to the failure of Sataspes. He obviously means to say that there were three commonly alleged circumnavigations of Africa,—that under the auspices of Neco being the first, and the second (that by Sataspes) being in fact an abortive attempt; so that really the next after Neco who asserted themselves to have accomplished the feat were the Carthaginians. There is no occasion to desire to change *λέγοντες* into *πλέοντες*. The word *περιπλώσαι* is understood.

<sup>130</sup> ὁ Τεάσπιος. This is the reading of all the MSS (except 8, which has *Τεάσπειος*), which would imply a nominative case *Τεάσπης*. But in vii. 11 there is an equal unanimity for the nominative *Τεάσπης*. It cannot be doubted that the original Achaemenid name is the same for both these forms, and the natural inference from their variation seems to be that the source of the story in the text is a different one from that of vii. 11. This one obviously comes through a Samian channel. See the end of the section.

<sup>131</sup> Σολόεις. Immediately after rounding Soloeis, the coast bends for a time to the east. Of the place see note 96 on ii. 32.

προσωτάτω<sup>133</sup> ἀνθρώπους σμικρούς παραπλέειν, ἐσθῆτι φοινικῆ<sup>133</sup> διαχρεωμένους· οἷ, ὅκως σφεῖς καταγοῖατο τῇ νηϊ, φεύγεσκον πρὸς τὰ οὖρεα λείποντες τὰς πόλιας· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀδικέειν οὐδὲν ἐσιόντες, πρόβατα δὲ μούνα ἐξ αὐτέων λαμβάνειν τοῦ δὲ μὴ περιπλῶσαι Λιβύην παντελῶς, αἴτιον τόδε ἔλεγε, τὸ πλοῖον τὸ πρόσω οὐ δυνατόν ἔτι προβαίνειν, ἀλλ' ἐνίσχασθαι· Ἐέρξης δὲ οὐ οἱ συγγινώσκων λέγειν ἀληθέα, οὐκ ἐπιτελέσαντά τε τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον ἀνεσκολόπισε, τὴν ἀρχαίην δίκην ἐπιτιμῶν. τοῦτου δὲ τοῦ Σατάσπεος εὐνοῦχος ἀπέδρη ἐς Σάμον, ἐπεὶ τε ἐπύθετο τάχιστα τὸν δεσπότηα τετελευτηκότα, ἔχων χρήματα μεγάλα τὰ Σάμιος ἀνὴρ κατέσχε· τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὖνομα, ἐκὼν ἐπιλήθομαι<sup>134</sup>.

Τῆς δὲ Ἀσίης τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξευρέθη· ὃς βουλόμενος 44 Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν, ὃς κροκοδείλους δεύτερος οὗτος ποταμῶν πάντων παρέχεται<sup>135</sup>, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν εἰδέναι τῇ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοί, πέμπει πλοίοισι ἄλλους τε τοῖσι ἐπίστευε τὴν ἀληθινήν ἐρεῖν, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύλακα ἄνδρα Καρυανδέα<sup>136</sup>. οἱ δὲ, ὁρμηθέντες ἐκ Κασπατύρου τε πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακτυϊκῆς γῆς<sup>137</sup>, ἔπλεον κατὰ ποταμὸν πρὸς ἧν τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐς θάλασσαν<sup>138</sup>. διὰ θαλάσσης δὲ

Voyage of Scylax of Caryanda, who, under the auspices of Darius, discovers the southern coast of Asia.

<sup>133</sup> φὰς τὰ προσωτάτω. This is the reading of Gaisford with all the MSS, except S, which has σφεας τὰ προσώτατα.

<sup>133</sup> ἐσθῆτι φοινικῆ, "in a garb made of palm leaves." In the existing MSS the form φοινίκεος is always used to express the colour, while φοινικῆος is appropriated to denote that which is derived from the palm-tree.

<sup>134</sup> ἐκὼν ἐπιλήθομαι. The manuscripts S, V, a, c have ἐπιλήσομαι. The expression ἐκὼν ἐπελήθετο is used above (iii. 75), and τῶν ἐντολῶν μεμνημένος ἐπελανθάνετο (iii. 147).

<sup>135</sup> ὃς κροκοδείλους . . . παρέχεται. The other river which, in the apprehension of Herodotus, produces crocodiles, is no doubt the Nile; and it may be hence gathered that the Ganges was entirely unknown. But it seems not impossible that the reputation of the Ganges was transferred to the Indus; for the latter river does not (I believe) produce alligators, at any rate within the limits which in the time of Herodotus were at all known.

<sup>136</sup> Σκύλακα ἄνδρα Καρυανδέα. It will be observed that Herodotus says nothing of Scylax as an author, but regards him wholly as a discoverer. The reputation acquired by this voyage probably caused his name to be attached to the existing work, which is of a much later date. See Niebuhr's article, translated in the *Cambridge Philological Museum*, for a complete discussion of this subject. See also note 499 on i. 46. The conclusion to which Niebuhr arrives is that the current treatise was compiled subsequently to the 100th Olympiad, and perhaps even subsequently to the 105th, but before the growth of the Macedonian empire.

<sup>137</sup> Κασπατύρου τε πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακτυϊκῆς γῆς. See note 294 on iii. 102.

<sup>138</sup> πρὸς ἧν τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐς θάλασσαν. This is the course of the Ganges, but not of the Indus below Attock. It is however the general direction of the Cauabul river, upon which the discoverer embarked, and this, coinciding with that of the alligator-producing Ganges, may have led to the confusion in the text.

πρὸς ἐσπέρην πλέοντες, τριηκοστῷ μηνὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον ὅθεν ὁ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς τοὺς Φοῖνικας, τοὺς πρότερον εἶπα, ἀπέστειλε περιπλῶειν Λιβύην μετὰ δὲ τούτους περιπλῶσαντας, Ἰνδοὺς τε κατεστρέψατο Δαρεῖος<sup>139</sup> καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ ταύτῃ ἐχρᾶτο· οὕτω καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας, πλὴν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, τὰ ἄλλα ἀνεύρηται ὁμοῖα παρεχομένη τῇ Λιβύῃ.

45

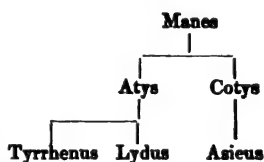
The boundary of Europe is unknown; and so is the origin of the names Europe, Asia, and Libya.

Ἡ δὲ δὴ Εὐρώπη πρὸς οὐδαμῶν φανερὴ ἐστὶ γνωσκομένη, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς βορρῇ εἰ περιέρνυτός ἐστι· μήκει δὲ γινώσκεται παρ' ἀμφοτέρας παρήκουσα. οὐδ' ἔχω συμβαλέσθαι ἐπ' ὅτεν μὴ εὐόση γῇ οὐνόματα τριφάσια κέεται ἐπωνυμίας ἔχοντα γυναικῶν, καὶ οὐρίσματα αὐτῇ Νεῖλός τε ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ποταμὸς ἐτέθη, καὶ Φάσις ὁ Κόλχος· (οἱ δὲ Τάναϊν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαιήτην<sup>140</sup> καὶ Πορθμῖα τὰ Κιμμέρια λέγουσι) οὐδὲ τῶν διουρισάντων τὰ οὐνόματα πυθέσθαι, καὶ ὅθεν ἔθεντο τὰς ἐπωνυμίας· ἡ δὲ γὰρ Λιβύη μὲν ἐπὶ Λιβύης λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔχειν τὸ οὐνομα γυναικὸς αὐτόχθονος· ἡ δὲ Ἀσίη ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθέος γυναικὸς τὴν ἐπωνυμίην· καὶ τούτου μὲν μεταλαμβάνονται τοῦ οὐνόματος Λυδοί, φάμενοι ἐπὶ Ἀσίῳ, τοῦ Κότυος, τοῦ Μάνεω<sup>141</sup>, κεκλῆσθαι τὴν Ἀσίην, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθέος Ἀσίας ἀπ' ὅτεν καὶ τὴν ἐν Σάρδισι φυλὴν κεκλῆσθαι Ἀσιάδα. ἡ δὲ δὴ Εὐρώπη οὔτε εἰ περιέρνυτός ἐστι γινώσκεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὔτε ὁκόθεν τὸ οὐνομα ἔλαβε τοῦτο<sup>142</sup>,

<sup>139</sup> Ἰνδοὺς τε κατεστρέψατο Δαρεῖος. For the probable extent of Darius's conquests in India, see note 293 on iii. 101. It is not easy to say what exact notion Herodotus attached to τῇ θαλάσῃ ταύτῃ ἐχρᾶτο. Perhaps the expression may refer to a traffic with India by way of the Persian gulf. See ARISTOTELUS, quoted in note 314 on iii. 111.

<sup>140</sup> οἱ δὲ Τάναϊν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαιήτην. PROCOPIUS (iv. 6), in citing this passage, has the variation οἱ δὲ Τάναϊν ποταμὸν καὶ Μαιᾶτιν.

<sup>141</sup> ἐπὶ Ἀσίῳ, τοῦ Κότυος, τοῦ Μάνεω. In the genealogies given above (i. 7 and 94) Manes is made the father of Atys, and Atys of Lydus, the eponymous ancestor of the Lydians. On the hypothesis that both the three genealogies belong to the same cycle of traditions, and that the reading here is genuine, the mythical pedigree will have run thus:—



BUT DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS combines the names differently, making Atys not the brother, but the son of Cotys (*Archæol.* i. 27); and LYCORHON (*ap. Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg.* v. 270) made Asieus the son of Atys. All these appear to me to be merely different combinations of three genuine genealogies, themselves framed on the principle explained in the note 336 on i. 94. The Asia of which Asieus is the eponym is the low country at the mouth of the Cayster.

<sup>142</sup> ὁκόθεν τὸ οὐνομα ἔλαβε τοῦτο. HESIOD makes Europe one of the Oceanii.

οὔτε ὅστις οἱ ἦν ὁ θέμενος φαίνεται εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρίας φήσομεν Εὐρώπης λαβεῖν τὸ οὖνομα τὴν χώραν, πρότερον δὲ ἦν ἄρα ἀνώνυμος, ὥσπερ αἱ ἕτεραι· ἀλλ' αὕτη γε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τε φαίνεται εἶσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπικομένη ἐς τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἢ τις νῦν ὑπὸ Ἑλληῶν Εὐρώπῃ καλεῖται, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐς Κρήτην ἐκ Κρήτης δὲ ἐς Λυκίην<sup>143</sup>. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· τοῖσι γὰρ νομιζομένοισι αὐτῶν χρυσόμεθα.

Ὁ δὲ Πόντος ὁ Εὐξείνιος, ἐπ' ὃν ἐστρατεύετο Δαρείος, χωρέων 46  
 πασῶν παρέχεται, ἔξω τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ, ἔθνεα ἀμαθίστατα· οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνος τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ Πόντου<sup>144</sup> οὐδὲν ἔχομεν προβαλέσθαι σοφίης πέρι, οὔτε ἄνδρα λόγιον οἶδαμεν γενόμενον<sup>145</sup>, πάρεξ τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνεος καὶ Ἀναχάρσιος. τῷ δὲ Σκυθικῷ γένει ἐν μὲν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν πρηγμάτων σοφώτατα πάντων ἐξεύρηται τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα οὐκ ἄγαμαι· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον οὕτω σφί' ἀνεύρηται, ὥστε ἀποφυγῆεν τε μηδένα ἐπελθόντα ἐπὶ σφέας, μὴ βουλομένους τε ἐξευρεθῆναι καταλαβεῖν μὴ οἷον τε εἶναι· τοῖσι γὰρ μήτε ἄσπεα μήτε τείχεα ἢ ἐκτισμένα, ἀλλὰ φερέοικοι<sup>146</sup> ὄντες πάντες ἔωσι ἵπποτοξόται, ζῶντες μὴ ἀπ' ἀρότου ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων, οἰκήματά τε σφί' ἢ ἐπὶ ζευγέων, κῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴησαν οὗτοι ἄμαχοι τε καὶ ἄποροι προσμίσγειν; Ἐξεύρηται 47

Brutish character of the Pontine tribes. Peculiarity of the Scythians

des (*Theogon.* 357); but the name does not occur either in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*. The earliest mention of the word as denoting a region is in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, in the enumeration of the tribes which come to his temple:

ἡμὲν ὅσοι Πελοπόννησον πείραν ἔχουσιν,  
 ἢ δ' ὅσοι Εὐρώπῃ τε καὶ ἀμφιρότους κατὰ  
 νῆσους.

These lines, which occur in two places, (250. 290), are supposed by Heyne to be from the hand of a copyist, but in my opinion without sufficient reason. The word *Europa* is perhaps connected etymologically with *ερεβος*. *HERSYCHIUS*: *Εὐρώπη* χώρα τῆς δύσεως, ἢ σκοτεινῇ. *BUTTMANN* (*Mythologus*, ii. p. 176) makes *kadm* and *ereb*, the roots of *Cadmus* and *Europa*, to signify respectively the *east* and the *west*.

<sup>143</sup> ἐς Λυκίην. Several of the MSS have *Λιβύην*.

<sup>144</sup> τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ Πόντου. This expression is a very singular one. It seems appropriate rather to a mariner than any

other kind of traveller, and to mean "tribes upon which he would come after having entered the sea."

<sup>145</sup> λόγιον οἶδαμεν γενόμενον. So *Gaisford* with the majority of MSS. Two (S and V) have *λόγιμον οἶδαμεν λεγόμενον*.

<sup>146</sup> φερέοικοι. This is a literally accurate description of the Scythians, "quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos," as *HORACE* (iii. 24, 10) describes it. Their modern representatives, the *Calmucks*, do not either, properly speaking, dwell in wagons; but the round framework covered with felt in which they live when forming a camp, is lifted bodily on to the wheels of the carriage. See *Plate 6* in the first volume of *PALLAS* (*Travels in Southern Russia*), or the *Vignette* to chap. xiv. of *CLARKE*, vol. i. *ÆSCHYLUS*'s description is no less exact:

Σκύθας δ' ἀφίξει Νομάδας οἱ πλεκτὰς στέγας  
 πεδᾶρσιναι ραλούς' ἐπ' εὐκύκλοις ὅχοις.

*Prom.* 709.



arising out  
of the nature  
of the  
country.

Fluvial  
system of  
Scythia.

48

The *Ister*  
and its  
feeders

the *Pyretus*,  
*Tiarantus*,  
*Arar*, *Na-*  
*paris*, and

δέ σφι ταῦτα, τῆς τε γῆς ἐούσης ἐπιτηδέης καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν  
ἐόντων σφι συμμάχων ἥ τε γὰρ γῆ ἐούσα πεδιάς αἴτη, ποιῶδης τε  
καὶ εὐδρός<sup>147</sup> ἐστὶν ποταμοὶ τε δι' αὐτῆς ῥέουσι οὐ πολλῶ τεφ  
ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονες τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διαρύχων<sup>148</sup>. ὅσοι δὲ οὐνο-  
μαστοὶ τέ εἰσι αὐτῶν, καὶ προσπλωτοὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τούτους  
οὐνομανέω· Ἴστρος μὲν, πεντάστομος<sup>149</sup>. μετὰ δὲ, Τύρης τε καὶ  
Ἵπτανις, καὶ Βορυσθένης, καὶ Παντικᾶπης, καὶ Ἰπάκυρις, καὶ  
Γέρρος, καὶ Τάναϊς· ῥέουσι δὲ οὗτοι κατὰ τάδε.

Ἴστρος μὲν, ἐὼν μέγιστος ποταμῶν πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν,  
Ἰσος αἰεὶ αὐτὸς ἐωυτῷ ῥέει καὶ θέρεος καὶ χειμῶνος· πρῶτος δὲ τὸ  
ἀπ' ἐσπέρης τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ ῥέων, κατὰ τοιούδε μέγιστος γέγονε  
ποταμῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκδιδόντων· εἰσὶ δὲ οἶδε οἱ μέγαν  
αὐτὸν ποιεῦντες· διὰ μὲν γε τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρας πέντε μὲν οἱ  
ῥέοντες<sup>150</sup>. τὸν τε Σκύθαι Πόρατα καλέουσι Ἕλληνες δὲ Πυ-  
ρετόν<sup>151</sup>. καὶ ἄλλος Τιαραντός· καὶ Ἀραρός τε, καὶ Νάπαρις, καὶ

<sup>147</sup> *eudros*. So Gaisford prints with the majority of MSS, but S and V have *euudros*.

<sup>148</sup> *τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διαρύχων*. By these are perhaps meant only the main channels, along the banks of which the roads ran, which in the time of the inundation connected the cities with one another. The general appearance of the Egyptian water arrangements must have been very unlike any thing in Scythia. CLARKE however speaks of the *Tunais* at its mouth as reminding him most strikingly of the Nile. "The same aquatic plants are found in both rivers; tall flags, reeds, and bulrushes sometimes rising to the height of twenty feet. The manner of entrance into the sea by several mouths is also the same, forming small islands with fens and morasses." (*Travels*, i. p. 356.)

<sup>149</sup> *πεντάστομος*. STRABO makes the *Ister* seven-mouthed. The southernmost is, according to him, the so-called "sacred mouth." A passage of 120 *stadia* through this brought the mariner to the island *Peuce*, at the lower part of which the tradition ran that Darius had made his bridge. Strabo, as if aware that such a proceeding would be useless, adds *δὲναίτε* ὃν ἀν ζευχθῆναι κατὰ τὸ ἄνω. The next three channels were small, and the three last a middle size between these and the "sacred mouth." The mouths of such a

river must be continually changing, and even their number varying. It would probably not be possible to identify at the present day either the *Peuce* of Strabo or the *Leuce* of Arrian (if they are not really the same). CLARKE (*Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 394—401) gives a very graphic description of the mouth of the Danube as he saw it. By his account one would incline to believe that there is only one remarkable island, and that *Leuce* was the true name of this. He speaks of its value as a landmark, "the shore being flat all the way from Odessa to the Danube; and so low near to the river's mouth, that no other object appears to those who approach the shore than tall reeds rising out of the water, or the masts of vessels lying in the river." He goes on to remark the *whiteness* of the Danube stream and of the porpoises seen in it.

<sup>150</sup> *πέντε μὲν οἱ ῥέοντες*. KOEN proposed as a conjecture *πέντε μεγάλοι ῥέοντες*, which is said to have met with the approbation of Porson. But it does not seem necessary to change the text, which rests on the authority of all the MSS.

<sup>151</sup> *Πυρετόν*. The *Pruth* is the easternmost of the rivers which fall into the Danube, and is doubtless meant by the *Pyretus*; but the identification of the other four tributaries mentioned by Herodotus is very doubtful. NIKENH considers the *Tiarantus* to be the *Alouia*, but be-

Ὀρδησσός· ὁ μὲν πρῶτος λεχθεὶς τῶν ποταμῶν μέγας, καὶ πρὸς ὧν ῥέων ἀνακοινοῦνται τῷ Ἰστρῷ τὸ ὕδωρ· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος λεχθεὶς, Τιαραντὸς, πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐλάσσων· ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀραρὸς τε καὶ ὁ Νάπαρις καὶ ὁ Ὀρδησσός, διὰ μέσου τούτων ἰόντες ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν Ἰστρὸν· οὗτοι μὲν αὐτιγενεές<sup>152</sup> ποταμοὶ Σκυθικοὶ συμπληθύνουσι αὐτόν· Ἐκ δὲ Ἀγαθύρσων Μάρης ποταμὸς<sup>153</sup> ῥέων συμμίσγεται τῷ Ἰστρῷ· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Αἴμου τῶν κορυφῶν τρεῖς ἄλλοι μεγάλοι<sup>154</sup> ῥέοντες πρὸς βορρῇν ἄνεμον ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς αὐτόν, Ἀτλας, καὶ Αὔρας, καὶ Τίβισις· διὰ δὲ Θρηήκης καὶ Θρηάκων τῶν Κροβύζων<sup>155</sup> ῥέοντες, Ἀθρυς, καὶ Νόης, καὶ Ἀρτάνης, ἐκδιδούσι ἐς τὸν Ἰστρὸν· ἐκ δὲ Παιόνων καὶ οὔρεος Ῥοδόπης Σκίος ποταμὸς<sup>156</sup>, μέσου σχίζων τὸν Αἶμον, ἐκδίδει ἐς αὐτόν· ἔξ Ἰλλυριῶν δὲ ῥέων πρὸς βορρῇν ἄνεμον Ἀγγρος ποταμὸς, ἐσβάλλει ἐς πεδίον τὸ Τριβαλλικὸν καὶ ἐς ποταμὸν Βρόγγον, ὁ δὲ Βρόγγος ἐς τὸν Ἰστρὸν οὕτω ἀμφοτέρους, ὄντας μεγάλους, ὁ Ἰστρος δέκεται· ἐκ δὲ τῆς κατύπερθε χώρας Ὀμβρίκων, Κάρπης ποταμὸς καὶ ἄλλος Ἀλπίς [ποταμὸς,] πρὸς βορρῇν ἄνεμον καὶ οὗτοι ῥέοντες, ἐκδιδούσι ἐς αὐτόν· ῥέει γὰρ δὴ διὰ πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης ὁ Ἰστρος ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν, οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων μετὰ Κύνητας<sup>157</sup> οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ· ῥέων δὲ διὰ πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Σκυθίης ἐσβάλλει. Τού-

Ordessus, all rising in Scythia;

49 the Maris from the Agathyrri; the Atlas, Auras, and Tiberis from Hamus; the Athrys, Noes, and Artanes from Thrace; the Oscius from Rhodope; the Angrus and Brongus from Illyria; and the Carpis and Alpis from above Umbria.

50

tween that and the Pruth more than three considerable streams fall into the Danube.

<sup>152</sup> αὐτιγενεές. So Gaisford reads with the majority of the MSS. But K, F, a have αὐθγενεές and S αὐθγενεές, and in ii. 149, αὐθγενεές is unanimously sanctioned.

<sup>153</sup> Μάρης ποταμὸς. This name seems preserved in the *Marosk*, one of the tributaries of the Theiss, falling into it at Szegedin in Hungary. The river therefore may probably be identified with the Theiss.

<sup>154</sup> τρεῖς ἄλλοι μεγάλοι. These words have occasioned great difficulty, as no three large rivers are to be found flowing northward from the Balkan into the Danube. Some have proposed to insert the particle οὐ before μεγάλοι, some to omit the whole clause. It is however easier to suppose the writer ill-informed on the subject.

<sup>155</sup> Θρηάκων τῶν Κροβύζων. These Crobzyi are said by the ΕΤΥΜΟΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΣ

MAGNUM (v. Ζάμολις) to have the same practice of human sacrifices which is attributed by Herodotus to the *Getæ* (§ 94, below).

<sup>156</sup> Σκίος ποταμὸς. So Gaisford prints on the authority of S and V. Other MSS have Κίος. A river Ὀσκίος is mentioned by THUCYDIDES (ii. 96), and an *Æscus* by PLINY (N. H. iii. 26). Oscius and Skios are apparently merely local varieties of the same name, connected with each other as *Etruscus* and *Tuscus* (through the Umbrian *turske*); *δρυγμα* and *ruga*; *δρυθρός* and *ruber*; *ἐλευθερος* and *liber*; *εσχέω* and *eky* (Germ. *schemen*); *effrayer* and *fray*. (Compare the etymological pairs given in note 278 on ii. 100.) The modern name of the *Æscus* is *Iskar*.

<sup>157</sup> μετὰ Κύνητας. These are probably the same people to whom he elsewhere gives the name of *Κυνήσιοι* (ii. 33). There is no variation whatever in the MSS in either passage.

Comparison  
of the Ister  
with the  
Nile.

των ὧν τῶν καταλεχθέντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν συμβαλλομένων  
τὸ σφέτερον ὕδωρ, γίνεται ὁ Ἰστρος ποταμῶν μέγιστος· ἐπεὶ  
ὕδωρ γε ἐν πρὸς ἐν συμβάλλειν, ὁ Νεῖλος πλήθει ἀποκρατέει· ἐς  
γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον οὔτε ποταμὸς, οὔτε κρήνη οὐδεμία ἐσδιδούσα, ἐς  
πλήθος οἱ συμβάλλεται<sup>158</sup>. Ἰσος δὲ αἰεὶ ῥέει ἐν τε θέρεϊ καὶ  
χειμῶνι ὁ Ἰστρος, κατὰ τοιόνδε τι, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ· τοῦ μὲν  
χειμῶνός ἐστι ὅσοσπερ ἐστι, ὀλίγῳ τε μέζων τῆς ἐκτουτοῦ φύσιος  
γίνεται· ἔεται γὰρ ἡ γῆ αὕτη τοῦ χειμῶνος πάμπαν ὀλίγῳ, νιφετῷ  
δὲ πάντα χρέεται· τοῦ δὲ θέρεος ἡ χιών ἢ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι πεσοῦσα,  
ἐοῦσα ἀμφελαφῆς, τηκομένη πάντοθεν ἐσδιδοὶ ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον· αὕτη  
τε δὴ ἡ χιών ἐσδιδούσα ἐς αὐτὸν συμπληθύνει, καὶ ὄμβροι πολλοί  
τε καὶ λάβροι σὺν αὐτῇ· ὕει γὰρ δὴ τὸ θέρος· ὅσῳ δὲ πλεον ἐπ’  
ἐκτουτὸν ὕδωρ ὁ ἥλιος ἐπέλκεται ἐν τῷ θέρεϊ ἢ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι,  
τοσοῦτῳ τὰ συμμισηγόμενα τῷ Ἰστρῷ πολλαπλάσιά ἐστι· τοῦ  
θέρεος ἥπερ τοῦ χειμῶνος· ἀντιτιθέμενα δὲ ταῦτα ἀντισήκωσις  
γίνεται, ὥστε ἴσον μὲν αἰεὶ φαίνεσθαι ἔοντα.

51  
Next to the  
Ister is the  
Tyras, with  
the Hellenic  
Tyras at its  
mouth.

Εἷς μὲν δὴ τῶν ποταμῶν τοῖσι Σκύθῃσι ἐστι ὁ Ἰστρος· μετὰ δὲ  
τοῦτον, Τύρης· ὃς ἀπὸ βορρῶν μὲν ἀνέμου ὀρμάται, ἀρχεται δὲ ῥέων  
ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης, ἣ οὐρίζει τήν τε Σκυθικὴν καὶ τὴν Νευρίδα  
γῆν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ κατοικηται Ἑλληνας, οἱ Τυρίται

52  
Then the  
Hypanis,  
which flows  
from a lake  
nine days’  
mail to the  
mouth.

καλέονται. Τρίτος δὲ Ἰπτανίς ποταμὸς ὀρμάται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Σκυ-  
θικῆς, ῥέει δὲ ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης, τὴν περὶξέ νέμονται ἵπποι ἄγριοι  
λευκοί· καλέεται δ’ ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὀρθῶς μήτηρ Ἰπτανίος· ἐκ ταύτης  
ὧν ἀνατέλλων ὁ Ἰπτανίς ποταμὸς, ῥέει ἐπὶ μὲν πέντε ἡμερέων  
πλόον βραχύς καὶ γλυκὺς ἔτι<sup>159</sup>, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου, πρὸς θαλάσσης  
τεσσέρων ἡμερέων πλόον, πικρὸς αἰνῶς· ἐκδιδοὶ γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν κρήνη  
πικρῇ, οὕτω δὴ τι ἐοῦσα πικρῇ, ἢ μεγάλῃ σμικρῇ<sup>160</sup> ἐοῦσα, κινῶ  
τὸν Ἰπτανίον ἔοντα ποταμὸν ἐν ὀλίγοις μέγαν· ἔστι δὲ ἡ κρήνη  
αὕτη ἐν οὐροῖσι χώρας τῆς τε ἀροτήρων Σκυθέων καὶ Ἀλαζώνων

The salt  
fountain at

<sup>158</sup> ἐς γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον . . . συμβάλλεται. The Nile receives many tributaries in Ethiopia, but the last tributary, the *Atbara*, falls into it as far south as lat. 16°, not less than six hundred miles above the frontier of Egypt. The statement of Herodotus in the text serves to furnish a limit of the distance to which any authentic knowledge of the country extended.

<sup>159</sup> γλυκὺς ἔτι. Some MSS have γλυ-

κὺς ἐστι. It has been conjectured with some probability that the saline quality of the waters of the Hypanis might have arisen from the effect of the s.w. winds driving the waters of the Euxine up the embouchure of the Borysthenes, and thus into the Hypanis.

<sup>160</sup> μεγάλῃ σμικρῇ. See note 157 on i. 51.

οὔνομα δὲ τῇ κρήνῃ, καὶ ὅθεν ῥέει τῷ χώρῳ, Σκυθιστὶ μὲν Ἑξαμ- *Exampsis.*  
παῖος <sup>161</sup>, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Ἰραὶ ὁδοί· συνάγουσι  
δὲ τὰ τέρματα ὃ τε Τύρης καὶ ὁ Ὑπανίς κατὰ Ἀλάξωνας, τὸ δὲ  
ἀπὸ τούτου, ἀποστρέφας ἑκάτερος ῥέει εὐρύνων τὸ μέσον.

Τέταρτος δὲ Βορυσθένης ποταμός· ὃς ἐστὶ μέγιστός τε μετὰ **53**  
Ἰστρον τούτων, καὶ πολυαρκέστατος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας, *Fourthly*  
οὔτι μούνον τῶν Σκυθικῶν ποταμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάν- *the Borys-*  
των, πλὴν Νείλου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐκ οἶά τε ἐστὶ  
συμβαλέειν ἄλλον ποταμόν· τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν Βορυσθένης ἐστὶ  
πολυαρκέστατος, ὃς νομάς τε καλλίστας καὶ εὐκομιδεστάτας  
κτίνεσι παρέχεται, ἰχθύας τε ἀρίστους διακριδὸν καὶ πλείστους·  
πίνεσθαι τε ἡδιστός ἐστι· ῥέει τε καθαρὸς παρὰ θολεροῖσι· σπόρος  
τε παρ' αὐτὸν ἄριστος γίνεταί· πόη τε, τῇ οὐ σπείρεται ἡ χώρα,  
βαθυτάτῃ ἅλεις τε ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ αὐτόματοι πηγνύνται  
ἄπλετοι· κτήεά τε μεγάλα ἀνάκανθα, τὰ ἀντακαίους καλέουσι <sup>162</sup>,  
παρέχεται ἐς ταρίχευσιν, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ θουμάσαι ἄξια. μέχρι  
μὲν νυν Γέρρου χώρου, ἐς τὸν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρων πλόος ἐστὶ <sup>163</sup>, *Its course*  
γινώσκεται ῥέων ἀπὸ βορρῶ ἀνέμου· τὸ δὲ κατύπερθε δι' ὧν ῥέει *is known*  
ἀνθρώπων, οὐδεὶς ἔχει φράσαι· φαίνεται δὲ ῥέων δι' ἐρήμου ἐς *as far as*  
τῶν γεωργῶν Σκυθῶν τὴν χώραν· οὔτοι γὰρ οἱ Σκύθαι παρ' αὐτὸν *Gerrhus,*  
ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρων πλόου νέμονται. μούνου δὲ τούτου τοῦ ποταμοῦ *forty days'*  
καὶ Νείλου οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι τὰς πηγάς· δοκέω δὲ, οὐδὲ οὐδεὶς *sail, but no*  
'Ἑλλήνων. ἀγχοῦ τε δὴ θαλάσσης ὁ Βορυσθένης ῥέων γίνεταί, *one can tell*  
*its source.*  
*At its em-*  
*bouchure*  
*the Hypanis*  
*joins it, and*  
*there is a*

<sup>161</sup> Ἑξαμπαῖος. RITTER (*Vorhalle*, p. 345) recognizes in this name the word 'hexenpfad,' of which *Irak* ὁδοί would be a very fair translation.

<sup>162</sup> τὰ ἀντακαίους καλέουσι. This is probably the fish called *deluga*, a species of sturgeon. CLARKE speaks of them as sometimes reaching an enormous size, although commonly not more than twelve feet in length (i. p. 360). The τάριχος ἀντακαίων is mentioned by the comic poet ANTIPHANES (*ap. Athenæum*, iii. p. 118). It is probably the same as the τάριχος Ποντικὸν of other writers. See note 54 on ii. 15.

<sup>163</sup> ἐς τὸν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρων πλόος ἐστὶ. The indirect character of much of Herodotus's information is shown by this statement of the locality of *Gerrhus*. He had heard it was the place where the Scythian kings were buried, that the

burial place of these kings was on the confines of Scythia (there being nothing but a desert beyond), and that it was high up the *Borysthenes*, as far as the river was navigable. But some accounts seem to have made this distance 11 days, some 40. (See §§ 18 and 71, compared with this.) The *Borysthenes* (Dnieper) is in fact only navigable for about 80 leagues above its mouth. (See note 57 on § 18, above.) The *Volga*, on the other hand, is navigable almost to its source; and it is not impossible that the locality assigned to *Gerrhus* in the text partly arises from a confusion between these two rivers. Very near *Tver* (on the *Volga*, about a day's journey from *Moscow*) there is now a group of tumuli, remarkably perfect in their forms and conspicuous from their situation. (CLARKE, *Travels*, i. p. 50.)

temple of  
Demeter  
and a Hel-  
lenic settle-  
ment.

καὶ οἱ συμμίσσεται ὁ Ἵπτανις ἐς τὸντὸ ἔλος ἐκιδιδούς· τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ποταμῶν τούτων ἐὼν ἔμβολον τῆς χώρας, Ἰππόλεω ἄκρη καλέεται· ἐν δὲ τὸ ἱὸν Διμήτρος ἐνίδρυνται· πέρην δὲ τοῦ ἱοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἵπτανι Βορυσθενεῖται κατοίκηνται· ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν.

54  
Then comes  
the Panti-  
capes.

Μετὰ δὲ τούτους πέμπτος ποταμὸς ἄλλος τῷ ὀνόμα Παντι-  
κάπη· ῥέει δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀπὸ βορέεω τε καὶ ἐκ λίμνης, καὶ τὸ  
μεταξὺ τούτου τε καὶ τοῦ Βορυσθένης νέμονται οἱ γεωργοὶ  
Σκύθαι<sup>164</sup>. ἐκιδδοὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰπταίνην παραμειψάμενος δὲ ταύτην,

55  
Next the  
Hyracynia.

τῷ Βορυσθενεῖ συμμίσσεται. Ἐκτος δὲ Ἰπάκυρις ποταμός· ὃς  
ὀρμάται μὲν ἐκ λίμνης, διὰ μέσων δὲ τῶν νομάδων Σκυθέων ῥέων,  
ἐκιδδοὶ κατὰ Καρκινίτῳ πόλιν, ἐς δεξιὴν ἀπέργων τὴν τε Ἰπταίνην

56  
Next the  
Gerrhus.

καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλήϊον καλούμενον Δρόμον<sup>165</sup>. Ἐβδομος δὲ Γέρρος  
ποταμός· ἀπέσχισται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθένης κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς  
χώρας ἐς ὃ γινώσκειται ὁ Βορυσθένης· ἀπέσχισται μὲν νυν ἐκ τού-  
του τοῦ χώρου, ὄνομα δὲ ἔχει τόπερ ὁ χώρος αὐτός, Γέρρος, ῥέων  
δ' ἐς θάλασσαν, οὐρίζει τὴν τε τῶν Νομάδων χώραν, καὶ τὴν τῶν

57  
Next the  
Tanais, into  
which the  
Hyrus  
flows.

βασιλητῶν Σκυθέων· ἐκιδδοὶ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἰπάκυριον. Ὁγδοὺς δὲ δὴ  
Τάναϊς ποταμός· ὃς ῥέει τὰ ἀνέκαθεν<sup>166</sup> ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης ὀρμεώ-  
μενος, ἐκιδδοὶ δὲ ἐς μέζω ἔτι λίμνην καλεομένην Μαιήτιν, ἣ οὐρίζει  
Σκύθας τε τοὺς βασιλητοὺς καὶ Σαυρομάτας· ἐς δὲ Τάναϊν τοῦτον

58 ἄλλος ποταμός· ἐσβάλλει τῷ ὀνόμα ἔστι Ἵτρυις<sup>167</sup>. Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ  
ὀνομαστοῖσι ποταμοῖσι οὕτω δὴ τι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐσκενάδαται· τοῖσι

<sup>164</sup> τὸ μεταξὺ τούτου . . . οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι. STRABO expressly says that the Scythians who have the name of γεωργοὶ are the inhabitants of the Tauric peninsula. The soil from where the mountains begin to dip to the north was extremely rich, rendering thirty-fold with the rudest cultivation. The corn tribute paid to Mithridates from this region was no less than 180,000 *medimni*; and Leucon (of whom DEMOSTHENES speaks in the Oration against Leptines) was said to have shipped no less than 2,100,000 *medimni* at Theodosia for the Athenians (vii. c. 4, p. 97).

<sup>165</sup> τὸν Ἀχιλλήϊον Δρόμον. STRABO (xi. c. 2, p. 402) mentions an Ἀχιλλεῖος κώμη and a temple to Achilles upon the eastern shore of the entrance to the sea of Azof, exactly where the strait was the narrowest,—about 20 *stadia* across. Per-

haps in all these cases there was one of the barrows which abound so much in this part of the world. ALCEMUS (fr. 49, *Bergk*) addressed Achilles as ὁ τῶν Σκυθικῶν μέγας, which is an indication that he was recognised very generally as a hero by the Hellenic settlers in Scythia. But this is not so likely to have been owing to the real or professed descent of the οἰκιστὰν of these several settlements from him, as to the very general existence of barrows similar to those which were already familiar to them in the Troad, and which were already coupled with the Homeric legend of Achilles. See note on v. 94.

<sup>166</sup> τὰ ἀνέκαθεν. See note on v. 62.

<sup>167</sup> Ἵτρυις. See note 316 on § 123. The modern name of this river is said to be *Sevieresky*, in which some slight vestige of its ancient title may be traced.

δὲ κτήνεσι ἢ πολὺ ἀναφυομένη ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ, ἔστι ἐπιχολωτάτῃ<sup>168</sup> Richness  
of the  
Scythian  
grass.  
 πασῶν ποίεων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀνουγομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι κτήνεσι  
 ἔστι σταθμώσασθαι, ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα οὕτω σφί εὐπορά ἐστι. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ 59  
 νόμαια κατὰ τὰδε σφί διακέεται· θεοὺς μὲν μούνους τούσδε Scythian  
customs.  
Their  
deities,  
 ἰλάσκονται· Ἰστίην μὲν μάλιστα· ἐπὶ δὲ, Δία τε καὶ Γῆν,  
 νομίζοντες τὴν Γῆν τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι γυναῖκα· μετὰ δὲ τούτους,  
 Ἀπόλλωνά τε καὶ οὐρανίην Ἀφροδίτην, καὶ Ἡρακλέα, καὶ Ἀρεα-  
 τούτους μὲν πάντες οἱ Σκύθαι νενομίκασιν· οἱ δὲ καλεόμενοι βασι-  
 λῆιοι Σκύθαι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι θύουσιν· οὐνομάζεται δὲ Σκυθιστὶ,  
 Ἰστίη μὲν Ταβιτί· Ζεὺς δὲ (ὀρθότατα, κατὰ γνώμην γε τὴν ἐμὴν,  
 καλεόμενος) Παπαῖος· Γῇ δὲ Ἀπία<sup>169</sup>. Ἀπόλλων δὲ Οἰτόσυρος  
 οὐρανίη δὲ Ἀφροδίτῃ Ἀρτίμπασα<sup>170</sup>. Ποσειδῶν δὲ Θαμμιασά-  
 δας<sup>171</sup>. ἀγάλματα δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ νηοὺς οὐ νομίζουσι ποίεειν,  
 πλὴν Ἀρηί· τούτῳ δὲ νομίζουσι. Θυσίῃ δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ πᾶσι κατ- 60  
 ἔστηκε περὶ πάντα τὰ ἱρά ὁμοίως, ἐρδομένη ὡς τὸ μὲν ἱρήϊον ritual,  
 αὐτὸ<sup>172</sup> ἐμπεποδισμένον τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας ἔστηκε· ὁ δὲ

<sup>168</sup> ἐπιχολωτάτῃ. The MSS vary be-  
 tween this reading, ἐπίχολωτάτῃ, ἐπι-  
 χλωτάτῃ, and ἐπιχολωτάτῃ.

<sup>169</sup> Ζεὺς . . . Ἀπία. These two re-  
 puted Scythian words seem to be unques-  
 tionably of the Indo-Germanic family of  
 languages. *Apia* is the name by which a  
 portion of the Peloponnesus was anciently  
 called (*Æschylus, Supplices*, 260—269),  
 and it is probably identical in etymology  
 with the word ἁπία, and originally an epi-  
 thet of the Earth considered as an object  
 of worship (*ἰλέομαι μὲν Ἀπίας βούινω*,  
*Suppl.* 117, 127). *Artimpasa*, if genu-  
 ine, seems to be merely another form of  
*Artemis* with an affix. *Æiosyros* is most  
 suspiciously like *olros* *ἄλρος*—the Syrian  
 dirge or chant, of which the proper name  
 was *Lénus*. (See note 207 on ii. 79.)  
*Thamiasidas*, too, suggests the *Tham-*  
*mus* of *Æzekiel* (viii. 14) in a Hellenic  
 dress, especially if the reading *θαμιασά*  
 (which is apparently *θαμιασά*) be adopted.  
 So that all these names, with the exception  
 of *Tabiti*—and perhaps that too may be the  
*Tophet* of 2 *Kings* xxiii. 10;—seem to be-  
 long either to an Achæan or a Syro-phœ-  
 nician language, and to all appearance are  
 not genuine Scythian. In that case the  
 authority for them could hardly be any  
 other than one whose occupation brought

him into contact with Achæans and Phœ-  
 nicians. See note 368 on i. 105.

<sup>170</sup> Ἀρτίμπασα. So Gaisford prints  
 with S, V, and Hesychius. But the  
 majority of the MSS have Ἀρίππασα, and  
 some, with Origen Ἀργίμπασα. For *οἰτό-*  
*συρος* ORIGEN has γογγύσυρος, and HE-  
 SYCHIUS γοιτόσυρος, which is, no doubt,  
*Forrósyros*.

<sup>171</sup> Θαμμιασάδας. So Gaisford prints  
 with the majority of MSS. But S, V, a,  
 c, d have *Θαμισμασά*, and ORIGEN *Θαμιμα-*  
*σάδα*.

<sup>172</sup> αὐτὸ, “by itself,” i. e. without any  
 attendant holding it; so as to present the  
 appearance of advancing to the altar of its  
 own accord. Similarly v. 86, ἀνακομι-  
 σθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐς Φάληρον, “got back to  
 Phalerum alone,” all his companions hav-  
 ing been slain. The idiom familiar in  
 Attic colloquial language: αὐτὸ σημαίνει,  
 “the matter will itself explain,” is analo-  
 gous to that in the text. VIRGIL uses  
 the Latin pronoun *ipse* in the same man-  
 ner:—

“*Ipsæ* lacte domum referent distenta ca-  
 pellæ  
 Ubera.” (*Bucol.* iv. 21.)

In all the sacrifices of the ancients the  
 willingness of the victim was regarded as

61

mode of  
cooking the  
flesh of the  
victims.

θύων, ὅπισθε τοῦ κτήνεος ἐστεῶς, σπάσας τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ στρόφου καταβάλλει μιν πίπτοντος δὲ τοῦ ἱρήτου, ἐπικαλέει τὸν θεὸν τῷ ἂν θύῃ· καὶ ἔπειτα βρόγχῳ περὶ ὧν ἔβαλε τὸν αὐχένα· σκυταλῖδα δὲ ἐμβαλὼν περιάγει καὶ ἀποπνίγει, οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαύσας, οὔτε καταρξάμενος, οὔτ' ἐπισπείσας· ἀποπνίξας δὲ καὶ ἀποδείρῳσι τράπεται πρὸς ἔψησιν· Τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς αἰνῶς ἀξύλου εὐότης, ὠδέ σφι ἐς τὴν ἔψησιν τῶν κρεῶν ἐξεύρηται· ἐπεὰν ἀποδείρῳσι τὰ ἱρήια, γυμνοῦσι τὰ ὀστέα τῶν κρεῶν ἔπειτα ἐσβάλλουσι, ἣν μὲν τύχῳσι ἔχοντες λέβητας ἐπιχωρίους, μάλιστα Λεσβίοισι κρητήρῳσι προσεικέλους χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι πολλῷ μέζονας, ἐς τούτους ἐσβάλλοντες, ἔφουσι ὑποκαίοντες τὰ ὀστέα τῶν ἱρήτων ἣν δὲ μὴ σφι παρῇ λέβης, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς γαστέρας τῶν ἱρήτων ἐσβάλλοντες τὰ κρέα πάντα καὶ παραμίξαντες ὕδωρ, ὑποκαίουσι τὰ ὀστέα<sup>173</sup>. τὰ δὲ αἴθεται κάλλιστα· αἱ δὲ γαστέρες χωρέουσι εὐπετέως τὰ κρέα ἐφιλωμένα τῶν ὀστέων καὶ οὕτω βοῦς τε ἑωυτὸν ἐξέφει, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἱρήια ἑωυτὸ ἕκαστον· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐψηθῇ τὰ κρέα, ὁ θύσας τῶν κρεῶν καὶ τῶν σπλάγγχων ἀπαρξάμενος ῥίπτει ἐς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν<sup>174</sup>. θύουσι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρόβατα καὶ ἵππους μάλιστα.

62

Pile of *Ares*  
on which

Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἄλλοισι τῶν θεῶν οὕτω θύουσι καὶ ταῦτα τῶν κτηνέων, τῷ δὲ δὴ Ἄρῃ ὠδε· κατὰ νομοὺς ἑκάστοισι τῶν ἀρχηγῶν<sup>175</sup>

a good omen. Hence in the Moloch ritual, where parents sacrificed their own children, MINUCIUS FELIX speaks of their very carcases being employed to produce the appearance of this: "osculo comprimente vagitum, ne *stebilis hostia* immolaretur" (§ 30); and of the same thing TERTULLIAN says: "infantibus blandiebantur, ne *lacrumanes immolarentur*." (*Apolog.* § 9.)

<sup>173</sup> ὑποκαίουσι τὰ ὀστέα. Compare EZEKIEL XXIV. 5.

<sup>174</sup> ἀπαρξάμενος ῥίπτει ἐς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν. The feeling embodied in this act seems to be that the deity to whom the sacrifice is made is present, invisible, and ready to receive his *portion* of the feast. Compare the practice described in iii. 24. Thus the *Lar*, in the old Italian religions, always was served first; and HORACE gives his legacy-hunter the advice, "Ante Larem gustet venerabilior Lare dives." The act implied in the word *κατάρχεσθαι* is the dedication of the *whole victim* to the deity, to whom it was conceived not to belong until this ceremony had taken

place. Thus Dido was unable to die before she had been thus dedicated. VIRGIL says (*Æn.* iv. 680):—

"Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem

Abstulerat, Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco."

The absence of any such proceeding from the Scythian sacrifices indicates the rude and savage condition of the people as compared with other pagan nations of antiquity.

<sup>175</sup> τῶν ἀρχηγῶν. The manuscripts S and V have ἀρχαίων, but the text is apparently genuine. The word ἀρχαίων is more appropriate to the seat of a prefecture, or jurisdiction, such as those which were familiar to the civilized nations of antiquity, than to Scythia; and its use here must be regarded rather as an adaptation, like that of the word ἱρὰ, § 60, above, to the places where sacrifices were offered, although there were no *temples*. The word *νομάρχης* (§ 66, below) seems a similar adaptation.

ἐσιδρυταί σφι Ἄρης ἱρὸν τοιόνδε φρυγάνων φάκελοι συννενέαται <sup>captives are</sup>  
 ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ σταδίου τρεῖς μῆκος καὶ εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ ἔλασσον ἄνω <sup>immolated.</sup>  
 δὲ τούτου, τετράγωνον ἅπεδον <sup>176</sup> πεπολήται· καὶ τὰ μὲν τρία τῶν  
 κώλων ἐστὶ ἀπότομα, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν, ἐπιβατόν· ἔτεος δὲ ἐκάστου  
 ἀμάξας πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπινέουσι φρυγάνων ὑπονοστέει  
 γὰρ δὴ αἰεὶ ὑπὸ τῶν χειμῶνων. ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ ὄγκου ἀκινάκης  
 σιδήρεος ἴδρυται <sup>177</sup> ἀρχαῖος ἐκάστοισι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστι τοῦ Ἄρης  
 τὸ ἄγαλμα· τοῦτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀκινάκεϊ θυσίας ἐπετείλους προσάγουσι  
 προβάτων καὶ ἵππων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσδ' ἔτι πλέω θύουσι ἢ τοῖσι  
 ἄλλοις θεοῖσι· ὅσους δ' ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ζωγρήσωσι, ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἀνδρά ἕνα θύουσι, τρόφῳ οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ φ' καὶ τὰ πρό-  
 βατα, ἀλλ' ἑτεροίῳ· ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἶνον ἐπισπείσωσι κατὰ τῶν κεφα- <sup>Mode of</sup>  
 λέων, ἀποσφάζουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐς ἄγγος <sup>178</sup>, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀνενε- <sup>sacrifice.</sup>  
 καιντες ἄνω ἐπὶ τὸν ὄγκον τῶν φρυγάνων καταχέουσι τὸ αἷμα τοῦ  
 ἀκινάκεος· ἄνω μὲν δὴ φορέουσι τοῦτο· κάτω δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἱρὸν  
 ποιεῦσι τάδε τῶν ἀποσφαγέντων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς δεξιούς ὤμους  
 πάντας ἀποτάμνοντες σὺν τῇσι χερσὶ <sup>179</sup> ἐς τὸν ἥερα ἰεῦσι, καὶ  
 ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέρξαντες <sup>180</sup> ἱρήϊα ἀπαλλάσσονται· χεῖρ δὲ  
 τῇ ἂν πέσῃ κέεται, καὶ χωρὶς ὁ νεκρός· θυσίαι μὲν νυν αἰτᾷ σφι <sup>63</sup>  
 κατεστέασι, ὕσιν δὲ οὗτοι οὐδὲν νομίζουσι <sup>181</sup>. οὐδὲ τρέφειν ἐν τῇ  
 χώρῃ τὸ παράπαν θέλουσι.

Swine are  
not kept in  
Scythia.

<sup>176</sup> ἅπεδον. The manuscripts S, V, A, B have *ἐπίπεδον*.

<sup>177</sup> ἀκινάκης σιδήρεος ἴδρυται. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS represents the Alans and Huns of his time as symbolizing their deity by a sword stuck into the ground (xxxii. 2). Attila professed to have a peculiarly sacred idol of this description, which was found by a herdsman who had observed one of his heifers limping. Following the track of the blood he came to a sword stuck in the ground, which he took up and carried to the king, who received it as the sword of Mars, and considered that it indicated a mission to himself to conquer the whole world. (*Valesius ad Ammian. Marcellin. l. c.*) See too note 187, below.

<sup>178</sup> ἀποσφάζουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐς ἄγγος. See iii. 11, and note 35 thereon.

<sup>179</sup> σὺν τῇσι χερσὶ, "arms and all," not "hands and all." See the note 351 on ii. 121. The notion of the sacrificers seems to have been to deprive the corpse

of that limb which was, while life remained, serviceable for war. This would be the whole arm, but especially those muscles which are most called into play in the actions of hurling the spear, striking with the sword, or shooting with the bow, i.e. the muscles of the upper arm and shoulder. Hence Iolaus in EURIPIDES (*Heracl. 740*), lamenting his enfeebled condition, says:—

εἴθ' ἂν βραχίων, οἷον ἡβήσαντά σε  
 μεμνημέθ' ἡμεῖς, ἥνίκα ἔνν' Ἡρακλεῖ  
 Σπάρτην ἐπάρθεις, ξύμμαχος γένοιό μοι  
 τοιοῦτος.

<sup>180</sup> ἀπέρξαντες. This is an aorist following the analogy of a non-existent present ἔργω, of which a relic still remains in the perfect ἔοργα. HESYCHIUS explains ἔργον by θύσον. Translate: "and then after finishing the offering of the other victims too, they go away."

<sup>181</sup> ὕσιν δὲ οὗτοι οὐδὲν νομίζουσι. It is not to be considered that the word νομί-



64 Τὰ δ' ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα ὧδέ σφι διακέεται· ἐπεὶ αὖν τὸν πρῶτον  
 ἄνδρα καταβάλῃ ἄνθρωπος Σκύθης, τοῦ αἵματος ἐμπίνει· ὅσους δ' αὖ  
 φονεύσῃ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποφέρει.<sup>182</sup> τῷ βασιλεῖ  
 ἀπενείκας μὲν γὰρ κεφαλὴν τῆς ληΐης μεταλαμβάνει τὴν αὖ  
 λάβωσι, μὴ ἐνείκας δὲ οὐ· ἀποδεῖρει δὲ αὐτὴν τρώπῳ τοιῷδε· περι-  
 ταμὼν κύκλῳ περὶ τὰ ὦτα, καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκτείνει·  
 μετὰ δὲ, σαρκίσας βοὸς πλευρῇ δένει τῇσι χερσὶ ὀργήσας.<sup>183</sup> δὲ  
 αὐτὸ ἅτε χειρόμακτρον ἔκτεται· ἐκ δὲ τῶν χαλῶν τοῦ ἵππου τὸν  
 αὐτὸς ἐλαίνει, ἐκ τούτου ἐξάπτει, καὶ ἀγάλλεται· ὅς γὰρ αὖ  
 πλείστα δέρματα χειρόμακτρα ἔχῃ, ἄνθρωπος ἄριστος οὗτος κέκερται·  
 πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀποδερμάτων καὶ χλαίνας ἐπεινυσθαί  
 ποιεῖσι, συρράπτοντες κατὰ περ βαίτας· πολλοὶ δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 τὰς δεξιὰς χέρας νεκρῶν ἐόντων<sup>184</sup> ἀποδεύραντες<sup>185</sup> αὐτοῖσι ὄνυξι,  
 καλύπτρας τῶν φαρετρέων ποιεῖνται· δέρμα δὲ ἀνθρώπου καὶ  
 παχὺ καὶ λαμπρὸν ἦν ἄρα σχεδὸν δερμάτων πάντων λαμπρό-  
 τατον λευκότητι.<sup>186</sup> πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὅλους ἄνδρας ἐκδεύραντες καὶ  
 διατείναντες ἐπὶ ξύλων, ἐπ' ἵππων περιφέρουσι.<sup>187</sup> ταῦτα μὲν δὴ

Ferocity of  
 the Scy-  
 thians;

Practice of  
 scalping and  
 flaying their  
 enemies.

Quality of  
 the human  
 skin.

ζουσι takes the dative case after it in this passage retaining its usual sense, but that it is the equivalent of *χρῶνται*, with the notion of *custom* superadded, and consequently used in the regimen of *χρῶνται*. So below, § 117, Herodotus says, *φωνή οἱ Σαυρομάται νομίζουσι Σκυθικῇ* (*habitually use the Scythian tongue*). See the note 132 on ii. 44.

<sup>182</sup> τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποφέρει. POSEIDONIUS (*ap. Strabon.* iv. c. 4, p. 319) notes it as a distinctive peculiarity of all the northern nations to scalp their dead enemies, and nail the skin of their faces to the front of their houses. The Gauls who took Rome spent the whole of the day succeeding the battle they won in decapitating the dead. (Dionorus, xiv. 115.)

<sup>183</sup> ὀργήσας. So Gaisford prints on the authority of S and V. But the majority of the MSS have *ὀργίσας*. Perhaps *ὀργί-σας*, as from a form *ὀργίζω*, is the true reading.

<sup>184</sup> νεκρῶν ἐόντων. According to CLARKE, the banditti haunting the steppes of southern Russia are now accustomed by way of revenge to cut the skin round the upper part of the legs of their victims, and then strip it off by the feet. This is called "giving a man a pair of red boots"

—boots of red leather being commonly worn in the Ukraine. (*Travels*, ii. p. 327.)

<sup>185</sup> ἀποδεύραντες. So Gaisford prints. But the word appears to rest on next to no authority, S and the Aldine edition adding *καὶ διατείναντες*, and the other MSS omitting the word altogether.

<sup>186</sup> ἦν ἄρα σχεδὸν δερμάτων πάντων λαμπρότατον λευκότητι. This passage has occasioned a great deal of difficulty to the commentators, and I am far from satisfied that the passage is sound. If it be, I should consider that *ἦν* is to be taken in the sense of *ἐμελλε ἵσθαι*, and regard the paragraph as an inference from the general qualities which have just been predicated of the human skin, and explaining the object which the Scythians would have in view in their barbarous practice. Translate: "But human skin being both thick and shiny, would of course be calculated to take the brightest appearance in point of whiteness of almost all skins."

<sup>187</sup> ἐπ' ἵππων περιφέρουσι. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS (xxi. 2) attributes this, and some other of the Scythian practices, to the *Alans* and *Huns* of his time, who are to be looked for east of the Tanais. Perhaps it is common to most warlike and barbarous nomads.

οὕτω σφι νερόμισται. Αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς, οὗ τι πάντων ἀλλὰ 65  
 τῶν ἐχθίστων<sup>188</sup>, ποιεύσι τάδε ἀποπρίσας ἕκαστος πᾶν τὸ ἔνερθε  
 τῶν ὀφρύων, ἐκαθαίρει· καὶ ἦν μὲν ἡ πένης, ὃ δὲ ἔξωθεν ὠμοβοήην  
 μούνην περιτείνας οὕτω χρᾶται· ἦν δὲ ἡ πλούσιος, τὴν μὲν ὠμο-  
 βοήην περιτείνει, ἔσωθεν δὲ περιχρυσώσας οὕτω χρᾶται ποτηρίῃ·  
 ποιεύσι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκητῶν, ἦν σφι διάφοροι γένωνται,  
 καὶ ἦν ἐπικρατήσῃ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ· ξείνων δὲ οἱ ἐλθόντων  
 τῶν ἀν λόγον ποιέηται, τὰς κεφαλὰς ταύτας παραφέρει, καὶ ἐπι-  
 λέγει ὥς οἱ ἔοντες οἰκήιοι πόλεμον προσεθήκαντο καὶ σφῶν αὐτὸς  
 ἐπεκράτησε· ταύτην ἀνδραγαθίην λέγοντες. Ἐπαξ δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ 66  
 ἑκάστου ὁ νομάρχης<sup>189</sup> ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἔωυτοῦ νομῷ κρινᾷ κρητῆρα  
 οἶνου, ἀπ' οὗ πίνουσι τῶν Σκυθῶν ὅσοις ἀν ἄνδρες πολέμιοι  
 ἀραιρημένοι ἔωσι· τοῖσι δ' ἀν μὴ κατεργασμένοι ἢ τοῦτο, οὐ  
 γέονται τοῦ οἶνου τούτου, ἀλλ' ἠτιμωμένοι ἀποκατέαται· ὄνειδος  
 δὲ σφί ἐστι μέγιστον τοῦτο· ὅσοι δὲ ἀν αὐτῶν καὶ κάρτα πολλοὺς  
 ἄνδρας ἀναιρηκότες ἔωσι, οὗτοι δὲ σύνδυο κύλικας ἔχοντες, πίνουσι  
 ὁμοῦ.

They make  
drinking-  
cups of the  
skulls of  
their ene-  
mies.

Annual  
festival for  
those who  
have slain  
their man  
in war.

Μάντιες δὲ Σκυθῶν εἰσὶ πολλοί, οἱ μαντεύονται ῥάβδοιςι 67  
 ἱτεῖνσι πολλῇσι ὥδε· ἐπεὰν φακέλους ῥάβδων μεγάλους ἐνείκων-  
 ται, θέντες χαμαὶ διεξελίσσουσι αὐτούς· καὶ ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκίστην  
 ῥάβδον τιθέντες, θεσπίζουσι· ἅμα τε λέγοντες ταῦτα συνειλέουσι 68  
 τὰς ῥάβδους ὀπίσω, καὶ αὐτὶς κατὰ μίαν συντιθείσι<sup>190</sup>. αὕτη μὲν  
 σφι ἡ μαντικὴ πατρῴη ἐστὶ· οἱ δὲ Ἐνάρεες<sup>191</sup> [οἱ ἀνδρό-  
 ροες.

Their sooth-  
sayers.

Rabdo-  
mancy.

The Ena-  
rees.

<sup>188</sup> ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων. PLATO (*Euthydemus*, § 66) attributes to the Scythians the practice of setting in gold the skulls, not of their enemies, but their relatives, as Herodotus asserts of the Issedones, above, § 26.

<sup>189</sup> ὁ νομάρχης. See above, note 175 on § 62.

<sup>190</sup> This kind of rhabdromancy is apparently the same as that attributed by AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS to the Alans of his time: "Rectiores virgas vimineas colligentes, easque cum incantamentis quibusdam secretis praestituto tempore discernentes, aperte quid portendatur norunt" (xxxi. 2). These sticks seem to have been treated as push-pins. But the divination by *marked* sticks described by TACITUS (*German.* § 10) seems more analogous to the petalomania attributed by VIRGIL to the Sibyl of Cumae (*Aeneid* vi. 74).

<sup>191</sup> οἱ δὲ Ἐνάρεες. ARISTOTLE (*Ethica Nicom.* vii. 8, p. 1150) speaks of a μαλακία, which is a family vice with the Scythian kings, and perhaps the same thing is the foundation for attributing an androgynous character to the Ἐνάρεες. HIPPOCRATES however gives a physical reason for a phenomenon which was imputed by the ignorance of the sufferers to the direct interposition of Aphrodite. (*De aere, aquis, locis*, pp. 561, 2.) It is remarked by Hippocrates that the disease prevails chiefly among the *higher classes* of the Scythians,—for which also he gives a physical reason. With regard to the etymology of the name, see note 368 on i. 105. Exactly the same complaint has been found in recent times among the Nogay Tartars. (REINROD, *op. Adelung's Mithridates*, i. p. 472.)

68

Proceedings  
in case of  
the sickness  
of the chiefs  
when the  
soothsayers  
are not  
agreed.

γυνοι<sup>192</sup>] τὴν Ἀφροδίτην σφι λέγουσι μαντικὴν δοῦναι· φιλήρης ὢν φλοιῷ μαντεύονται· ἔπεαν τὴν φιλήρην τρίχα σχίστη, διαπλέκων ἐν τοῖσι δακτύλοισι τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ καὶ διαλύων χρᾶ<sup>193</sup>. Ἐπεὰν δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁ Σικυθίων κάμη, μεταπέμπεται τῶν μαντιῶν ἄνδρας τρεῖς τοὺς εὐδοκίμεοντας μάλιστα, οἱ τρόφῃ τῷ εἰρημένῳ μαντεύονται· καὶ λέγουσι οὗτοι ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαι μάλιστα τάδε, ὡς τὰς βασιληῆας ἰστίας ἐπιώρηκε θεὸς καὶ θεῶν, λέγοντες τῶν ἀστῶν τὸν ἂν δὴ λέγωσιν· τὰς δὲ βασιληῆας ἰστίας νόμος Σκύθησι τὰ μάλιστα ἐστὶ ὁμνῦναι τότε, ἔπεαν τὸν μέγιστον ὄρκον ἐθέλωσι ὁμνῦναι· αὐτίκα δὲ διαλελαμμένοι ἄγεται<sup>194</sup>· οὗτος τὸν ἂν δὴ φῶσι ἐπιορκῆσαι· ἀπυγμένοι δὲ ἐλέγχουσι οἱ μάντιες, ὡς ἐπιορκήσας φαίνεται ἐν τῇ μαντικῇ τὰς βασιληῆας ἰστίας, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀλγέει ὁ βασιλεὺς· ὁ δὲ ἀρνέεται, οὐ φάμενος ἐπιορκῆσαι, καὶ δεινολογέεται· ἀρνεομένου δὲ τούτου, ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταπέμπεται [ἄλλους<sup>195</sup>] διπλησίους μάντιας· καὶ ἦν μὲν μιν καὶ οὗτοι, ἐσορέωντες ἐς τὴν μαντικὴν, καταδήσῃσι ἐπιορκῆσαι<sup>196</sup>, τοῦ δὲ ἰθέως τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτάμνουσι καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ διαλαγχάνουσι οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν μαντιῶν· ἦν δὲ οἱ ἐπελθόντες μάντιες ἀπολύσῃσι, ἄλλοι πάρεισι μάντιες, καὶ μάλα ἄλλοι· ἦν ὢν οἱ πλεῖνες τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἀπολύσῃσι, δέδοκται τοῖσι πρῶτοις τῶν μαντιῶν αὐτοῖσι ἀπόλυσθαι. Ἀπολλύσι δὴτα αὐτοὺς τρόφῃ τοιῷδε· ἔπεαν ἄμαξαν<sup>197</sup>

<sup>192</sup> οἱ ἀνδρόγυνοι. The majority of the MSS have καὶ οἱ ἀνδρόγυνοι, and one (d) καὶ ἀνδρόγυνοι. It appears to me that οἱ ἀνδρόγυνοι is originally a gloss of οἱ ἐνέρεες, which, having been originally placed in the margin, was introduced in three different ways into the existing MSS. Gaisford, who prints οἱ ἀνδρόγυνοι, follows S, V, a, c, and Valla.

<sup>193</sup> ἔπεαν τὴν φιλήρην . . διαλύων χρᾶ. The number three appears as a sacred one in the religious rites of nations the most widely separated from one another. VIRGIL (*Bucol.* viii. 77) makes the subject of Alpheiboeus's song say:

"Necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores:  
Necte, Amarylli, modo, et 'Veneris' dic, 'vincula necto.'"

One form of the divining rod was a year's shoot of hazel, forked, and with the forks twisted three times (GRIMM, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 546); and perhaps the

singular epithet given in the *Homeric Hymn* (530) to the rod of Hermes (τρίπετλον), rests upon a similar feeling.

<sup>194</sup> διαλελαμμένοι ἄγεται, "he is seized and brought." See note 402 on i. 114.

<sup>195</sup> [ἄλλους]. This word is omitted in S.

<sup>196</sup> καταδήσῃσι ἐπιορκῆσαι. A similar expression is used in ii. 174: κατέδησαν φῶρα εἶναι.

<sup>197</sup> ἄμαξαν. The manuscripts S and V add the word καμάρης, and it is not impossible that this is a genuine reading, and that καμάρη meant "a tilted wagon." POLLUX (x. 52) gives Herodotus as an authority for κάμαραι being equivalent to ὄχηματα στεγαστά, and it is possible that he has this passage in his eye, and not i. 199. TACITUS (*Hist.* iii. 47) gives the local name of *camarae* to certain covered boats, something like the Venetian gondolas, made by the inhabitants of the coast in the neighbourhood of Trebizund; and STRABO (xi. c. 2, p. 405) says the Greeks

φρυγάνων πλήσωσι, καὶ ὑποζεύξωσι βούς, ἐμποδίσαντες τοὺς μάντιας, καὶ χέρας ὀπίσω δήσαντες, καὶ στομώσαντες<sup>199</sup>, κατεργνύσι ἐς μέσα τὰ φρύγανα· ὑποπρήσαντες δὲ αὐτὰ, ἀπειεῖσι φοβήσαντες τοὺς βούς· πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ συγκατακαίονται τοῖσι μάντισι βόες, πολλοὶ δὲ περικεκαυμένοι ἀποφεύγουσι, ἐπεὰν αὐτῶν ὁ ῥυμὸς κατακαυθῇ. κατακαίουσι δὲ τρώφῃ τῷ εἰρημένῳ καὶ δι' ἄλλας αἰτίας τοὺς μάντιας, ψευδομάντιας καλέοντες. τοὺς δ' ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ βασιλεὺς, τούτων οὐδὲ τοὺς παῖδας λείπειν ἄλλὰ πάντα τὰ ἔρσena κτείνει, τὰ δὲ θήλεα οὐκ ἀδικεῖ.

They burn the false soothsayers alive.

“Ορκια δὲ ποιεῖνται Σκύθαι ὧδε, πρὸς τοὺς ἂν ποικέωνται· ἐς 70 κύλικα μεγάλην κεραμὴν οἶνον ἐγχέαντες, αἷμα συμμίσχουσιν τῶν τὰ ὄρκια ταμνομένων<sup>199</sup>, τίψαντες ὁπέατι ἢ ἐπιταμόντες μαχαίρῃ

Mode of plighting their faith.

give the same name to similar boats used in the Bosphorus. And although with us the tilt is accessory to the wagon, yet with the Scythians the wain would be rather considered as accessory to the tent which formed the sole habitation of its owner (see § 121 and note 146, above); and thus *ἁμαξα καμάρης* would be a more appropriate phrase than *καμάρη ἁμάξης*. (See the note 673 on l. 199.) It is, at any rate, extremely difficult to account for the introduction of the word *καμάρης* by a copyist,—very much more so than for its expulsion. RUBSAUVIS, who visited the Crimea in 1253, describes the wagons of Scatai as “laden with houses.” These consisted of a frame of wicker, covered with black or white felt, and thirty feet in diameter. They were placed upon huge wains drawn each by twenty-two oxen, and were lifted bodily off these carriages.

<sup>199</sup> *στομώσαντες*, “having gagged them.” This was to prevent the imprecations of the dying man being audible; as a curse uttered under such circumstances would be regarded as possessing a fatal power. MARCO POLO relates that when Kublai Khan put his kinsman Nayan, who had rebelled against him, to death, he did it by having him wrapped in a carpet, and violently tossed to and fro until he died. “This mode of death was adopted, that being of imperial lineage, his blood might not be shed upon the ground, nor his cries ascend into the air.” But the attachment of extraordinary validity to the expressions of a dying person was not peculiar to the Scythians. It ap-

pears in the description by ÆSCHYLUS of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, where Agamemnon is made to order the attendants *στόματος καλλιπάρου φυλακὰν κατασχεῖν, φθόγγον ἄραιον οἴκοις, βίᾳ χαλινῶν τ' ἀναυτῷ μένει* (*Agam.* 236); and, in fact, the feeling on which it rests is a part of universal human nature.

<sup>199</sup> αἷμα συμμίσχουσιν τῶν τὰ ὄρκια ταμνομένων. LUCIAN makes the Scythians use a form of proceeding compounded of the one described in the text and of that which Tacitus imputes to the Armenians. (See TACITUS, quoted in the note 258 on l. 74.) ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ ἐντεμόντες ἀπαξ τοὺς δακτύλους ἐνστομάδωμεν τὸ αἷμα εἰς κύλικα, καὶ τὰ ξίφη ἄκρα βάψαντες ἅμα ἀμφοτέροι ἐπισχόμενοι πίωμεν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ,τι μετὰ τοῦτο ἡμᾶς διαλύσειεν ἔν. (*Ἰνδαρ.* § 37.) The practice of tasting blood as a part of a solemn proceeding existed in the old religions of the Italian peninsula. FESTUS (*sub v.*) says, “*Assiratum* apud antiquos dicebatur genus quoddam potionis ex vino et sanguine temperatum, quod Latini prisci sanguinem *assir* vocarent.” Hence SALLUST says of Catiline, that, in forming his party, “*fuere qui dicerent eum humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtulisse: inde cum post exsecrationem omnes degustavissent, sicuti in solemnibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum.*” The practice was probably a relic of religious ceremonies coming down from a time when sacrifices were human, and cannibalism the ordinary usage. See the note 34 on iii. 11.

σμικρὸν τοῦ σώματος· καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβάψαντες ἐς τὴν κύλικα ἀκινάκεια, καὶ οἰστούς, καὶ σάγαριν, καὶ ἀκόντιον ἔπεαν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, κατεύχονται πολλὰ, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποπίνουσι αὐτοὶ τε οἱ τὸ ὄρκιον ποιούμενοι, καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων οἱ πλείστου ἄξιοι.

71  
Mode of  
burying the  
chiefs.

Ταφαὶ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἐν Γέρροισι εἰσὶ, ἐς δ' ὁ Βορουσθένης ἐστὶ προσπλωτός<sup>200</sup>. ἐνθαῦτα, ἔπεαν σφὶ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὄρυγμα γῆς μέγα ὀρύσσουσι τετράγωνον ἐτοῖμον δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες, ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὸν νεκρὸν, κατακεκρωμένον μὲν τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ νηδὺν ἀνασχισθεῖσαν καὶ καθαρθεῖσαν, πλέην κυτέρου κεκομμένου καὶ θυμῆματος καὶ σελίνου σπέρματος καὶ ἀνῆσου, συνερραμμένην ὀπίσω, καὶ κομίζουσι ἐν ἀμάξῃ ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος· οἱ δ' ἂν παραδέξωνται κομισθέντα τὸν νεκρὸν, ποιέουσι τὰ περ οἱ βασιλῆιοι Σκύθαι· τοῦ ὥτος ἀποτάμνονται, τρίχας περικεῖνται, βραχίονας περιτάμνονται, μέτωπον καὶ ῥίνα καταμύσσονται, διὰ τῆς τε ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς οἰστούς διαβυνέονται<sup>201</sup>. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ κομίζουσι ἐν ἀμάξῃ τὸν νέκυν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος τῶν ἄρχουσιν (οἱ δὲ σφὶ ἔπονται ἐς τοὺς πρότερον ἦλθον) ἔπεαν δὲ πάντας περιέλθωσι τὸν νέκυν κομίζοντες, ἐν Γέρροισι<sup>202</sup> ἔσχατα κατοικημένοι εἰσι τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν ἄρχουσι, καὶ ἐν τῇσι ταφῇσι καὶ ἔπειτα, ἔπεαν θέωσι τὸν νέκυν ἐν τῇσι θήκησι ἐπὶ στιβάδος, παραπήξαντες αἰχμὰς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τοῦ νεκροῦ, ξύλα ὑπερτείνουσι καὶ ἔπειτα ῥίπῃ καταστεγάζουσιν· ἐν δὲ τῇ λοιπῇ εὐρυχωρίῃ τῆς θήκης, τῶν

<sup>200</sup> Ταφαὶ δὲ . . . . ἐστὶ προσπλωτός. The 'tombs of the Scythian chiefs,' as well as those of the Cimmerian mentioned above (§ 11), are doubtless some of the barrows which abound all over the continent of Europe east of the Carpathian mountains, and extend southwards down into Greece, both European and Asiatic, —in fact probably existing wherever a pastoral people has penetrated in large numbers. CLARKE says that from the plain of Thessaly the whole coast northwards is lined with them. HAWKINS observed them on the north side of the Propontis between Silivria and Constantinople. They are also found in the fork of the Don and Donets, and in the plains to the s.e. of the sea of Azof, between the Don and the Kouban rivers,—so thick, that from one point Clarke counted no less than ninety-one of them, with huge

oaks growing upon them. (Compare FALKNER, quoted in note 331 on i. 93.) In the time of PAUSANIAS one very large one on the plain of Bottisza was called the tomb of Orpheus (ix. 30). In the *Iliad* one on the plain of Troy is spoken of as the tomb of *Æsayetes*, and another as that of *Ilus* (ii. 793; x. 414). See too the note on v. 94, ἐξ Ἀχιλλεύου πόλιος ὀρεσόμενοι, below. It is not likely that Herodotus's informant had ever been at the spot where the sepulchres of the kings are said to have been; for the locality is most doubtful. See note 163 on § 53, above.

<sup>201</sup> διαβυνέονται. See note 256 on ii. 96.

<sup>202</sup> ἐν Γέρροισι. The manuscripts S and V have ἐν τε τοῖσι, and the former of them also the variation ἐσχάτους for ἔσχατα κατοικημένοι.

παλλακέων τε μίαν ἀποπνίξαντες θάπτουσι, καὶ τὸν οἶνοχόον, καὶ μώγειρον, καὶ ἵπποκόμον, καὶ διήκονον, καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρον, καὶ ἵππους, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀπαρχὰς, καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας (ἀργύρῳ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χαλκῷ χρέωνται<sup>203</sup>) ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, χοῦσι πάντες χάμα μέγα, ἀμιλλώμενοι καὶ προθυμούμενοι ὡς μέγιστον ποιῆσαι. Ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ περιφερομένου, αὐτὶς ποιεῖσι 72 τοιόνδε λαβόντες τῶν λοιπῶν θεραπόντων τοὺς ἐπιτηδεωτάτους (οἱ δὲ εἰσι Σκύθαι ἐγγεῆες· οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ θεραπεύουσι τοὺς ἀν αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύσῃ, ἀργυρώνητοι δὲ οὐκ εἰσὶ σφί θεράποντες) τούτων ὧν τῶν διηκόνων ἐπεὰν ἀποπνίξωσι πεντήκοντα, καὶ ἵππους τοὺς καλλιστεύοντας πεντήκοντα, ἐξελόντες αὐτῶν τὴν κοιλίην καὶ καθήραντες, ἐμπιπλάσι ἀχύρων, καὶ συρράπτουσι· ἀψίδος δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ δύο ξύλα στήσαντες ἵπτιον, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ἡμῖν τῆς ἀψίδος ἐπ' ἑτέρα δύο, καταπήξαντες τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ πολλὰ ταῦτα, ἔπειτα τῶν ἵππων κατὰ τὰ μήκεα ξύλα παχέα διελάσαντες μέχρι τῶν τραχήλων, ἀναβιβάζουσι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀψίδας· τῶν δὲ, αἱ μὲν πρότεραι ἀψίδες ὑπέχουσι τοὺς ὤμους τῶν ἵππων, αἱ δὲ ὕπισθε παρὰ τοὺς μηρούς τὰς γαστέρας ὑπολαμβάνουσι· σκέλεα δὲ ἀμφότερα κατακρέμαται μετέωρα· χαλινούς δὲ καὶ στόμια ἐμβαλόντες ἐς τοὺς ἵππους, κατατείνουσι ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐκ πασσάλων δέουσι. τῶν δὲ δὴ νεηνίσκων τῶν ἀποπεπνυγμένων τῶν πεντήκοντα ἓνα ἕκαστον ἀναβιβάζουσι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, ὧδε ἀναβιβάζοντες· ἐπεὰν νεκροῦ ἑκάστου παρὰ τὴν ἄκανθαν ξύλον ὀρθὸν διελάσωσι μέχρι τοῦ τραχήλου, κάτωθεν δὲ ὑπερέχει τοῦ ξύλου τούτου τὸ ἐς τόρμον<sup>204</sup> πηγνύουσι τοῦ ἐτέρου ξύλου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἵππου ἐπιστήσαντες δὲ κύκλῳ τὸ σῆμα ἱππέας τοιούτους, ἀπελαύνουσι.

<sup>203</sup> ἀργύρῳ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χαλκῷ χρέωνται. This must mean that they do not use either silver or bronze in commerce; for their arms would doubtless be of the latter. See RITZER, quoted in note 710 on i. 215. But the communication through caravan traffic with Central Asia would produce such an abundance of gold as might render any other metallic medium unnecessary in the commercial relations of these nomad tribes with the Hellenic merchants who dealt with them. See

MARCO POLO, quoted in note 280 on iii. 95.

<sup>204</sup> τόρμον. This word is explained by the gloss writer as τρήμα. It is a "socket formed by boring," the root of the word being *tor* or *ter*, which appears in many Greek and Latin words containing the notion of 'turning,' e. g. *torvus*, *τόπος*; *terminus*, *τέρμα*; *τερο*, *τελρῶ*; *teredo*, *τερέτρον*, *τορύνη*. See an excellent paper in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, vol. v. pp. 103—106.

Cruel custom in commemoration of the funeral after a year has past.

73

Mode of  
burying  
those who  
are not  
chiefs.

Οὕτω μὲν τοὺς βασιλῆας θάπτουσι<sup>305</sup>. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Σκύθαις, ἑπεὰν ἀποθάνωσι, περιώγουσι οἱ ἀγχοτάτω προσήκοντες κατὰ τοὺς φίλους ἐν ἀμάξεσι κειμένους· τῶν δὲ ἕκαστος ὑποδεκόμενος εὐωχέει τοὺς ἐπομένους, καὶ τῷ νεκρῷ πάντων παρατιθεῖ τῶν καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις· ἡμέρας δὲ τεσσεράκοντα οὕτω οἱ ἰδιῶται περι-

Purification  
of the  
mourners.

άγονται, ἔπειτα θάπτονται· θάψαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι καθαίρονται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· σηησάμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ ἐκπλυνάμενοι, ποιεῖσι περὶ τὸ σῶμα τάδε· ἑπεὰν ξύλα στήσωσι τρία ἐς ἄλληλα κεκλιμένα, περὶ ταῦτα πῖλους εἰρινέους περιτείνουσιν· συμφράξαντες δὲ ὥς μάλιστα, λίθους ἐκ πυρὸς διαφανέας ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς σκάφην

74

Hemp grows  
in the coun-  
try.

κειμένην ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ξύλων τε καὶ τῶν πύλων· Ἔστι δέ σφι κίοναβις<sup>306</sup> φυομένη ἐν τῇ χώρῃ πλὴν παχύτητος καὶ μεγάλους τῷ

<sup>305</sup> οὕτω μὲν τοὺς βασιλῆας θάπτουσι. The following account is given by ISN BATUTA (the Arabian traveller in China about the year 1346), of the burial of the Khan of the Tartars, who had been slain in battle. "The Khan who had been killed, with about 100 of his relations, was then brought, and a large sepulchre was dug for him under the earth, in which a most beautiful couch was spread, and the Khan was, with his weapons, laid upon it. With him they placed all the gold and silver vessels he had in his house, together with four female slaves and six of his favourite Mamluks, with a few vessels of drink. They were then all closed up, and the earth heaped upon them to the height of a large hill. They then brought four horses, which they pierced through at the hill until all motion in them ceased; they then forced a piece of wood into the hinder part of the animal till it came out at his neck, and this they fixed in the earth, leaving the horse thus impaled upon the hill. The relatives of the Khan they buried in the same manner, putting all their vessels of gold and silver in the grave with them. At the doors of the sepulchres of ten of these they impaled three horses in the manner thus mentioned. At the graves of each of the rest only one horse was impaled." But that such proceedings as those described in the text were not merely a traditional custom, but rested on that common feeling of humanity which ascribes to the departed similar tastes and pursuits to those which have been valued by them in their lifetime, is clear from the follow-

ing description of a *Patagonian* funeral, given by CAPTAIN FITZROY (*Narrative of the Beagle*, ii. p. 165). "The body is wrapped in the best mantle of the deceased, placed on his favourite horse, and carried to the burying-place of the tribe. The wizard rattles together two pieces of dried bladder in which are some loose stones, to frighten away the Validru or evil spirits, and the other people howl over the corpse as it is carried to the sepulchre. In a square pit, about six feet deep and two or three feet wide, where many others have been deposited, the corpse is placed in a sitting posture, adorned with mantles, plumes of feathers, and beads. The spurs, sword, balls, and other such property belonging to the deceased are laid beside him, and the pit is then covered over with branches of trees, upon which earth is laid. His favourite horse is afterwards killed. It is held at the grave while a man knocks it on the head with one of the balls of the deceased. When dead it is skinned and stuffed, then supported by sticks (or set up) on its legs, with the head propped up as if looking at the grave. Sometimes more horses than one are killed. At the funeral of a Cacique four horses are sacrificed, and one is set up at each corner of the burial place. The clothes and other effects belonging to the deceased are burned, and, to finish all, a feast is made of the horses' flesh."

<sup>306</sup> κίοναβις, "hemp." This article grows in the northern part of Russia, higher up than any part of Scythia known to the Greeks. It will therefore have come down to the traders in the Euxine,

λίνῳ ἐμφερεστάτῃ ταύτῃ δὲ πολλῶ ὑπερφέρει ἢ κάνναβις· αὕτη καὶ αὐτομάτῃ καὶ σπειρομένη φύεται· καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς Θρήικες μὲν καὶ εἴματα ποιεῦνται τοῖσι λινέοισι ὁμοιότατα· οὐδ' ἂν ὅστις μὴ κάρτα τρίβων εἴῃ αὐτῆς διαγνοῖη, λίνου ἢ καννάβιός ἐστι· ὃς δὲ μὴ εἰδὲ κω τὴν κανναβίδα, λινεον δοκῇσει εἶναι τὸ εἶμα· Ταύτης ὦν 75 οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς καννάβιος τὸ σπέρμα ἐπέαν λάβωσι, ὑποδύνουσι Practice of burning the hemp-seeds to produce a vapour-bath. ὑπὸ τοὺς πόλους, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπιβάλλουσι τὸ σπέρμα ἐπὶ τοὺς διαφανέας λίθους τῷ πυρὶ· τὸ δὲ θυμῇται ἐπιβαλλόμενον, καὶ ἀτμίδα παρέχεται τοσαύτην, ὥστε Ἑλληνικὴ οὐδεμία ἂν μιν πυρὶν ἀποκρατήσῃ· οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἀγάμενοι τῇ πυρὶ 297 ὠρύονται. τοῦτό σφι ἀντὶ λουτροῦ ἐστὶ· οὐ γὰρ δὴ λούνται ὕδατι τὸ παράπαν τὸ σῶμα· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν, ὕδωρ παραχέουσιν, κατασώχουσι περὶ λίθον τρηχὺν τῆς κυπαρίσσου, καὶ κέδρου, καὶ λιβάνου ξύλου καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ κατασώχόμενον τοῦτο, παχὺ ἔδν, καταπλάσσουνται πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ἅμα μὲν εὐωδὴ σφέας ἀπὸ τούτου ἴσχει, ἅμα δὲ ἀπαιρέουσιν τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὴν καταπλαστὴν γίνονται καθαραὶ καὶ λαμπραί.

Ξεινικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι καὶ οὗτοι 298 αἰνῶς χρᾶσθαι φεύγουσι, 76 μῆτι γε 299 ὦν ἀλλήλων, Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ καὶ ἥκιστα, ὡς διέδεξαν The Scythians are

most probably by water carriage, from a considerable distance. The notice in the text is the earliest of it, and one may suppose that the name is a native one. If so, the "Scythians" who cultivated it must have belonged to the Indo-Germanic race, for the identity of *cannabis* with the Teutonic *hanf* is certain. But it is possible that the name was given to the plant by the merchants who bought, not by the people who grew it.

<sup>297</sup> ἀγάμενοι τῇ πυρὶ. The extraordinary practice mentioned in the text was no doubt partly for the purpose of getting quit of the annoyance of the mosquitoes, the numbers of which in the steppes are almost inconceivable. CLARKE says that in the plains of the Kouban no contrivance on the part of himself and his companion could prevent millions of these insects from entering the carriage; and in spite of gloves, clothes, and handkerchiefs, they rendered their bodies one entire wound, and excited a considerable degree of fever. The mortality occasioned by them in the Russian army, both of men and horses, was very great; and it was the practice of the sol-

diers to scoop out a hollow in the ancient barrows, and even in the greatest heats of summer to light fires in order to fill this with smoke, and thus escape the stings. (*Travels*, vol. ii. p. 59.) This circumstance will explain a curious sentiment attributed to Anacharsis (the Scythian) by DIOGENES LAERTIUS (l. 104). He wondered at nothing so much as that the Greeks should use charcoal: τὸν μὲν καπνὸν ἐν τοῖς ὕεσι καταλείπουσι, τὰ δὲ ξύλα εἰς τὴν πόλιν κομίζουσι. But at the same time the desire of intoxication was what determined the use of hemp seeds, from which at the present time the narcotic called *bang* is produced. The effect of hemp even while growing is to produce drowsiness and stupor in those who remain among it.

<sup>298</sup> καὶ οὗτοι. "this people, too." Here it has been supposed there is a tacit reference back to ii. 91, where the writer has remarked upon the dislike of the Egyptians to Hellenic customs.

<sup>299</sup> μῆτι γε. So Gaisford prints, on the authority of S and F. The other MSS have μή τοι γε. Hermann conjec-



averse to  
foreign cus-  
toms.

Fate of  
*Anacharis*  
and *Scyles*  
in conse-  
quence of  
their inno-  
vations.

Ἀνάχαρσις τε καὶ δεύτερα αὐτῆς Σκύλης. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἐπεὶ τε γῆν πολλὴν θεωρήσας καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος κατ' αὐτὴν σοφίην πολλὴν ἐκομίζετο ἐς ἡθεα τὰ Σκυθῶν, πλέων δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου προσίσχει ἐς Κύζικον<sup>210</sup>, καὶ εὔρε γὰρ τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀνάγοντας τοὺς Κυζικηνοὺς ὀρτὴν κάρτα μεγαλοπρεπέως, εὐξάτο τῇ Μητρὶ ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἦν σῶς καὶ ὑγιὴς ἀπονοστήσῃ ἐς ἑωυτοῦ, θύσειν τε κατὰ ταῦτα κατὰ τὰ ὄρα<sup>211</sup> τοὺς Κυζικηνοὺς ποιεύντας καὶ παννυχίδα στήσῃεν ὥς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν, καταδύς ἐς τὴν καλεομένην Ἰλαιν<sup>212</sup>. (ἡ δ' ἔστι μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖον Δρόμον, τυγχάνει δὲ πᾶσα ἐούσα δενδρέων παντοίων πλήρῃ) ἐς ταύτην δὴ καταδύς ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, τὴν ὀρτὴν πᾶσαν ἐπετέλεε τῇ θεῷ, τύμπανόν τε ἔχων καὶ ἐκδησάμενος ἀγάλματα<sup>213</sup> καὶ τῶν τις Σκυθῶν καταφρασθεὶς αὐτὸν ταῦτα ποιεύντα ἐσήμηνε τῷ βασιλεῖ Σαυλῖν· ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπικόμενος, ὥς εἶδε τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν ποιεύντα ταῦτα, τοξεύσας αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ νῦν, ἦν τις εἰρηται περὶ Ἀναχάρσιος, οὐ φασὶ μὲν Σκύθαι γινώσκειν διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐξεδήμησέ τε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ξενικοῖσι ἔθεσι διεχρήσατο. ὥς δ' ἐγὼ ἤκουσα Τίμνῳ, τοῦ Ἀριαπειθέος ἐπιτρόπου<sup>214</sup>, εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἰδανθύρσου<sup>215</sup> τοῦ Σκυθῶν βασιλέως

tures ἄλλων in the place of ἀλλήλων, and Gaisford adopts it. But the passage presents little real difficulty, if we suppose that χρᾶσθαι φεύγουσι is to be taken with the regimen of οὐ χρῶνται, to which it is nearly equivalent. Translate: "These Scythians too have an invincible aversion to adopting foreign customs;—they will not take up any from one another, and least of all such as are Hellenic." Compare ii. 91: "Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ νομαλοῖσι φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι· τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μηδ' ἄλλων μηδαμᾶ μηδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων νομαλοῖσι."

<sup>210</sup> προσίσχει ἐς Κύζικον. It appears from § 14, above, that Herodotus was at Cyzicus, and it seems likely that *there* he heard the story of Anacharis's mishap. It would certainly not be from the Scythians, for they professed (and probably with truth) not to know him. See the note 216, below.

<sup>211</sup> κατὰ τὰ ὄρα. So ii. 99, κατὰ τὰ ἥκον· v. 112 and vi. 88, κατὰ τὰ συνέθηκατο.

<sup>212</sup> ἐς τὴν καλεομένην Ἰλαιν. See note 54 on § 18, above.

<sup>213</sup> ἐκδησάμενος ἀγάλματα. These were certain symbols suspended from the breast of the officiating priest. DIONYSIUS describes the proceeding which took place annually at Rome in honour of the same deity: *Ιερᾶται αὐτῆς [τῆς θεῆς] ἡνὶ φρὺξ καὶ γυνὴ φρυγία καὶ περιάγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιν οὗτοι μητραγυρτοῦντες ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἔθος, τύπους τε περικεῖμενοι τοῖς στήθεσι, καὶ καταλούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἐπομένων τὰ μητρεῖα μέλη καὶ τύμπανα κροτοῦντες.* (*Archæolog.* ii. 19.) When Manlius in his Asiatic campaign threw a bridge over the river *Sangarius*, there came to his camp Γάλλοι παρὰ Ἀττιδος καὶ Βαρτάκου τῶν ἐκ Πεσσινούωντες ἱερέων τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔχοντες προστηθῖδια καὶ τύπους. (POLYBIUS, xii. 20.)

<sup>214</sup> ἐπιτρόπου. This word seems applied here to some functionary representing the interests of the barbarian sovereign, perhaps resident at the factory which was the centre of the commercial dealings between the Hellenic merchants and the natives. Such a post would probably be filled by the issue of a mixed marriage between a

πάτρων, παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Γνούρου, τοῦ Λύκου, τοῦ Σπαργαπείθεος· εἰ ὦν ταύτης ἦν τῆς οἰκῆς ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἴστω ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἀποθανών· Ἰδάνθυρσος γὰρ ἦν παῖς Σαυλίου· Σαύλιος δὲ ἦν ὁ ἀποκτείνας Ἀνάχαρσιν. Καίτοι τινὰ ἤδη ἤκουσα λόγον ἄλλον 77  
 ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων λεγόμενον <sup>216</sup>, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέως  
 Ἀνάχαρσις ἀποπεμφθεὶς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μαθητὴς γένοιτο· ὅπισω  
 τε ἀπονοστήσας φαίη πρὸς τὸν ἀποπέμψαντα, Ἕλληνας πάντας  
 ἀσχόλους εἶναι ἐς πᾶσαν σοφίην, πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων· τοῖσι  
 δὲ εἶναι μόνινοισι σωφρόνως δοῦναι τε καὶ δέξασθαι λόγον. ἀλλ'  
 οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ἄλλως πέπαισται <sup>217</sup> ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἑλλήνων· ὁ δ'  
 ὦν ἀνὴρ, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰρέθη, διεφθάρη. οὗτος μὲν νυν οὗτω  
 δὴ τι ἐπῆρξε διὰ ξεινικά τε νόμια καὶ Ἑλληνικὰς ὁμιλίας.

*Peloponnesian story of Anacharsis, a mere fiction on the part of the Hellenes.*

Πολλοῖσι δὲ κάρτα ἔτεσι ὕστερον, Σκύλης ὁ Ἀριαπείθεος ἔπαθε 78  
 παραπλήσια τούτῳ· Ἀριαπείθει γὰρ τῷ Σκυθέων βασιλεῖ γίνεται  
 μετ' ἄλλων παίδων Σκύλης· ἐξ Ἰστρινῆς δὲ γυναικὸς οὗτος  
 γίνεται, καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐγγωρήσας· τὸν ἡ μήτηρ αὕτη γλῶσσάν τε  
 Ἑλλάδα καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδαξε· μετὰ δὲ, χρόνῳ ὕστερον, Ἀρια-  
 πείθης μὲν τελευτᾷ δόλῳ ὑπὸ Σπαργαπείθεος τοῦ Ἀγαθύρσων  
 βασιλέως· Σκύλης δὲ τήν τε βασιληὴν παρέλαβε, καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα

*Fate of Scyles many years after Anacharsis.*

Hellenic settler and a native, or a native chief and a Hellenic slave.

<sup>216</sup> Ἰδανθύρσων. So Gaisford prints; and the MSS here, and also in §§ 120. 126, vary between this form and Ἰνδαθύρσων, predominating in favour of the text. But the analogy of Intaphernes (the correctness of which is ascertained by the equivalent *Vidafrana* of the Behistun Inscription) is in favour of the rejected form.

<sup>217</sup> ὅτι Πελοποννησίων λεγόμενον. The Spartans connected the origin of the madness of their king Cleomenes with an embassy of some Scythians to Lacedæmon. See vi. 84. Perhaps Anacharsis was in their traditions represented to have come on this occasion. The compliment to the Lacedæmonians at the expense of the other Greeks would induce one to suppose that the story which Herodotus heard from Peloponnesians originated at Sparta or thereabouts. It is apparently of more recent origin than the fashion of sophistical disputations; and perhaps the same may be said of all the stories of Anachar-

sis as a travelling philosopher. (See the passage from Plato, cited in note 113 on i. 32.) The epistle from Anacharsis to Hanno, which is gravely quoted by Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* v. 32), is probably the translation of a rhetorical thesis of a much later time. But the views upon which this was based belong to the era which in Greece corresponded to the age of Buffon and Rousseau in France, and to that of Lucretius at Rome; when disgust at the scenes around them induced many to regret the time "when wild in woods the noble savage ran," and produced such fictions as the 'Contrat Social,' and the fifth book of the *De Rerum Naturæ*. The stories of the Ethiopians given by Herodotus belong to the same era. See note 56 on iii. 18.

<sup>217</sup> πέπαισται. This is the reading of S and V, the rest of the MSS having πέπλασται. But πέπαισται means παιδίας χάριν πέπλασται, and Gaisford rightly prefers it. The story is no doubt an ethopoeic fiction. See notes 113 and 477 on Book i.

πέμψας ὁ Σιτάλκης ἐπεκηρυκέετο· ἦν γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Ὀκταμασάδῃ ἀδελφεὸς Σιτάλκῳ, πεφευγὼς τοῦτον ὁ δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης καταινέει ταῦτα, ἐκδιδούς δὲ τὸν ἑωυτοῦ μήτρῳα Σιτάλκῃ ἔλαβε τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σκύλην καὶ Σιτάλκης μὲν παραλαβὼν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἀπήγγετο· Σκύλῳ δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἀπέταμε τὴν κεφαλὴν. οὕτω μὲν περιστέλλουσι<sup>226</sup> τὰ σφέτερα νόμῳα Σκύθαι, τοῖσι δὲ παρακτωμένοισι ξεινικοὺς νόμους τοιαῦτα ἐπιτίμα διδοῦσι.

## 81

Numbers of the Scythians are variously given.

A huge bowl, said to be made from the heads of their arrows, stands at *Exampneus*.

Πλήθος δὲ τὸ Σκυθέων οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγενόμην ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ διαφόρους λόγους περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἡκουν καὶ γὰρ κάρτα πολλοὺς εἶναι σφεας, καὶ ὀλίγους, ὥς Σκύθας εἶναι<sup>227</sup>. τοσόνδε μέντοι ἀπέφαιόν μοι ἐς ὄψιν ἔστι μεταξὺ Βορυσθένης τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὑπάνιος χώρος, οἶνομα δὲ οἷ ἔστι Ἐξαμπαῖος<sup>228</sup>. τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην εἶχον, φάμενος ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνην ὕδατος πικροῦ εἶναι, ἀπ' ἧς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπορρέον τὸν Ὑπανιν ἄποτον ποιεῖν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ κέεται χαλκήϊον<sup>229</sup>, μεγάλῃ καὶ ἐξαπλήσιον τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου κρητήρος, τὸν Πausanίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου ἀνέθηκε· ὃς δὲ μὴ εἶδε κω τοῦτον, ὥδε δηλώσω· ἐξακοσίους ἀμφορέας εἰπετέως χωρεῖ τὸ ἐν Σκύθῃσι χαλκήϊον. πάχος δὲ τὸ Σκυθικὸν τοῦτο χαλκήϊον ἔστι δακτύλων ἑξ· τοῦτο ὦν ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἀπὸ ἀρδίων γενέσθαι· βουλόμενον γὰρ τὸν σφέτερον βασιλέα, τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Ἀριαντάν, τοῦτον<sup>230</sup> εἰδέναι τὸ

<sup>226</sup> περιστέλλουσι. See note 347 on i. 98.

<sup>227</sup> καὶ ὀλίγους, ὥς Σκύθας εἶναι. This expression is similar to *μεγάλα ἐκτίσατο χρήματα, ὥς ἂν εἶναι Ῥοδῶνιν* (ii. 135). Translate: "and few, to be Scythians." The smallest numbers which were given to Herodotus by his informants were great for any other nation.

<sup>228</sup> Ἐξαμπαῖος. See above, note 161 on § 52.

<sup>229</sup> ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ κέεται χαλκήϊον. RITTER (*Vorhalle*, p. 344) conceives that the spot where this bowl was set up was a sacred one, and that it was the site of a colony of Buddha-worshippers. But the principal argument with which he backs his opinion rests upon the supposition that the footmark of Heracles (spoken of in § 82) was in the immediate vicinity, — of which there is certainly no hint in Herodotus. The two objects were un-

doubtedly on different sides of the river Hypanis, and the latter not near its bank. (Compare § 52 and § 82.) But Ritter in fact puts Exampneus between the *Tyras* and the Hypanis, apparently from a slip of the memory, and not, as Herodotus does, between the latter river and the *Borysthenes*. And it is not easy to see to what use Buddhists would put such a cauldron as that described. The *Cimbri* of the north of Europe had a much smaller one, which they held sacred, and sent as a present to Augustus Caesar. Over this it was their practice to cut the throats of the captives they took in war (STRABO, vii. pp. 68—70); and the identification of these *Cimbri* with the *Cimmerii* of Scythia seems to have rested mainly on the notorious similarity of their habits, — a circumstance which squares very ill with Buddhism.

<sup>230</sup> τοῦτον. One MS has *τούτων*.

πλήθος τῶν Σκυθέων, κελεύειν μιν πάντας Σκύθας ἄρδιον ἕκαστον  
 μίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴστοῦ κομίσαι· ὃς δ' ἂν μὴ κομίσῃ, θάνατον ἀπειλεῖ·  
 κομισθῆναι τε δὴ χρήμα πολλὸν ἄρδιων, καὶ οἱ δόξαι ἐξ αὐτέων  
 μνημόσυνον ποιήσαντι λιπέσθαι· ἐκ τούτων δὴ μιν τὸ χαλκήσιον  
 ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν Ἑξαμπαῖον τοῦτον. ταῦτα  
 δὴ περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ Σκυθέων ἤκουον. Θουμάσια δὲ ἡ χώρα 82  
 αὕτη οὐκ ἔχει, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι ποταμούς τε πολλῶ μεγίστους, καὶ Print of the  
foot of He-  
racles near  
the river  
Tyras.  
 ἀριθμὸν πλείους· ὃ δὲ ἀποθουμάσαι ἀξιὸν καὶ πάρεξ τῶν ποτα-  
 μῶν καὶ τοῦ μεγάλους τοῦ πεδίου παρέχεται, εἰρήσεται· Ἰχνος  
 Ἑρακλέος <sup>231</sup> φαίνουσι ἐν πέτρῃ ἐνεὸν, τὸ οἶκε μὲν βήματι ἀνδρὸς,  
 ἔστι δὲ τὸ μέγαθος δίπληχυν, παρὰ τὸν Τύρην ποταμόν. τοῦτο μὲν  
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 λόγον <sup>232</sup>.

Παρασκευαζομένου Δαρείου ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας, καὶ ἐπιπέμ- 83  
 ποντος ἀγγέλους ἐπιτάξοντας τοῖσι μὲν πεζὸν στρατὸν τοῖσι Darius pre-  
paring for his  
Scythian  
expedition  
 δὲ νέας παρέχειν τοῖσι δὲ ζευγύναι τὸν Θρηϊκίον Βόσπορον <sup>233</sup>, is fruitlessly  
dissuaded by  
his brother  
Artabanus.  
 Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, ἀδελφεὸς ἐὼν Δαρείου, ἔχρηζε μηδα-  
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 Σκυθέων τὴν ἀπορίην ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε συμβουλευῶν οἱ  
 χρηστὰ, ὁ μὲν ἐπέπαυτο, ὁ δὲ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὰ πάντα παρεσκεύ-  
 αστο, ἐξήλαυε τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Σούσων <sup>234</sup>. Ἐνθαῦτα τῶν Περ- 84  
 σέων Οἰόβαζος ἐδεήθη Δαρείου, τριῶν ἐόντων οἱ παίδων καὶ His cruelty  
to the sons  
of Gobazus.  
 πάντων στρατευομένων, ἓνα αὐτῷ καταλειφθῆναι· ὁ δὲ οἱ ἔφη, ὥς

<sup>231</sup> Ἰχνος Ἑρακλέος. See note 228 on ii. 91.

<sup>232</sup> ἐς τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἡία λέξων λόγον. The thread of the narrative is resumed from the beginning of this book,—and the expression κατ' ἀρχὰς affords a presumption in favour of the book being the commencement of a new division of the subject when it came from the hands of the author.

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<sup>234</sup> ἐξήλαυε τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Σούσων. RENNELL considers the site of the ancient Susa to be the place called *Sus*, about forty-four geographical miles more to the n.w. in the direction of Babylon than *Tustar* or *Suster*, which was previously considered its site. (*Geography of Herodotus*, p. 203.) As far as Herodotus is

concerned, or the Greeks of his time, it may be affirmed that all known of Susa was that it stood by the side of a river called Choaspes, was the royal palace of the Great King, and that it formed one termination of a great caravan road, of which Sardis constituted the other, in which road there was a certain number of halting places, and a certain amount of estimated, not measured, distance. (See notes on v. 49 and on v. 53.) The expression in the text implies that in the notion of the writer the army was concentrated at Susa, and marched from thence, —a journey of at least three months—to the coast. Such can never have been the actual plan of operations. See another instance of misapprehension of oriental strategics, i. 77 (with note 268) above.

πέμψας ὁ Σιτάλικης ἐπεκηρυκέτο· ἦν γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Ὀκταμασάδῃ ἀδελφεὸς Σιτάλκεω, πεφευγὼς τοῦτον· ὁ δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης καταινέει ταῦτα, ἐκδιδούς δὲ τὸν ἐωυτοῦ μήτρωα Σιτάλικη ἔλαβε τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σκύλην καὶ Σιτάλικης μὲν παραλαβὼν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἀπήγγετο· Σκύλῳ δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἀπέταμε τὴν κεφαλὴν. οὕτω μὲν περιστέλλουσι<sup>226</sup> τὰ σφέτερα νόμαα Σκύθαι, τοῖσι δὲ παρακτωμένοισι ξεινικοὺς νόμους τοιαῦτα ἐπιτίμα διδοῦσι.

81

*Numbers of the Scythians are variously given.*

*A huge bowl, said to be made from the heads of their arrows, stands at Exampneus.*

Πλήθος δὲ τὸ Σκυθέων οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγενόμην ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ διαφόρους λόγους περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἤκουον καὶ γὰρ κάρτα πολλοὺς εἶναι σφεας, καὶ ὀλίγους, ὥς Σκύθας εἶναι<sup>227</sup>. τοσούδε μέντοι ἀπέφαινόν μοι ἐς ὄψιν ἔστι μεταξὺ Βορυσθένης τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὑπάνιος χώρος, οὐνομα δὲ οἷ ἔστι Ἐξαμπαῖος<sup>228</sup>. τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγη τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην εἶχον, φάμενος ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνην ὕδατος πικροῦ εἶναι, ἀπ' ἧς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπορρέον τὸν Ὑπανίῳ ἅπτοιν ποιεῖν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ κέεται χαλκήϊον<sup>229</sup>, μεγάλῃ καὶ ἐξαπλήσιον τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου κρητήρος, τὸν Πανσανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου ἀνέθηκε· ὃς δὲ μὴ εἶδὲ καὶ τοῦτον, ὥδε δηλώσω ἑξακοσίους ἀμφορέας εὐπετέως χωρεῖ τὸ ἐν Σκύθησι χαλκήϊον. πάχος δὲ τὸ Σκυθικὸν τοῦτο χαλκήϊον ἔστι δακτύλων ἕξ· τοῦτο ὦν ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἀπὸ ἀρδίων γενέσθαι· βουλόμενον γὰρ τὸν σφέτερον βασιλέα, τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Ἀριαντάν, τοῦτον<sup>230</sup> εἰδέναι τὸ

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<sup>227</sup> καὶ ὀλίγους, ὥς Σκύθας εἶναι. This expression is similar to *μεγάλα ἐκτίσαστο χρήματα, ὥς ἂν εἶναι Ῥοδῶνιν* (ii. 135). Translate: "and few, to be Scythians." The smallest numbers which were given to Herodotus by his informants were great for any other nation.

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doubtedly on different sides of the river Hypanis, and the latter not near its bank. (Compare § 52 and § 82.) But Ritter in fact puts Exampneus between the *Tyres* and the Hypanis, apparently from a slip of the memory, and not, as Herodotus does, between the latter river and the *Borysthenes*. And it is not easy to see to what use Buddhists would put such a cauldron as that described. The *Cimbri* of the north of Europe had a much smaller one, which they held sacred, and sent as a present to Augustus Cæsar. Over this it was their practice to cut the throats of the captives they took in war (STRABO, vii. pp. 68—70); and the identification of these *Cimbri* with the *Cimmerii* of Scythia seems to have rested mainly on the notorious similarity of their habits, — a circumstance which squares very ill with Buddhism.

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πλήθος τῶν Σκυθέων, κελεύειν μιν πάντας Σκύθας ἄρδιν ἕκαστον  
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 κομισθῆναι τε δὴ χρήμα πολλὸν ἀρδίω, καὶ οἱ δόξαι ἐξ αὐτέων  
 μνημόσυνον ποιήσαντι λιπέσθαι· ἐκ τούτων δὴ μιν τὸ χαλκήϊον  
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 λόγον <sup>232</sup>.

Print of the  
 foot of He-  
 racles near  
 the river  
 Tyraa.

Παρασκευαζομένου Δαρείου ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας, καὶ ἐπιπέμ- 83  
 ποντος ἀγγέλους ἐπιτάξοντας τοῖσι μὲν πεζὸν στρατὸν τοῖσι  
 δὲ νέας παρέχειν τοῖσι δὲ ζευγνύναι τὸν Θρηῖκιον Βόσπορον <sup>233</sup>,  
 Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Τστασπεος, ἀδελφεὸς ἐὼν Δαρείου, ἔχρηξε μηδα-  
 μῶς αὐτὸν στρατηγὴν ἐπὶ Σκύθας ποιέεσθαι, καταλέγων τῶν  
 Σκυθέων τὴν ἀπορίην ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε συμβουλευῶν οἱ  
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 σέων Οἰόβαζος ἐδεήθη Δαρείου, τριῶν ἐόντων οἱ παῖδων καὶ  
 πάντων στρατευομένων, ἕνα αὐτῷ καταλειφθῆναι· ὁ δὲ οἱ ἔφη, ὥς

Darius pre-  
 paring for his  
 Scythian  
 expedition  
 is fruitlessly  
 dissuaded by  
 his brother  
 Artabanus.

His cruelty  
 to the sons  
 of Oeobazus.

<sup>231</sup> ἔχνος Ἑρακλῆος. See note 228 on ii. 91.

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<sup>234</sup> ἐξήλαυε τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Σούσων. RENNELL considers the site of the ancient Susa to be the place called *Sus*, about forty-four geographical miles more to the n.w. in the direction of Babylon than *Tostar* or *Suster*, which was previously considered its site. (*Geography of Herodotus*, p. 203.) As far as Herodotus is

concerned, or the Greeks of his time, it may be affirmed that all known of Susa was that it stood by the side of a river called Choaspes, was the royal palace of the Great King, and that it formed one termination of a great caravan road, of which Sardis constituted the other, in which road there was a certain number of halting places, and a certain amount of estimated, not measured, distance. (See notes on v. 49 and on v. 53.) The expression in the text implies that in the notion of the writer the army was concentrated at Susa, and marched from thence,—a journey of at least three months—to the coast. Such can never have been the actual plan of operations. See another instance of misapprehension of oriental strategics, i. 77 (with note 268) above.

φίλῳ ἔοντι καὶ μετρίῳν δεομένῳ πάντας τοὺς παῖδας καταλείψειν ὁ μὲν δὴ Οἰόβαζος περιχαρὴς ἦν ἐλπίζων τοὺς υἱέας στρατηγὴς ἀπολελεύσθαι, ὁ δὲ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτων ἐπεσευῶτας ἀποκτείνειν πάντας τοὺς Οἰοβάζου παῖδας· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἀποσφαγέντες αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἐλίποντο <sup>235</sup>.

85

Darius arrives at the Bosphorus and surveys the view from the temple of Zeus Urius.

Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπεὶ τε πορευόμενος ἐκ Σούσων ἀπῖκετο τῆς Καλ-  
χιδονίης ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον <sup>236</sup> ἵνα ἔξευκτο ἡ γέφυρα, ἐνθεῦτεν  
ἐσβὰς ἐς νέα ἔπλεε ἐπὶ τὰς Κνανάας καλυμένας, τὰς πρότερον  
πλαγκτὰς Ἑλληνέας φασὶ εἶναι· ἐξόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἱρῷ ἐθρεῖτο  
τὸν Πόντον, ἔοντα ἀξιοθέητον· πελαγέων γὰρ ἀπάντων πέφυκε  
θωυμασιώτατος <sup>237</sup>. τοῦ τὸ μὲν μήκος στάδιοι εἰσι ἑκατὸν καὶ  
χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, τὸ δὲ εὖρος, τῇ εὐρύτατος αὐτοῦ ἐωντοῦ, στάδιοι

<sup>235</sup> αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἐλίποντο. A parallel piece of barbarity to this is related of Xerxes (vii. 39), and it appears to be far more in accordance with his character than with that of his father. But a certain palliation of this outrage has been attempted on the ground, that it being a constitutional maxim of the Persians for all capable of bearing arms to follow the king wherever he went on an expedition in person, the mere attempt to excuse one of his sons was on the part of Xerxes a kind of treason. I conceive that the anecdote itself, as well as the parallel one, is substantially an ethical story, illustrative of the temper of an eastern despot, and that the *dramatis personæ*, as in many other stories related by Herodotus, very probably varied in different versions of it. See the notes on v. 92, where the story of Thrasybulus's advice to Periander is discussed; also notes 494 on ii. 160 and 368, below.

<sup>236</sup> ἀπῖκετο τῆς Καλχιδονίης ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον. The course of Darius from Susa to the Bosphorus, it will be observed, is entirely unnoticed; and so are all the details of the concentration of the troops. Yet the preparations for assembling any thing like the force mentioned (700,000 land troops and 600 ships, § 87) must have employed all the resources of Asia, comparatively unexhausted as they were at that time, and must have left many a recollection of interesting incidents behind them;—as, according to Herodotus, the similar preparations of Xerxes did. See the notes 245 and 247, below.

<sup>237</sup> πέφυκε θωυμασιώτατος. It is a remarkable circumstance, that while Herodotus gives the true dimensions of the Bosphorus, on the supposition of the *stade* being about 600 feet, or 10 *stadia* to a geographical mile, the magnitude in length and breadth which he assigns to the Euxine is enormously too great. The breadth of the strait and the length of the *αὐχὴν* would fall under his very eye, but this would not be the case with the other facts. When he comes to the Propontis the dimensions become much too great, and to make his statement harmonize with facts, the *stadia* must be taken much smaller, as equalling no more than  $\frac{1}{5}$ ths of their real magnitude. But even this exaggeration is much less than for the Euxine, where the *stadia* must be taken at only  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the proper magnitude. In other words, the error of estimated distance in a run by sea of the extent of the Propontis amounts to an excess of two-fifths, and in one of the extent of the Euxine to an excess of no less than eleven-tenths. (LEAKE, *op. Geogr. Journal*, ix. p. 11.) Now although the ability of the ancients to estimate a run out at sea was next to nothing, they having no contrivance answering to our *log*, it seems impossible that the *rate of error* should vary so greatly as appears above. It is more probable that the dimensions of the Euxine were exaggerated by the merchants from whom Herodotus obtained his information, than that he himself made the voyage and was deceived to so enormous an extent.

τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι<sup>238</sup>. τούτου τοῦ πελάγεος τὸ στόμα ἐστὶ εὖρος τέσσερες στάδιοι, μῆκος δὲ [τοῦ στόματος] ὁ αὐχὴν τὸ δὴ Βόσπορος κέκληται, κατ' ὃ δὴ ἔξευκτο ἢ γέφυρα, ἐπὶ σταδίου εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐστὶ· τείνει δ' ἐς τὴν Προποντιδα ὁ Βόσπορος· ἢ δὲ Προποντὶς, εὐρὸς μὲν σταδίων πεντακοσίων μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, καταδιδοὶ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐόντα στευνότητι μὲν ἑπτὰ σταδίου μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίων· ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἐς χάσμα πελάγεος τὸ δὴ Διγγαῖον καλεῖται. (Με- 86  
μέτρηται δὲ ταῦτα ὧδε· νηὺς ἐπίπαι μάλιστα κη κατανύει ἐν μακρημερίῃ ὀργυῖας ἑπτακισμυρίας, νυκτὸς δὲ ἑξακισμυρίας· ἤδη ὦν ἐς μὲν Φάσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος<sup>239</sup>—τούτο γάρ ἐστι τοῦ Πόντου μακρότατον—ἡμερέων ἐννέα πλόος ἐστὶ καὶ νυκτῶν ὀκτώ· αὐταὶ ἑνδεκα μυριάδες καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιέων<sup>240</sup> γίνονται· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀργυιέων τούτων στάδιοι ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι εἰσι. ἐς δὲ Θερμσκήρην τὴν ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι ποταμῷ ἐκ τῆς Σινδικῆς<sup>241</sup>—κατὰ

Dimensions and description of the Euxine, Bosphorus, Propontis, and Hellespont.

Mode of estimating the dimension of these seas.

<sup>238</sup> τοῦ τὸ μὲν μῆκος . . . τρισχίλιοι. For the enormous exaggeration of this statement as regards the Euxine see the last note. It is perhaps not impossible to guess the way in which the error arose. It would appear from § 86 that these distances are the result of a calculation of which the elementary fact is the number of day and night runs out at sea. Now it is a curious circumstance that if the estimated length of a day and night's run be taken at about sixty-two geographical miles,—an amount which results from the Homeric story of Odysseus sailing from Crete to Egypt in less than five whole days (*Odys.* xiv. 257)—the true dimensions of the Euxine will come out with very tolerable accuracy from the times ("nine days and eight nights" and "three days and two nights") given in § 86. If then we conceive the author receiving his information in terms of "time,"—which time had been traditionally handed down from the days when about 620 stades were the twenty-four hours' run,—and converting this time into "space" according to the standard which prevailed in his own day, when, as was the case from the time of the battle of Mycale, the navigation had undoubtedly become far more courageous, (See below, viii. 132,) we shall obtain an explanation of his erroneous statement without any drawback from his accuracy. The traders in the Euxine would certainly not be anxious to

remove the ancient impression which existed of the length and dangers of the voyage. (See the next note.)

<sup>239</sup> ἐς μὲν Φάσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος. Herodotus, although he seems to have been himself at Phasis, doubtless here gives the average run, not from his own experience, but as he heard it from the traders. (For the importance of Phasis as an emporium see note 363 on i. 104.) The proverb was current: εἰς Φάσιν, ἔνθα ναυτὸν ἔσχατος ὁδὸμος, although to the easternmost point of the sea was, according to STRABO, 600 stades further direct run (xi. c. 2, p. 408). This section furnishes an excellent lesson of the caution with which Herodotus's statements are to be weighed.

<sup>240</sup> ἑνδεκα μυριάδες καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιέων, "one hundred and eleven myriads of fathoms," not, as Larcher supposes, 110,100 only.

<sup>241</sup> ἐκ τῆς Σινδικῆς. This is the region between Corocandame (which was nearly on the extreme point of the southern shore of the Cimmerian Bosphorus) and the mouth of the river Kouban. STRABO (xi. c. 2, p. 406) puts the Σινδικὸς λιμὴν 180 stades east of Corocandame, the coast in that part running due E. and W. Another harbour (called *Bata*) he puts 400 stades east of the port of Sind, and considers it to be due north of Sinope; while Herodotus in the text makes the



τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τοῦ Πόντου εὐρύτατον—τριῶν τε ἡμερέων καὶ δύο νυκτῶν πλόος· αὐται δὲ τρεῖς μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα ὀργυῖων γίνονται, στάδιοι δὲ τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. ὁ μὲν νυν Πόντος οὗτος καὶ Βόσπορος τε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος οὕτω τέ μοι μεμετρήσεται, καὶ κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα πεφύκασιν.) παρέχεται δὲ καὶ λίμνην ὁ Πόντος οὗτος ἐκδιδούσαν ἐς ἑωυτὸν, οὐ πολλῶ τέφ ἐλάσσω ἑωυτοῦ<sup>243</sup>, ἣ Μαίητις τε καλέεται καὶ μήτηρ τοῦ Πόντου.

87

After surveying the entrance of the sea, Darius sails back to Mandrocles's bridge, and sets up two *stelae* upon the shore to commemorate the enterprize.

Ὁ δὲ Δαρεῖος ὡς ἐθήησατο τὸν Πόντον, ἔπλεε ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν τῆς ἀρχιτέκτων ἐγένετο Μανδροκλῆς Σάμιος· θηησάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον, στήλας ἔστησε δύο ἐπ' αὐτῷ<sup>243</sup> λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐνταμὼν γράμματα ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀσσύρια<sup>244</sup> ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὰ, ἔθνεα πάντα ὅσα περ ἦγε· ἦγε δὲ πάντα τῶν ἡρχε<sup>245</sup>. τούτων μυριάδες ἐξηριθμήθησαν, χωρὶς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐβδομήκοντα σὺν ἱππεύσιν· νέες δὲ ἑξακόσiai συνελέχθησαν. τῆσι μὲν νυν στήλῃσι ταύτησι Βυζάντιοι κομίσαντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὕστερον τούτων ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν τῆς Ὁρθωσίης<sup>246</sup> Ἀρτέμιδος, χωρὶς ἐνὸς λίθου· οὗτος δὲ κατελείφθη παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν νηὸν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, γραμμάτων Ἀσσυρίων πλέος<sup>247</sup>. τοῦ δὲ Βοσ-

port of Sind due north of Themiscyra. All the MSS have Ἰνδικῆς, on which see note 90 on § 28.

<sup>243</sup> οὐ πολλῶ τέφ ἐλάσσω ἑωυτοῦ. The inaccuracy of this statement even as compared with the exaggerated dimensions given of the Euxine is remarkable. The author seems to have had no *data* whatever by which the Sea of Azof could be measured. Undoubtedly it must be considered that the silting up of this sea necessarily proceeds much more rapidly than that of the Euxine, and consequently that their relative magnitudes must have altered considerably since the time of Herodotus. But in fact access to it seems to have been closed at the time the author was writing. (See note 65 on § 21.)

<sup>244</sup> ἐς ἑαυτῷ, "on the coast of it." It will be observed that the στήλαι were no longer *in situ*; and that there was no *positive* evidence at what part of the strait the bridge had been thrown across. In the *opinion* of Herodotus it will have been half way between Byzantium and the temple of Zeus Urius at the mouth of the sea. But between the time of which he here speaks and the time at which he

wrote, Byzantium had been deserted, and the empty town burnt by the Phoenicians with the Persian army (vi. 33).

<sup>245</sup> Ἀσσύρια. These characters will doubtless have been the arrow-headed writing, but which of the three varieties which are combined on the Behistun Inscription it is impossible to say. It seems very questionable whether the Greeks were aware of any distinction between them. The same writing is no doubt that of the intercepted despatch mentioned in THUCYDIDES, iv. 59.

<sup>246</sup> ἦγε δὲ πάντα τῶν ἡρχε. These words induce the suspicion that the στήλαι in question possibly contained a table of the different provinces of the Persian empire, and of the contingent that each was able to furnish. See the note 236, above.

<sup>247</sup> Ὁρθωσίης. This surname apparently refers to the rebuilding of the city after its destruction by the Persians and Phoenicians. See note 243. It has nothing to do with the title Ὀρθία.

<sup>248</sup> γραμμάτων Ἀσσυρίων πλέος. There seems no reasonable doubt, from this phrase, that Herodotus himself *saw* this stone; and as little, from the same cir-

πόρου ὁ χώρος τὸν ἔξευξε βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν συμ-  
βαλλομένῳ, μέσον ἐστὶ Βυζαντίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι<sup>248</sup>  
ἱρού.

Δαρεῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἡσθεὶς τῇ σχεδίῃ, τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα 88  
αὐτῆς Μανδροκλέα τὸν Σάμιον ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα<sup>249</sup>. ἀπ' ὧν  
δὴ<sup>250</sup> Μανδροκλῆς ἀπαρχὴν ζῶα γραψάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν ζεύξιν  
τοῦ Βοσπόρου, καὶ βασιλέα τε Δαρεῖον ἐν προεδρίῃ κατήμενον,  
καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ διαβαίνοντα, ταῦτα γραψάμενος ἀνέθηκε ἐς  
τὸ "Ἡραῖον"<sup>251</sup>, ἐπυγράψας τάδε

Mandrocles  
from the  
first-fruits  
of the re-  
ward be-  
stowed by  
Darius  
dedicates a  
painting  
in the  
Heræum  
at Samos.

Βόσπορον ἰχθυόεντα γεφυρώσας ἀνέθηκε  
Μανδροκλῆς<sup>252</sup> "Ἡρῃ μνημόσυνον σχεδίσας"  
αὐτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιθεὶς Σαμίοισι δὲ κύδος,  
Δαρείου βασιλέως<sup>253</sup> ἐκτελέσας κατὰ νοῦν.

ταῦτα μὲν νυν τοῦ ζεύξαντος τὴν γέφυραν μνημόσυνα ἐγένετο.

Δαρεῖος δὲ δωρησάμενος Μανδροκλέα διέβαινε ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, 89  
τοῖσι "Ἰωσι παραγγείλας πλέειν ἐς τὸν Πόντον μέχρι "Ιστρου  
ποταμοῦ ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπικῶνται ἐς τὸν "Ιστρον, ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὸν περι-  
μένειν ζευγνύντας τὸν ποταμόν· τὸ γὰρ δὴ ναυτικὸν ἔργον "Ἰωνὲς τε  
Darius, after  
crossing,  
marches  
through  
Thrace, and  
the fleet

circumstance, that if he saw those out of which the altar of Artemis Orthosia had been built, he did *not* see the same appearance on them. He is evidence for the fact that a stone of peculiar character was lying by the side of the temple of Dionysus in Byzantium; and *he was told* that this was a component part of two στήλαι which had formerly stood on the shore of the Bosphorus, and that the remaining portions had been used for building the altar of Artemis in the same city. He was also told that the original monuments had contained a certain bilingual inscription, which was regarded as the muster roll of Darius's army on a particular occasion when he had all his subjects with him.

<sup>248</sup> τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι. The manuscripts S and V have τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματος. The temple spoken of is that of Ζεὺς Ὀρθίος (ARRIAN, *Peripl.* § 11), the starting point for the run up the Euxine under a s.w. breeze, which began regularly in April. See note 87 on § 28, above.

<sup>249</sup> πᾶσι δέκα. See note 213 on iii. 74.

<sup>250</sup> ἀπ' ὧν δὴ. This offering of Mandrocles is the particular point to which the attention of the reader is directed.

See on this use of the particle δὴ the note 6 on i. 1.

<sup>251</sup> ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὸ "Ἡραῖον. It seems unquestionable that the painting in the Heræum and the traditions of the temple attaching to it are the main foundation for the story of the bridge of boats having been laid across the Thracian Bosphorus. (See the last note.) It seems also certain that the army was represented as *marching*, not *being ferried*, across. In the picture therefore, at any rate, the whole transaction was represented as a parallel to the transit of the Hellespont by Xerxes, who himself ἐθηεῖτο τὸν στρατὸν ἐνδὲ μα- στίγων διαβαίνοντα (vii. 56). From i. 164 it would appear that paintings existed in the temples of Phocæa when that city was taken by Harpagus,—perhaps votive offerings of merchants saved from shipwreck.

<sup>252</sup> Μανδροκλῆς. This name is given as Ἀνδροκλῆς in the citation of the epigram by GYLLIUS (*Bosp. Thrac.* ii. 13), and as Μανδοκλέων in the *Palatine Anthology* (vi. 341). In the next line the Palat. Anth. has τῷ μὲν δὴ στέφανον.

<sup>253</sup> βασιλέως. One MS gives this reading. Gaisford has βασιλέος.

meet him at  
the head of  
the delta  
of the Ister.

καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι<sup>254</sup>. ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς τὰς  
Κυανέας διεκπλώσας ἔπλεε ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἀναπλώσας δὲ ἀνὰ  
τὸν ποταμὸν δυὼν ἡμερέων πλόον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν  
αὐχένα ἐκ τοῦ σχίζεται τὰ στόματα τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἐξεύγνυε. Δαρείος  
δὲ ὡς διέβη τὸν Βόσπορον κατὰ τὴν σχεδὴν, ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς  
Θρηίκης· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Τέαρου ποταμοῦ τὰς πηγὰς, ἐστρα-  
τοπεδεύσατο ἡμέρας τρεῖς. Ὁ δὲ Τέαρος λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν περι-  
οίκων εἶναι ποταμῶν ἀριστος, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐς ἄκεσιν φέροντα<sup>255</sup> καὶ  
δὴ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ ἵπποισι ψώρην ἀκέσασθαι· εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ  
πηγαὶ δυὼν δέουσαι τεσσεράκοντα ἐκ πέτρης τῆς αὐτῆς ῥέουσαι  
καὶ αἱ μὲν αὐτέων εἰσὶ ψυχραὶ, αἱ δὲ θερμαί· ὁδὸς δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰς  
ἐστὶ ἴση ἐξ Ἑρραίου τε πόλιος τῆς παρὰ Περὶνθω καὶ ἐξ Ἀπολ-  
λωνίης τῆς ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, δυὼν ἡμερέων ἑκατέρη<sup>256</sup>. ἐκδι-  
δοὶ δὲ ὁ Τέαρος οὗτος ἐς τὸν Κοντάδεσδον ποταμὸν ὁ δὲ Κοντά-  
δεσδος, ἐς τὸν Ἀγριάνην ὁ δὲ Ἀγριάνης, ἐς τὸν Ἐβρον ὁ δὲ, ἐς  
θάλασσαν τὴν παρ' Αἰνῷ πόλιν<sup>257</sup>. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὦν τὸν ποταμὸν  
ἀπικόμενος ὁ Δαρείος ὡς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἡσθεὶς τῷ ποταμῷ<sup>258</sup>

90

He arrives  
at the  
sources of  
the Taurus,  
whose  
waters are  
good for  
skin dis-  
eases.

91

An inscrip-  
tion on a

<sup>254</sup> Ἴωνές τε καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι. For the probable early incorporation of the Ionians and Aeolians as Persian allies see the notes 476 on i. 141, and 503 on i. 176. It is not to be overlooked that in the narrative of this expedition of Darius no Phoenician force is mentioned. If there were no Phoenician ships, the expression ἦγε δὲ πάντα ὦν ἦρχε must be taken with considerable allowance (above, § 87). If there was a Phoenician force present, the omission of its mention possibly arises from the circumstance of Herodotus here following the authority of an *Ionian* narrative. See the note 269 on § 98, below.

<sup>255</sup> ἐς ἄκεσιν φέροντα. See note 365 on iii. 133.

<sup>256</sup> ὁδὸς δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἐστὶ ἴση, κ.τ.λ. These two cities were probably the points from which persons wishing to make use of the mineral springs of the Taurus set out on their journey to them; and it is likely that at one or the other Herodotus heard the story of Darius's visit and of the monument which commemorated it. The expression *Περσέων τε καὶ πάσης τῆς ἡπείρου βασιλεὺς* is a description of the king which would be natural to an Asiatic or Hellespontine Greek, but not to a Persian. (See the *BENISTUN INSCRIPTION*

quoted in *Excursus* on iii. 74, p. 423.) Nothing is more likely than that both this monument and the cairn mentioned in § 92 stood by the side of the mountain road which led from Perinthus to Apollonia, and that the authority of Herodotus is some traveller by this road whom he met at Perinthus.

<sup>257</sup> ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ὁ Τέαρος οὗτος . . . τὴν παρ' Αἰνῷ πόλιν. From this description of the river system to which the Taurus belongs, it seems plain that the Agrianes must be the river *Erzene*, which falls into the *Mariza* (Hebrus) about ten miles to the south of Adrianople. Which of the tributaries of the Erzene is the Contadesdus can only be guessed. *PLINY* (*N. H.* iv. 11) mentions the Taurus, but in such a way as to induce the belief that in the notion of the authority *he* followed its waters fell into the Euxine. And if the springs were high up in the mountain range which forms the water-shed between the tributaries of the Hebrus and the streams which fall into the Euxine, and the direction in the first part of the course appeared to be westerly, it is conceivable that visitors at the source should at once refer it to a river-system with which in its lower parts they were acquainted.

<sup>258</sup> ἡσθεὶς τῷ ποταμῷ. See note 635

στήλην ἔστησε καὶ ἐνθαῦτα, γράμματα ἐγγράφας λέγοντα τάδε *stole there is said to commemorate his visit.*  
 ΤΕΑΡΟΤ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΤ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙ 'ΤΔΩΡ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ ΤΕ  
 ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΝ ΠΑΡΕΧΟΝΤΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΠΟΤΑ-  
 ΜΩΝ· ΚΑΙ ΕΠ' ΑΥΤΑΣ ΑΠΙΚΕΤΟ ΕΛΑΤΝΩΝ ΕΠΙ  
 ΣΚΥΘΑΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝ ΑΝΗΡ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛ-  
 ΛΙΣΤΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ, ΔΑΡΕΙΟΣ 'Ο 'ΤΣΤΑ-  
 ΣΠΕΟΣ, ΠΕΡΣΕΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΗΠΕΙΡΟΤ  
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ. ταῦτα δὴ ἐνθαῦτα ἐγράφη.

Δαρείος δὲ ἐνθεύτεν ὀρμηθεὶς ἀπὶ κετο εἰς ἄλλον ποταμὸν τῷ 92  
 οὖνομα Ἀρτισκός ἐστι, ὃς διὰ Ὀδρυσέων ῥέει. ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν *On the bank of the river Artiscus are some cairns of stones left by the army.*  
 ποταμὸν ἀπικόμενος ἐποίησε τοιόνδε· ἀποδέξας χωρίον τῇ στρατιῇ,  
 ἐκέλευε πάντα ἄνδρα λίθον ἓνα παρεξίοντα τιθέναι εἰς τὸ ἀπο-  
 δεδεγμένον τοῦτο χωρίον ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐπετέλεσε,  
 ἐνθαῦτα κολωνοὺς μεγάλους τῶν λίθων καταλιπὼν, ἀπέλαυσε τὴν  
 στρατιήν. Πρὶν δὲ ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον, πρώτους αἰρέει 93  
 Γέτας τοὺς ἀθανατίζοντας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν *The first opponents against whom Darius uses force are the Getae,*  
 ἔχοντες Θρηίκας καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίης τε καὶ Μεσαμβρίας πόλιος  
 οἰκημένοι, (καλεῦμενοι δὲ Σκυρμιάδαι καὶ Νιψαῖοι,) ἀμαχητὶ  
 σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδωσαν Δαρεῖν, οἱ δὲ Γέται πρὸς ἀγνωμοσύνην  
 τραπόμενοι αὐτίκα ἐδουλώθησαν, Θρηίκων ἐόντες ἀνδρείοτατοι καὶ  
 δικαιοτάτοι. Ἀθανατίζουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον οὔτε ἀποθνή- 94  
 σκειν ἐωντοὺς, νομίζουσι ἵεναι τε τὸν ἀπολλύμενον παρὰ Ζάλ- *who hold the doctrine of immortality.*  
 μοξιν\* δαίμονα· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον νομίζουσι Γεβε-

on i. 188 for the importance attached to water by the Asiatics. Still it is not likely that any man should commend for its potable qualities a water obviously of a mineral, and (judging from its effects) probably a sulphureous character. It was however the practice of the Persian court to pass a considerable portion of every summer in a part of the country in which mineral springs existed, and in fact to go through a course of water drinking and bathing,—a fashion which is ridiculed in a somewhat coarse manner by ARISTOPHANES (*Acharn.* 80—84). It is probable that the Persian officers in the Hellespont would retain their habits, and thus the springs of Tearus would become a kind of Toepnitz or Aix la Chapelle for the Chersonese. In that case the visit of any person of high rank would naturally

be commemorated by a monument, as a circumstance calculated to enhance the honour of the baths. That it should be set up by their express desire is another matter.

\* Ζάλμοξιν. Some of the MSS have Ζάλμοξιν, and some Ζάμολξιν. The name Σαλμυδησσός, which apparently belongs to the same dialect, would induce the belief that *Salm* or *Zalm* is the real form of the first syllable of the name. From HESYCHIUS (*sub v.*) it appears that some identified this deity with the Hellenic *Cronus*. But this identification was probably not earlier than the Alexandrine times, when *Cronus* was regarded as an allegorizing of χρόνος (the course of time). MNASEAS (see *Etym. Magn.* v. Ζάμολξιν) is apparently one of the authorities referred to by Hesychius.

Custom of  
sending a  
messenger  
to Zalmoxis.

λείζων<sup>299</sup>. διὰ πεντετηρίδος δὲ τὸν πάλῃ λαχόντα αἰεὶ σφῶον αὐτῶν ἀποπέμπουσι ἄγγελον παρὰ τὸν Ζάλμοξιν, ἐντελλόμενοι τῶν ἂν ἐκάστοτε δέωνται· πέμπουσι δὲ ὧδε οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ταχθέντες ἀκόντια τρία ἔχουσι· ἄλλοι δὲ διαλαβόντες<sup>300</sup> τοῦ ἀποπεμπομένου παρὰ τὸν Ζάλμοξιν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, ἀνακινήσαντες αὐτὸν μετέωρον ῥιπτεῦσι ἐς τὰς λόγχας. ἦν μὲν δὴ ἀποθάνη ἀναπαρεῖς, τοῖσι δὲ ἴλεως ὁ θεὸς δοκέει εἶναι· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἀποθάνη, αἰτιῶνται αὐτὸν τὸν ἄγγελον, φάμενοί μιν ἄνδρα κακὸν εἶναι· αἰτιησάμενοι δὲ τοῦτον, ἄλλον ἀποπέμπουσι· ἐντέλλονται δὲ ἔτι ζῶντι. οὗτοι οἱ αὐτοὶ Θρηῖκες καὶ πρὸς βροντὴν τε καὶ ἀστραπὴν τοξεύοντες ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν, ἀπειλεῦσι<sup>301</sup> τῷ θεῷ, οὐδένα

95

Account  
given of  
Zalmoxis by  
the Helle-  
pontine  
Greeks,  
who make  
him to have  
been a slave  
to Pytha-  
goras in  
Samos.

ἄλλον θεὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι εἰ μὴ τὸν σφέτερον. Ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκούντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ Πόντον, τὸν Ζάλμοξιν τοῦτον εὐντα ἄνθρωπον δουλεύσαι ἐν Σάμῳ· δουλεύσαι δὲ Πυθαγόρῃ τῷ Μνησάρχῳ ἐνθεύτην δὲ αὐτὸν, γενόμενον ἐλεύθερον, χρήματα κτήσασθαι συχνὰ, κτησάμενον δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἐς τὴν ἐνωτοῦ ἅτε δὲ κακοβίων τε εὐντων τῶν Θρηῖκων καὶ ἱπαφρονεστέρων, τὸν Ζάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἐπιστάμενον διαίταν τε Ἰάδα καὶ ἥθεα βαθυτέρα<sup>302</sup> ἢ κατὰ Θρηῖκας, οἷα Ἑλλησί τε ὁμιλήσαντα καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὐ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ σοφιστῇ<sup>303</sup> Πυθαγόρῃ, κατασκευάσασθαι ἀνδρεῶνα, ἐς τὸν πανδοκεύοντα τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς πρώτους καὶ εὐωχέοντα, ἀναδιδάσκειν ὥς οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε οἱ συμπόται αὐτοῦ οὔτε οἱ ἐκ τούτων αἰεὶ γινόμενοι ἀποθανέονται, ἀλλ' ἥξουσι ἐς χώρον τοῦτον ἵνα αἰεὶ περιεόντες ἔξουσι τὰ πάντα ἀγαθὰ· ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἐποίησε τὰ καταλεχθέντα καὶ ἔλεγε ταῦτα, ἐν τούτῳ κατὰ γαίον οἶκημα ἐποίκετο· ὥς δὲ οἱ παντελέως εἶχε τὸ οἶκημα, ἐκ μὲν τῶν Θρηῖκων ἠφανίσθη, καταβὰς δὲ κάτω ἐς τὸ κατὰ γαίον

<sup>299</sup> Γεβελίζω. The manuscripts M, P, K, F, b, d have Βελίζω.

<sup>300</sup> διαλαβόντες. See note 402 on i. 114.

<sup>301</sup> ἀπειλεῦσι. Gaisford adopts this reading and ῥιπτεῦσι above, mainly on the authority of S and V, the majority of the MSS having the common forms.

<sup>302</sup> ἥθεα βαθυτέρα. This phrase is one which is used by POLYBIUS (see *Schweighauser's Lexicon Polybianum*, vv. Βάθος and Βαθύς), and several times by PHILO JUDÆUS, but it rather surprises in so

early an author as Herodotus. The original notion of ἥθος βαθύ seems to be a character formed by sound and philosophical instruction, not of the merely technical kind (such as the use of weapons) to which the education of a savage would be confined. ἥθ. β. ἢ κατὰ Θρηῖκας would be "the results of a deeper training than the Thracian customs recognized."

<sup>303</sup> σοφιστῇ. See note 99 on i. 30, and note 140 on ii. 49.

οἰκημα<sup>264</sup> διαιτᾶτο ἐπ' ἕτεα τρία· οἱ δέ μιν ἐπόθεόν τε καὶ ἐπένθεον ὡς τεθνεῶτα· τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἐφάνη τοῖσι Θρηξί· καὶ οὕτω πιθανά σφι ἐγένετο τὰ ἔλεγε ὁ Ζάλμοξις. ταυτὰ φασί μιν ποιῆσαι· Ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτου καὶ<sup>265</sup> τοῦ καταγαίου οἰκῆ-  
ματος οὔτε ἀπιστέω οὔτε ὦν πιστεύω τι λήην δοκέω δὲ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τὸν Ζάλμοξιν τούτον γενέσθαι Πυθαγόρεω. εἴτε δὲ ἐγένετό τις Ζάλμοξις ἄνθρωπος, εἴτ' ἐστὶ δαίμων τις Γέτησι οὗτος ἐπιχώριος, χαιρέτω. οὔτοι μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ χρεώμενοι, ὡς ἐχειρώθησαν ὑπὸ Περσέων, εἰποντο τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ·

96

Herodotus's criticism of the story.

Δαρεῖος δὲ ὡς ἀπῖκετο καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἅμ' αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὸν 97

Ἰστρον, ἐνθαῦτα διαβάτων πάντων Δαρεῖος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Ἴωνας τὴν σχεδὴν λύσαντας ἔπεσθαι κατ' ἡπειρον ἑωυτῷ, καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν στρατόν· μελλόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰόνων λύειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ κελευόμενα, Κώης ὁ Ἐρξάνδρου, στρατηγὸς ἐὼν Μυτιλη-  
ναίων, ἔλεξε Δαρεῖα τάδε, πυθόμενος πρότερον εἰ οἱ φίλον εἴη γνώμην ἀποδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βουλομένου ἀποδεκνυσθαι· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ γῆν γὰρ μέλλεις στρατεῦσθαι τῆς οὔτε ἀρρομένου φανήσεται οὐδὲν<sup>266</sup> οὔτε πόλιν οἰκεομένην, σὺ νῦν γέφυραν ταύτην ἔα κατὰ χώρην ἐστάναι, φυλάκους αὐτῆς λιπὼν τούτους οἳ περ μιν ἔξευξαν καὶ ἦν τε κατὰ νόον πρήξωμεν εὐρόντες Σκύθας ἔστι ἀποδος ἡμῖν, ἦν τε καὶ μὴ σφεας εὐρεῖν δυνεώμεθα ἢ γε ἀποδος ἡμῖν ἀσφαλῆς· οὐ γὰρ ἔδεισά κω μὴ ἐσσωθῶμεν ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν μάχῃ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ δυνάμενοί σφεας εὐρεῖν πάθωμέν τι ἀλώμενοι. καὶ τάδε λέγειν φαίη τις ἂν με ἑωυτοῦ<sup>267</sup> εἴνεκεν, ὡς καταμένω· ἐγὼ δὲ γνώμην μὲν τὴν εὕρισκον ἀρίστην σοι, βασιλεῦ, ἐς μέσον φέρω· αὐτὸς μέντοι ἔλθομαί τοι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν λειφθεῖν.”

The Getæ after a vain resistance are compelled to join the expedition.

On arriving at the Ister Darius intends to destroy the bridge after passing, but is dissuaded by Coes of Mytilene.

“ξείνη Δέσβιε, σωθέντος ἐμεῦ ὀπίσω ἐς οἶκον τὸν ἐμὸν ἐπιφάνηθί μοι πάντως, ἵνα σε ἀντὶ χρηστότης συμβουλῆς χρηστοῖσι ἔργοις

<sup>264</sup> *ἔποιετο* . . . *οἰκημα*. These words are omitted in S, obviously from the eye of the transcriber being deceived.

<sup>265</sup> *τούτου καί*. These two words are omitted in the manuscripts M, P, K, F, d.

<sup>266</sup> *ἀρρομένου φανήσεται οὐδὲν*. The region described above (§ 17) as inhabited by Scythian husbandmen is not taken into

account by the speaker. Neither is there any indication in the narrative of Darius's campaign of his entering such a country. The geographical part of Herodotus's account of the country apparently belongs to a different cycle of stories from those on which the expedition of Darius rests.

<sup>267</sup> *ἑωυτοῦ*. The manuscripts S and V have *ἐμεωυτοῦ*. But see note on vii. 28.

198 ἀμείψωμαι." Ταῦτα εἶπας καὶ ἀπάνσας ἄμματα ἐξήκοντα<sup>268</sup> ἐν ἰμάντι, καλέσας ἐς λόγους τοὺς Ἴωνων τυράννους<sup>269</sup> ἔλεγε τάδε " ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἡ μὲν πρότερον γνώμη ἀποδεχθεῖσα ἐς τὴν γέφυραν μετείσθω μοι· ἔχοντες δὲ τὸν ἰμάντα τὸνδε ποιεέτε τάδε· ἐπεὶ αὖ με ἴδητε τάχιστα πορευόμενον ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἀπὸ τούτου ἀρξάμενοι τοῦ χρόνου λύετε ἄμμα ἐν ἐκάστης ἡμέρης· ἦν δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ παρέω, ἀλλὰ διεξέλθωσι ὑμῖν αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν ἀμμάτων, ἀποπλέετε ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρεην αὐτῶν μέχρι δὲ τούτου, ἐπεὶ τε οὕτω μετέδοξε, φυλάσσετε τὴν σχεδὴν πᾶσαν προθυμίην σωτηρίας τε καὶ φυλακῆς παρεχόμενοι· ταῦτα δὲ ποιέοντες, ἐμοὶ μεγάλως χαρμείσθε." Δαρείος μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐπείετο.

99 Τῆς δὲ Σκυθικῆς γῆς ἡ Θρηκίη τὸ ἐς θάλασσαν πρόκειται· κόλπου δὲ ἀγομένου τῆς γῆς ταύτης, ἡ Σκυθική τε ἐκδέκεται, καὶ ὁ Ἰστρος ἐκδιδοὶ ἐς αὐτὴν πρὸς εὐρον ἄνεμον τὸ στόμα τετραμμένος. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰστροῦ, ἔρχομαι σημαντέων τὸ πρὸς θάλασσαν αὐτῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρας ἐς μέτρησιν ἀπὸ Ἰστροῦ αὕτη ἥδη ἀρχαίη Σκυθική ἐστι, πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον κειμένη, μέχρι πόλιος καλεομένης Καρκινίτιδος<sup>270</sup>. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης,

He orders the Ionians to watch the bridge for sixty days, and pushes on for the interior.

Description of the sea-board of Scythia from the Ister.

<sup>268</sup> ἀπάνσας ἄμματα ἐξήκοντα. It has been remarked that this rude method of computation ascribed to the Persians is very striking, and undoubtedly it would surprise us to find that it prevailed among them. But if it be looked at as a feature in a local story of the invasion, it indicates nothing more than that such a mode of computing was familiar to the locality whence the story was obtained,—perhaps a part of Thrace or Scythia. The practice of the early Romans and the Vulturnians to register the lapse of a year by driving a nail into the wall of a temple is well known from LIVY (vii. 3).

<sup>269</sup> τοὺς Ἴωνων τυράννους. It appears that the *Hellespontine* dynasts, as well as the Ionians, were left in charge of the bridge (§ 138). But the Ionians perhaps are mentioned as constituting the most important element of the force, at any rate in the idea of the authority followed by Herodotus. But see the note 354, below.

<sup>270</sup> καλεομένης Καρκινίτιδος. This town has been mentioned before, as if known at least by description. But there is no appearance whatever of the author having visited it; and from the description in the

text, it seems plain that he conceived it, the mouth of the Ister, and that of the Borysthenes, as lying nearly on the same parallel. STRABO himself does not appear to know the town, although he describes the *Καρκινίτης κόλπος* which is named from it. This latter is the bay of which the n.w. headland is formed by the *ἄκρα Ταμυράκη*,—the western point of a long narrow sandbank joined to the main by an isthmus in about the middle of its extent, called the *Ἀχάλλειος ὁρμός*. But so little was known of the bay even in Strabo's time, from the dangerous navigation, that the local accounts of the distance from *Tamyrace* to the head of the bay varied from 1000 to 3000 *stadæ* (vii. p. 92). Now at the head of the bay (the *Ulu Degenitz* or Dead Sea) is the isthmus connecting the Crimea with the main, of the width of which the accounts also varied from 40 to 360 *stadæ*. (STRABO, l. c.) Of this isthmus Herodotus does not take any notice at all, except it be assumed that it is the site of the *Slav's Dyke* described in § 3, above, against which much may be said. In his view the coast of the Crimea is conceived as running pretty nearly in a straight line

τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν αὐτὴν φέρουσιν, εὐόσαν ὀρεινὴν τε  
 χώραν καὶ προκειμένην τὸ ἐς Πόντον, νέμεται τὸ Ταυρικὸν ἔθνος,  
 μέχρι Χερσονήσου τῆς Τρηχέης καλεομένης· αὕτη δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν  
 τὴν πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην ἀνεμον κατήκει. ἔστι γὰρ τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ  
 δύο μέρη τῶν οὖρων ἐς θάλασσαν φέροντα, τὴν τε πρὸς μεσαμ-  
 βρίην καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, κατὰπερ τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρας· καὶ  
 παραπλήσια ταύτῃ καὶ οἱ Ταῦροι νέμονται τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ὡς εἰ  
 τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἀθηναῖοι νεμοίαιτο τὸν γουνὸν  
 τὸν Σουνιακὸν, μᾶλλον ἐς τὸν πόντον τὴν ἄκρην ἀνέχοντα, τὸν  
 ἀπὸ Θορικοῦ μέχρι Ἀναφλύστου δῆμον λέγω δὲ, ὡς εἶναι ταῦτα  
 σμικρὰ μέγαλοισι συμβαλέειν τοιοῦτον ἢ Ταυρικὴ ἔστι· δς δὲ  
 τῆς Ἀττικῆς ταῦτα μὴ παραπέπλωκε<sup>271</sup>, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄλλως δηλώσω  
 ὡς εἰ τῆς Ἰηπυγίης ἄλλο ἔθνος, καὶ μὴ Ἰήπυγες, ἀρξάμενοι ἐκ  
 Βρεντεσίου λιμένος, ἀποταμοίαιτο μέχρι Τάραντος, καὶ νεμοίαιτο  
 τὴν ἄκρην. δύο δὲ λέγων ταῦτα, πολλὰ λέγω παρόμοια, τοῖσι  
 ἄλλοισι ἔοικε ἢ Ταυρικὴ. Τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ταυρικῆς, ἥδη Σκύθαι 100  
 τὸ κατύπερθε τῶν Ταύρων<sup>272</sup> καὶ τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης τῆς ἡοίης  
 νέμονται<sup>273</sup>, τοῦ τε Βοσπόρου τοῦ Κιμμερίου τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρης καὶ  
 τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος, μέχρι Τανάϊδος ποταμοῦ δς ἐκδιδοὶ ἐς  
 μυχὸν τῆς λίμνης ταύτης. ἥδη ὦν ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰστρου, τὰ κατύπερθε  
 ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα, ἀποκληῖται ἢ Σκυθικὴ ὑπὸ πρώτων  
 Ἀγαθύρων μετὰ δὲ Νευρῶν ἔπειτα δὲ, Ἀνδροφάγων τελευ-

from the low land at the s.w. of the embouchure of the Borysthenes to the *Χερσόνησος τρηχία*, the mountainous district forming the European shore of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. After the cape (the Ram's head) is rounded, he imagines the main direction of the coast to be northward, or n. by e., until the mouth of the Tanais and the head of the Sea of Azof is reached. The narrow strait he seems to bring considerably to the north of its true position, and to be quite unaware of the extent and figure of the coast of the Crimea between *κριοῦ μέσπον* (the Ram's head) and Panticapæum.

<sup>271</sup> δς δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ταῦτα μὴ παραπέπλωκε. From the circumstance of the author using an illustration derived from the coast of Italy, it has been argued that this passage must have been written by him subsequently to his arrival at Thurii, and intended for the special purpose

of informing the inhabitants of Magna Græcia. The passage in § 15, above, seems likewise to imply a familiarity with Metapontium,—such as might be expected from a person settled in the immediate neighbourhood.

<sup>272</sup> τὸ κατύπερθε τῶν Ταύρων. The manuscripts S and V omit τὸ.

<sup>273</sup> τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης τῆς ἡοίης, "the eastern seaboard." The Sea of Azof and the Bosphorus seem to be conjointly described as the eastern sea in opposition to the sea to the west of the Crimea. The Euxine itself was in after times considered to be divided into an easterly and westerly portion by a line drawn from *κριοῦ μέσπον* (the Ram's head), the southernmost point of the Crimea, to Cape Carambis in Paphlagonia. It was said that navigators passing between often saw the two points simultaneously. (STRABO, vii. p. 94.)



- 101 *ταίων δὲ, Μελαγχλαίωνων. Ἔστι ὧν τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ὡς εἰσὶν τετραγώνου*<sup>274</sup>, τῶν δύο μερέων κατηκόντων ἐς θάλασσαν, πάντῃ ἴσον τό τε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέρον, καὶ τὸ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπὸ γὰρ Ἰστρου ἐπὶ Βορυσθένα δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδός· ἀπὸ Βορυσθένης τ' ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Μαιήτιν, ἑτέρων δέκα· καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἐς τοὺς Μελαγχλαίονους τοὺς κατύπερθε Σκυθέων οἰκημένους, εἴκοσι ἡμερέων ὁδός. ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἡ ἡμερησίῃ ἀνὰ διηκόσια στάδια συμβέβληται μοι<sup>275</sup>. οὕτω ἂν εἴη τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ ἐπικάρσια<sup>276</sup>, τετρακισχιλίων σταδίων καὶ τὰ ὄρθια, τὰ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα, ἑτέρων τοσούτων σταδίων. ἡ μὲν νυν γῆ αὕτη ἐστὶ μέγαςος τοσαύτη.

102

The Scythians attempt to form a confederacy against the invaders.

Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι δόντες σφίσι λόγον ὡς οὐκ οἶοι τέ εἰσι τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἰθυμαχίῃ διώσασθαι μῦνοι, ἔπεμπον ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἀγγέλους· τῶν δὲ καὶ δὴ οἱ βασιλῆες συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο, ὡς στρατοῦ ἐπελαύνοντος μεγάλου ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συνελθόντες βασιλῆες, Ταύρων, καὶ Ἀγαθύρσων, καὶ Νευρῶν, καὶ Ἀνδροφάγων, καὶ Μελαγχλαίωνων, καὶ Γελωνῶν, καὶ Βουδίνων, καὶ Σαυροματέων<sup>277</sup>.

<sup>274</sup> *ὡς εἰσὶν τετραγώνου*, "considered as a square." These words must not be pressed too closely. The writer obviously throws the country of the Tauri entirely out of consideration, and has very vague notions of the dimensions of the territory occupied by the northern neighbours of the Scythians. The main points suggesting the comparison are that he believes each coast line to be 4000 *stadia* in length, and the Melanchlæni to lie twenty days' journey inland of the Scythians on the banks of the Tanais.

<sup>275</sup> *ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἡ ἡμερησίῃ ἀνὰ διηκόσια στάδια συμβέβληται μοι*. In another place (v. 53) he estimates the distance at 150 *stadia* daily. See the note on that passage.

<sup>276</sup> *ἐπικάρσια*. This word has occasioned a good deal of difficulty, and given rise to some false conceptions of the figure which Herodotus attributes to Scythia. It is in fact a relative term, and means "at an angle,"—not "at an oblique angle" in contradistinction to a right angle, but generally "at an angle" in contradistinction to that which is in the same line. Thus in the *Odyssey* (ix. 70) the expression *ἐφέροντ' ἐπικάρσιαι* is applied to the ships heeling over on being

struck by a squall,—as opposed to sailing on an even keel. The streets of Babylon, according to Herodotus's description (i. 180), were built straight: *τάς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἔχούσας*, where the word implies merely those *turning off* from the main streets. So the pontoon-bridge of Xerxes at the Hellespont was so laid that the ships composing it were *τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας τοῦ δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ βόον*, "at an angle to the line of coast of the Buxine, but in the line of stream of the canal." In this passage the force of the word consists in its opposition to *τὰ ὄρθια*, which are the lines drawn from the sea-coast directly inland. The coast lines, being inclined to these, are τὰ *ἐπικάρσια*, but what the angle of inclination may be is not expressed.

<sup>277</sup> *ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συνελθόντες . . . Σαυροματέων*. With the exception of the Tauri, these tribes are mentioned in the order in which they come from west to east. The Agathyrsi perhaps may be considered to occupy the site of the Carpathian mountains on both sides, and the others to be mere nomad tribes. A river which takes its rise among the Agathyrsi (the *Meris*) seems to be the Theiss (see § 49); and

Τούτων Ταῦροι μὲν νόμοισι τοιοισίδε χρέωνται· θύουσι μὲν τῇ 103  
 Παρθένῳ<sup>278</sup> τοὺς τε ναυηγούς καὶ τοὺς ἂν λάβωσι Ἑλλήνων<sup>Habits of the Tauri,</sup>  
 ἐπαναχθέντας<sup>279</sup>, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε καταρξάμενοι, ῥοπάλῳ παίλουσι  
 τὴν κεφαλὴν οἱ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι, ὡς τὸ σῶμα ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ  
 ὠθέουσι κάτω, (ἐπὶ γὰρ κρημνοῦ ἴδρυται τὸ ἱόν) τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν  
 ἀνασταυροῦσι· οἱ δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁμολογέουσι, τὸ μέντοι  
 σῶμα οὐκ ὠθέσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ λέγουσι, ἀλλὰ γῇ κρύπτεσθαι.  
 τὴν δὲ δαίμονα ταύτην, τῇ θύουσι, λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Ταῦροι<sup>280</sup> Ἰφιγέ-

the circumstance of their being ἀβρότατοι and χρυσόφοροι serves to distinguish them from the filthy nomads of the plains. If they were mountaineers too, there is a reason for their making a stand against the flying Scythians, and for the latter not attempting to force their way through mountainous regions where their wagons could not have travelled. See below, § 125.

<sup>278</sup> τῇ Παρθένῳ. The site of the temple of this goddess was a promontory in the Crimea immediately to the south of the city Chersonesus, a colony from Heraclea in Pontus, which is mentioned by Scylax of Caryanda, although neither it nor Heraclea itself are by Herodotus (see the next note). It was near the mouth of the bay at the head of which the Russian arsenal *Sebastopol* stands. A line drawn from Sebastopol to the south for about eight miles falls into the head of the bay of Balaclava, anciently called Συμβόλων λιμὴν, the chief den of the Tauric wreckers and pirates. Within the peninsula formed by this isthmus (which was called μικρὰ Χερρόνησος to distinguish it from the μεγάλη Χερρόνησος or the Crimea) were three small harbours, besides the Tauric port, and the bay of Aktiar or Sebastopol. The Tauric shore was considered to extend from the Συμβόλων λιμὴν to the town Theodosia (the modern *Caffa*) a distance of 1000 stades. It was singularly well fitted for piracy, the high shores furnishing excellent stations for observing the vessels going up the Euxine, as they passed through the narrowest part of that sea included between the Ram's head and Cape Carambis in Asia. (ΣΤΡΑΒΟ, vii. pp. 91, seqq.)

<sup>279</sup> τοὺς ἂν λάβωσι Ἑλλήνων ἐπαναχθέντας. This was a common belief at Athens, and appears to have been inculcated by the dramatic writers. EURI-

PIDES (*Iph. Taur.* 38) makes Iphigenia say of herself:—

θῶν γὰρ, ὄντος τοῦ νόμου καὶ πρὶν πόλει,  
 ὅς ἂν κατέλθῃ τήνδε γῆν Ἑλλήν ἀνὴρ.

And yet it is singular that the very arsenal of the Taurians (see the last note) should have been called συμβόλων λιμὴν, — a name which clearly indicates commercial relations between them and foreigners. One may be inclined to suspect that it was only the *Ionians* who were treated in the way described in the text, and that a confederacy may have existed for the purpose of monopolizing the traffic with the Sea of Azof which passed through the Cimmerian Bosphorus. If all Greeks had been treated so cruelly, the city Chersonesus would hardly have been founded from Heraclea under the very eye of the Taurians. But Heraclea was essentially *Dorian*, as the inscriptions on its coins show. (HOFFMANN, p. 1591.) If a confederacy existed between the Bosphorane Greeks, the Taurians, and the Heracleots, for the purpose of excluding the Ionian Asiatics from the channel traffic, an explanation is afforded of some of Herodotus's most striking omissions. See note 65 on § 21.

<sup>280</sup> λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Ταῦροι. It must not be necessarily concluded from this expression that the writer had himself been on the spot. His ignorance of the outline of the coast (see note 270 on § 91) proves the contrary decisively. And if he obtained his information from Hellenic traders, the real state of the case would no doubt be that *they* identified the native deity with the Iphigenia of their own mythology, and the Tauri *allowed* the theory. Some such identification would be requisite for the purposes of traffic, as without some common religious bond no covenant of any kind would be held valid. See note 37 on iii. 11.

νειαν τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος εἶναι. πολεμίους δὲ ἄνδρας, τοὺς ἀν χειρώσονται, ποιεῖσι τάδε ἀποταμὼν ἕκαστος κεφαλὴν, ἀποφέρεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία· ἔπειτα ἐπὶ ξύλου μεγάλου ἀναπείρας ἰστὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκίας ὑπερέχουσιν πολλὸν, μάλιστα δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς καπνολόκης· φασὶ δὲ τούτους φυλάκους τῆς οἰκίας πάσης ὑπεραιωρέεσθαι.

104  
of the *Agai-  
kyrai*,

ζῶσι δὲ ἀπὸ λήτης τε καὶ πολέμου. Ἀγαθύρσοι δὲ ἀβρότατοι ἄνδρες εἰσὶ, καὶ χρυσοφόροι τὰ μάλιστα· ἐπικοινωνοῦν δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν μῆξιν ποιεῖνται, ἵνα κασθήνητοί τε ἀλλήλων ἔωσι, καὶ οἰκήϊοι ἐόντες πάντες, μήτε φθόνῳ μήτ' ἔχθει χρέωνται ἐς ἀλλή-

105  
of the *Neuri*,

λους· τὰ δ' ἄλλα νόμαια Θρήϊξι προσκεχωρήκασιν. Νευροὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν χρέωνται Σκυθικαῖσι. γενεῇ δὲ μῆ πρότερόν σφεας τῆς Δαρείου στρατηλασίης κατέλαβε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ὑπὸ ὀφίων<sup>281</sup>. ὀφίας γάρ σφι πολλοὺς μὲν ἡ χώρα ἀνέφαυε, οἱ δὲ πλευνες ἀνωθέν σφι ἐκ τῶν ἐρήμων ἐπέπεσον, ἐς δ' πιεζόμενοι, οἴκησαν μετὰ Βουδίνων<sup>282</sup>, τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἐκλιπόντες. κινδυνεύουσι δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι γόητες εἶναι· λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ κατοικημένων, ὡς ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἀπαξ τῶν Νευρῶν ἕκαστος λύκος γίνεται<sup>283</sup> ἡμέρας ὀλίγας, καὶ αὐτίς ὑπίσω ἐς ταῦτα κατίσταται· ἐμὲ μὲν νυν ταῦτα λέγοντες οὐ πείθουσι· λέγουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἥσσαν, καὶ ὁμνύουσι δὲ λέγοντες.

106  
of the *Can-  
nibals*,

Ἀνδροφάγοι δὲ ἀγριώτατα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔχουσι ἥθεα· οὔτε δίκην νομίζοντες οὔτε νόμον οὐδενὶ χρεώμενοι· νομάδες δὲ εἰσι· ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι τῇ Σκυθικῇ ὁμοίην, γλῶσσαν δὲ ἰδίην<sup>284</sup>.

<sup>281</sup> ὑπὸ ὀφίων. It has been considered that the basis of this story may be the locusts which sometimes cover the plains of southern Russia.

<sup>282</sup> οἴκησαν μετὰ Βουδίνων. According to SCHAFARIK (*Slavische Alterthümer*, quoted by Mr. Grote, vol. iii. p. 325) a plausible case is to be made out for considering the *Neuri* and *Budini* a Slavonic race. It seems that the names are traceable to Slavonic roots, and that the wooden town (described in § 108) is an exact parallel of the primitive Slavonic towns even down to the twelfth century.

<sup>283</sup> λύκος γίνεται. This is the superstition of the *wer-wolf*, which seems to have prevailed in all countries where these ferocious animals were common. Its origin is perhaps to be looked for in the peculiar character which mania would be likely to assume in a population living

among forests and accustomed to hear the howling of wolves at night. GARMME (*Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 621) gives several forms which the superstition takes in different parts of western Europe. In Denmark the *bear* takes the place of the wolf. In some parts of the east the *tiger* does, and in Abyssinia the *hyena*. But transformation into a wolf as a voluntary act implies a belief in witchcraft super-added to experience of the disease of lycanthropy. VIRGIL (*Bucol.* viii. 97) makes Mæris change himself into a wolf by the help of certain herbs which came from *Pontus*, the head-quarters of witchcraft, and the source perhaps of Herodotus's story.

<sup>284</sup> γλῶσσαν δὲ ἰδίην. The word ἔχουσι is to be supplied by inference from *φορέουσι*. See note 190 on i. 59.

ἀνθρωποφαγέουσι δὲ μῶνοι τούτων<sup>285</sup>. Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ εἴματα 107  
 μὲν μέλανα<sup>286</sup> φορέουσι πάντες, ἐπ' ὧν καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχουσιν· of the Mo-  
 νόμοισι δὲ Σκυθικοῖσι χρέωνται. Βουδῖνοι δὲ, ἔθνος ἐὼν μέγα καὶ 108  
 πολλόν, γλαυκόν τε πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐστὶ καὶ πυρρὸν<sup>287</sup>. πόλις δὲ of the Bu-  
 ἐν αὐτοῖσι πεπόλισται ξυλίνη, οὐνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ Γελωνός· whom exists  
 τοῦ δὲ τείχεος μέγαθος, κῶλον ἕκαστον τριήκοντα σταδίων ἐστὶ· a wooden  
 ὑψηλὸν δὲ, καὶ πᾶν ξύλινον καὶ οἰκίαι αὐτῶν ξύλιναι, καὶ τὰ temples of  
 ἱρά· ἐστι γὰρ δὴ αὐτόθι Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν ἱρά, Ἑλληνικῶς κατ- Hellenic  
 εσκευασμένα ἀγάλμασι τε καὶ βωμοῖσι καὶ νηοῖσι ξυλίνουσιν· and a population  
 τῷ Διονύσῳ τριετηρίδας ἀνάγουσι, καὶ βακχεύουσι. εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ originally  
 Γελωνοὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον Ἑλληνας· ἐκ τῶν δὲ ἐμπορίων ἐξαναστάντες, Hellenic.  
 οἰκησαν ἐν τοῖσι Βουδῖνοισιν· καὶ γλώσση τὰ μὲν Σκυθικὴ τὰ δὲ  
 Ἑλληνικὴ χρέωνται. Βουδῖνοι δὲ οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ γλώσσῃ χρέωνται 109  
 καὶ Γελωνοὶ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ δίαιτα ἢ αὐτῇ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βουδῖνοι,  
 ἐόντες αὐτόχθονες, νομάδες τέ εἰσι καὶ φθειροτραγέουσι<sup>288</sup> μῶνοι  
 τῶν ταύτη· Γελωνοὶ δὲ, γῆς τε ἐργάται, καὶ σιτοφάγοι, καὶ  
 κήπους ἐκτεμένον, οὐδὲν τὴν ἰδέην ὁμοιοί, οὐδὲ τὸ χρῶμα ὑπὸ  
 μέντοι Ἑλλήνων καλέονται καὶ οἱ Βουδῖνοι Γελωνοὶ, οὐκ ὁρθῶς  
 καλέεμενοι. ἡ δὲ χώρα σφέων πᾶσά ἐστι δασυή ἰδῆσι παντοίησιν·  
 ἐν δὲ τῇ ἰδῇ τῇ πλείστη ἐστὶ λίμνη μεγάλη τε καὶ πολλή<sup>289</sup>, καὶ  
 ἔλος καὶ κάλαμος περὶ αὐτήν· ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ ἐνύδριες ἀλίσκονται,  
 καὶ κάστορες, καὶ ἄλλα θηρία τετραγωνοπρόσωπα<sup>290</sup>, τῶν τὰ

<sup>285</sup> ἀνθρωποφαγέουσι δὲ μῶνοι τούτων. These words in all the MSS follow the next section.

<sup>286</sup> εἴματα μὲν μέλανα. These are doubtless black sheepskins, a dress which at this day distinguishes a tribe found in the Hindoo Koosh, and procures them the name of *Siah-pooah*, a literal translation of μελάγχλαινοι.

<sup>287</sup> γλαυκόν τε πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐστὶ καὶ πυρρόν. The personal description is very much the same as that given by Tacitus of the Germans as a whole: "truces et caerulei oculi: rutilae comae." (*German.* § 4.)

<sup>288</sup> φθειροτραγέουσι. It is to me doubtful whether this word is to be interpreted "are lice-eaters." Where that practice is mentioned (below, § 168), it is described in clearer terms. The seeds of pine-cones were called φεῖρες (*Τζετζεσ ad Lycorh.* 1383); and these have been a common

article of food with the Greeks both in ancient and modern times. HAWKINS says that the kernels of the stone-pine, now called *κοκκωνάρια*, form an article of exportation from Elis to Zante and Cefalonia (*ap. Walpole's Turkey*, p. 236).

<sup>289</sup> λίμνη μεγάλη τε καὶ πολλή. The whole of the region north of the Caspian between the rivers Volga and Ural is full of lakes of a marsh-like character, but it seems impossible to fix specially upon any of these as the one contemplated by Herodotus's informant.

<sup>290</sup> θηρία τετραγωνοπρόσωπα. What these animals were, which are mentioned together with *otters* and *beavers*, is not easy to say. It can scarcely be doubted that the *ὄρχιες* presently spoken of are really the bags of the musk-deer; and perhaps the *θηρία τετραγωνοπρόσωπα* are the *seals* found in the Caspian and mouths of the Volga, the *skins of which* would

δέρματα περὶ τὰς σισύρνας παραρράπτεται<sup>291</sup>. καὶ οἱ ὄρχιες αὐτοῖσι εἰσι χρήσιμοι ἐς ὑστερέων ἄκεσιν.

110

The *Sauro-mata* are in the legend connected with the *Amazons*.

Σαυροματέων δὲ περὶ ὧδε λέγεται ὅτε Ἕλληνας Ἀμαζόσι ἐμαχέσαντο\*, (τὰς δὲ Ἀμαζόνας καλέουσι οἱ Σκύθαι Οἰόρπατα· δύναται δὲ τὸ οὖνομα τοῦτο κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἀνδροκτόνου· Οἰορ γὰρ καλέουσι τὸν ἄνδρα, τὸ δὲ ΠΑΤΑ κτείνειν<sup>292</sup>.) τότε λόγος, τοὺς Ἕλληνας, νικήσαντας τῇ ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι μάχῃ, ἀποπλέειν ἄγοντας τρισὶ πλοίοισι τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ὅσας ἡδυνέατο

come by the same route into the hands of the Pontine Greeks as the musk-bags and the otter and beaver skins. It was not to be expected that the merchant should be a natural historian; and hence he might not unnaturally believe that the two articles belonged to the same animal. See note 309 on iii. 107.

<sup>291</sup> περὶ τὰς σισύρνας παραρράπτεται, "are sewed on as a border around the woollen mantles." The Germans, according to Tacitus, attempted to improve the appearance of the skins of land animals by spotting them with seal skin (*German.* § 27); and Euripides makes the female bacchants produce a similar variety by white wool upon fawn skin:

στικτῶν δ' ἐνδυτὰ νεβρίδων  
στέφετε λευκοτρίχων πλοκάμους μαλλοῖς.

*Bacch.* 109.

\* ὅτε Ἕλληνας Ἀμαζόσι ἐμαχέσαντο. In the *Iliad* (iii. 189) a war takes place between the Phrygians and Amazons παρ' ἔχθρας Σαγγαρίοιο in "vine bearing" Phrygia, i. e. the region of Apamea. The Vil-loison Scholiast on the passage makes them daughters of *Ares* and *Armenia*, a *Naiad*.

<sup>292</sup> Οἰορ γὰρ καλέουσι τὸν ἄνδρα, τὸ δὲ ΠΑΤΑ κτείνειν. It is not at all easy to refer these two words to their analogues in any known language. Οἰορ is compared by RITTER with the Sanscrit *oirōh*, which shows the connexion with the Latin *vir*; and this meaning is generally accepted. But there is great apparent difficulty in explaining how *πατὰ* should mean *to kill*. In the Sanscrit the root of *πατὰ* would rather suggest the meaning of "dominari," not of "occidere," and according to BOPP, the nominative *pate* still means "husband"—a relation which in early times always involves the notion of lordship—in the Lithuanian dialect. As one solution of a difficulty which has not been satisfac-

torily explained, I should be inclined to believe that *οἰόρπατα* may be the name which the people, whom the Greeks called Amazons, gave to themselves, and that they understood by it "*virorum domini*," a natural appellation for a martial race to assume. If however their warfare was of a cruel and exterminating character, which it most likely was, this feature would be what would distinguish them in the eyes of other tribes who came into contact with them, and their name, if regarded as significant, might be correspondently interpreted. Hence the same word would possibly mean "*virorum dominus*," or "*virorum occisor*," according as it was used by an Amazon or a Scythian. The case of *Melkart* (see note 130 on ii. 44) is illustrative of such a change. The Tyrians undoubtedly meant by the name "*dominus urbis*," while the Greeks understood in *Melicerta* "*dominus navigantium*." But the question is an extremely difficult one; for one cannot be certain that the language in which the word *οἰόρπατα* was used was pure Scythian. It may very well have belonged to the mixed race which sprang up out of the intercourse of Hellenic colonists and traders with the natives, and, if so, *πατὰ* may be connected with the word *παταῖοι*. (See note 111 on iii. 37.) I myself believe it is also the root of the word *ἀνδρούρες*, a surname by which Aphrodite was worshipped at Phanagoria. This was a deity somewhat analogous to the Lydian Omphale, and the later Greeks derived her name from *ἀνδρῆν*, the legend being that she invited the giants to her embraces separately, and delivered them over to be murdered by Heracles, whom she had previously concealed at hand. (STRABO, xi. p. 404.) The *a* of *ἀνδρούρες* is no more an essential part of the word than the first letter of *Anaitis*. See note 278 on ii. 100.

ζωογῆσαι· τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιθεμένας, ἐκκόψαι τοὺς ἄνδρας·  
 πλοῖα δὲ οὐ γινώσκειν αὐτάς, οὐδὲ πηδαλίοισι χρῆσθαι, οὐδὲ  
 ἱστίοισι, οὐδὲ εἰρεσίῃ· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐξέκοψαν τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐφέροντο  
 κατὰ κύμα καὶ ἄνεμον· καὶ ἀπικνεύονται τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος  
 ἐπὶ Κρημνούς· οἱ δὲ Κρημνοὶ εἰσὶ γῆς τῆς Σκυθέων τῶν ἐλευθέ-  
 ρων<sup>111</sup>. ἐνθαῦτα ἀποβάσαι ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων αἱ Ἀμαζόνες, ὥδοι-  
 πόρεον ἐς τὴν οἰκεομένην· ἐντυχοῦσαι δὲ πρώτῳ ἵπποφορβίῳ,  
 τοῦτο διήρπασαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἵππαζόμεναι, ἐληΐζοντο τὰ τῶν  
 Σκυθέων. Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι τὸ πρῆγμα· οὔτε  
 γὰρ φωνήν, οὔτε ἐσθῆτα, οὔτε τὸ ἔθνος ἐγίνωσκον, ἀλλ' ἐν θώματι  
 ἦσαν ὀκόθεν ἔλθοιεν· ἐδόκεον δ' αὐτάς εἶναι ἄνδρας τὴν αὐτὴν  
 ἡλικίην ἔχοντας, μάχην τε δὴ πρὸς αὐτάς ἐποιεύντο· ἐκ δὲ τῆς  
 μάχης τῶν νεκρῶν ἐκράτησαν οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ οὕτω ἔγνωσαν ἐούσας  
 γυναικάς· βουλευομένοισι ὦν αὐτοῖσι ἔδοξε κτείνειν μὲν οὐδενὶ  
 τρόπῳ ἔτι αὐτάς, ἐωυτῶν δὲ τοὺς νεωτάτους ἀποπέμψαι ἐς αὐτάς,  
 πληθὺς εἰκάσαντας ὅσαιπερ ἐκεῖναι ἦσαν, τούτους δὲ στρατοπε-  
 δεύεσθαι πλησίον ἐκεινῶν, καὶ ποιέειν τάπερ ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖναι  
 ποιέωσι· ἦν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωσι, μάχεσθαι μὲν μὴ, ὑποφεύγειν  
 δέ· ἐπεὰν δὲ παύσωνται, ἐλθόντας αὐτοὺς πλησίον στρατοπεδεύ-  
 εσθαι. ταῦτα ἐβουλεύσαντο οἱ Σκύθαι, βουλόμενοι ἐξ αὐτῶν  
 παῖδας ἐγγενήσεσθαι. Ἀποπεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ νεηνίσκοι, ἐποίησαν  
 τὰ ἐντεταλμένα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθον αὐτοὺς αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἐπ' οὐδεμὴ  
 δηλήσει ἀπιγμένους, ἔων χαίρειν προσεχώρεον δὲ πλησιαιτέρῳ τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη· εἶχον δὲ οὐδὲν  
 οὐδ' οἱ νεηνίσκοι, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ  
 τοὺς ἵππους· ἀλλὰ ζῶν ἔζων τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκεῖνησι, θηρεύοντές τε  
 καὶ ληϊζόμενοι. Ἐποίησαν δὲ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἐς τὴν μεσαμβρίην  
 τοιόνδε· ἐγίνοντο σποράδες κατὰ μίαν τε καὶ δύο, πρόσω δὴ ἀπ'  
 ἀλλήλων, ἐς εὐμαρίην ἀποσκιδνάμεναι· μαθόντες δὲ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι,  
 ἐποίησαν τῷτὸ τοῦτο· καὶ τις μουνωθεισῶν τινὶ αὐτέων ἐνεχρίμ-  
 πτετο, καὶ ἡ Ἀμαζὼν οὐκ ἀπωθέετο, ἀλλὰ περιεΐδε χρήσασθαι·  
 καὶ φωνῆσαι μὲν οὐκ εἶχε, οὐ γὰρ συνέσαν ἀλλήλων, τῇ δὲ χειρὶ

111

112

113

<sup>111</sup> οἱ δὲ Κρημνοὶ εἰσὶ γῆς τῆς Σκυθέων  
 τῶν ἐλευθέρων. These are the same Scy-  
 thians whom the writer elsewhere calls the  
 Royal Scythians (§ 20); and Cremni also  
 has been described before, though no one

would suspect it from this passage. It  
 seems not impossible that the whole story  
 of the Amazons is an insertion in a later  
 draught of the work.

ἔφραζε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸντο χωρίον, καὶ ἕτερον ἄγεω σημαίνουσα δύο γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτὴ ἐτέρην ἄξειν ὃ δὲ νεηνίσκος ἐπεὶ ἀπῆλθε, ἔλεξε ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς λοιπούς· τῇ δὲ δευτεραίῃ ἦλθε ἐς τὸ χωρίον αὐτός τε οὗτος, καὶ ἕτερον ἦγε, καὶ τὴν Ἀμαζόνα εὗρε δευτέρην αὐτὴν ὑπομένουσαν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ νεηνίσκοι ὡς ἐπίθοντο ταῦτα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκτιλώσαντο τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Ἀμαζόνων.

- 114 Μετὰ δὲ, συμμίζαντες τὰ στρατόπεδα οἴκεον ὁμοῦ, γυναῖκα ἔχων ἕκαστος ταύτην τῇ τὸ πρῶτον συνεμίχθη· τὴν δὲ φωνὴν τὴν μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἔδυνάτο μαθεῖν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἱ γυναῖκες συνέλαβον. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆκαν ἀλλήλων, ἔλεξαν πρὸς τὰς Ἀμαζόνας τάδε οἱ ἄνδρες· “ἡμῖν εἰσὶ μὲν τοκέες, εἰσὶ δὲ κτήσεις· νῦν ὦν μηκέτι πλεῖνα χρόνον ζῶν τοιγύνηδε ἔχωμεν ἀλλ’ ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὸ πλῆθος διαιτώμεθα· γυναῖκας δὲ ἔξομεν ὑμέας, καὶ οὐδαμέας ἄλλας.” αἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεξαν τάδε· “ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα οἰκέειν μετὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων γυναικῶν· οὐ γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ νόμαϊα ἡμῖν τε καὶ κείνησί ἐστι· ἡμεῖς μὲν τοξεύομεν τε καὶ ἀκοντίζομεν καὶ ἵππαζόμεθα, ἔργα δὲ γυναικῆϊα οὐκ ἐμάθομεν· αἱ δὲ ὑμέτεραι γυναῖκες τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν ἡμεῖς κατελέξαμεν ποιεῖσι, ἔργα δὲ γυναικῆϊα ἐργάζονται μένουσαι ἐν τῇσι ἀμάξῃσι, οὗτ’ ἐπὶ θήρην ἰοῦσαι οὔτε ἄλλη οὐδαμῇ<sup>294</sup>. οὐκ ἂν ὦν δυναίμεθα ἐκείνησι συμφέρεσθαι. ἀλλ’ εἰ βούλεσθε γυναῖκας ἔχειν ἡμέας καὶ δοκέειν εἶναι δικαιοτάτοι, ἐλθόντες παρὰ τοὺς τοκέας ἀπολάχετε τῶν κτημάτων τὸ μέρος· καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντες οἰκέωμεν ἐπὶ ἡμέων αὐτέων” Ἐπείθοντο καὶ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα οἱ νεηνίσκοι.
- 115 ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀπολαχόντες τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον<sup>295</sup>, ἦλθον ὀπίσω παρὰ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας, ἔλεξαν αἱ γυναῖκες πρὸς αὐτοὺς τάδε· “ἡμέας ἔχει φόβος τε καὶ δέος, ὅπως χρὴ οἰκέειν ἐν τῷδε τῷ χώρῳ, τοῦτο μὲν ὑμέας ἀποστερησάσας πατέρων, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν γῆν τὴν ὑμετέρεν δηλησαμένας πολλά· ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ τε ἀξιοῦτε ἡμέας γυναῖκας ἔχειν, τάδε ποίετε ἅμα ἡμῖν· φέρετε, ἐξαναστῶμεν ἐκ τῆς
- 116 γῆς τῆσδε, καὶ περήσαντες Τάναϊν ποταμὸν οἰκέωμεν” Ἐπεί-

<sup>294</sup> οὔτε ἄλλη οὐδαμῇ. This is very different from the habits of the Calmucks of southern Russia at the present time. Their women are described by CLARKE as being uncommonly hardy, and on horseback outstripping their male companions in the race. (*Travels*, i. p. 317.) But

the picture in the text is probably drawn by a Greek, who transfers the habits of his own countrywomen to the Scythian matrons.

<sup>295</sup> τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον, “their share of the property.” See note 370 on i. 106.

Θοντο καὶ ταῦτα οἱ νεηρίσκοι διαβάντες δὲ τὸν Τάναϊν, ὠδοιπόρουσιν  
 πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα τριῶν μὲν ἡμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ταναΐδος ὁδὸν,  
 τριῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος πρὸς βορρῇν ἀνεμον ἀπ-  
 ερχόμενοι δὲ ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χώρον, ἐν τῷ νῦν κατοικῆνται<sup>296</sup>,  
 οἴκησαν τοῦτον. καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦτου χρέωνται τῇ παλαιῇ τῶν  
 Σαυροματέων αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἐπὶ θήρην ἐπὶ ἵππων ἐκφοιτῶσαι  
 ἅμα τοῖσι ἀνδράσι καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἐς πόλεμον φοιτῶσαι,  
 καὶ στολὴν τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι φορέουσιν. Φωνὴ δὲ οἱ Σαυ-  
 ρομάται νομίζουσι<sup>297</sup> Σκυθικῇ, σολοικίζοντες αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου,  
 ἐπεὶ οὐ χρηστῶς ἐξέμαθον αὐτὴν αἱ Ἀμαζόνες. τὰ περὶ γάμων δὲ  
 ὠδὲ σφι διακέεται· οὐ γαμέεται παρθένος οὐδεμία, πρὶν ἂν τῶν  
 πολεμίων ἄνδρα ἀποκτείνῃ<sup>298</sup>. αἱ δὲ τινες αὐτέων καὶ τελευτῶσι  
 γηραιὰ πρὶν γήμασθαι, οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλήσαι.

117  
 The language of the  
 Sauromatæ  
 is a corrupt  
 Scythian.

Ἐπὶ τούτων ὦν τῶν καταλεχθέντων ἐθένων τοὺς βασιλεῖς 118  
 ἀλισμένους ἀπικόμενοι τῶν Σκυθέων οἱ ἄγγελοι, ἔλεγον ἐκδιδά-  
 σκοντες ὡς ὁ Πέρσης, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῇ ἐτέρῃ πάντα  
 κατέστραπται, γέφυραν ζεύξας ἐπὶ τῷ αὐχένι τοῦ Βοσπόρου, δια-  
 βέβηκε ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡπειρον διαβάς δὲ, καὶ καταστρεψάμενος  
 Θρήϊκας, γεφυροὶ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον, βουλόμενος καὶ τάδε πάντα  
 ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι· “ὕμεις ὦν μηδεὶν τρόπον ἐκ τοῦ μέσου  
 κατήμενοι περιῶντε ἡμέας διαφθαρέντας· ἀλλὰ τῶντὸ νοήσαντες,  
 ἀντιῶντες τὸν ἐπιόντα. οὐκὼν ποιήσετε ταῦτα<sup>299</sup>; ἡμεῖς μὲν  
 πιεζόμενοι, ἢ ἐκλείψομεν τὴν χώραν ἢ μένοντες ὁμολογίῃ χρησό-  
 μεθα, (τί γὰρ πάθωμεν μὴ βουλομένων ὑμῶν τιμωρέειν;) ὑμῖν  
 δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔσται ἐλαφρότερον· ἥκει γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδὲν  
 τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπὶ ὑμέας<sup>300</sup>. οὐδέ οἱ καταχρήσει

Legation of  
 the Scythi-  
 ans to their  
 barbarian  
 neighbours

<sup>296</sup> ἐν τῷ νῦν κατοικῆνται. The site somewhat differs from that given in § 21, above. There the Sauromatæ are represented as extending along the Tanais on the eastern bank, from the very embouchure of the river for fifteen days' journey northwards. The amount of their extension from the river is not stated in either passage. The first natural boundary would be the Wolga, and that at no great distance; but Herodotus's informant obviously knows nothing of the people, except the general bearing of the country supposed to be occupied by them, and the legend which prevailed among his informants as to their origin.

<sup>297</sup> νομίζουσι, “ordinarily use.” From including the sense of *χρῶνται* the word is put in the same regimen which *χρῶνται* would require. See the note 132 on ii. 44, and 181 on § 64, above.

<sup>298</sup> πρὶν ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ἄνδρα ἀποκτείνῃ. HIPPOCRATES makes the qualification for a wife to be the having slain three enemies. (*De aere*, &c., p. 553.) In another place he relates that it is the practice of the Amazons to cripple all their male children by dislocating their knees or their hips at a very early age.

<sup>299</sup> οὐκὼν ποιήσετε ταῦτα; See note 689 on i. 206.

<sup>300</sup> ἥκει γὰρ . . . ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπὶ ὑμέας.



ἡμέας καταστρεφάμεν ὑμέων ὑπέχεσθαι. μέγα δὲ ὑμῶν λόγων τῶνδε μαρτύριον ἐρέομεν· εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' ἡμέας μούρους ἐστρατηλάττει ὁ Πέρσης, τίσασθαι τῆς πρόσθε δουλοσύνης<sup>301</sup> βουλόμενος, χρῆν αὐτὸν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεχόμενον, οὕτω ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ ἂν ἐδήλου πᾶσι, ὥς ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐλαίνει καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. νῦν δὲ ἐπεὶ τε τάχιστα διέβη τήνδε τὴν ἡπειρον, τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐμποδὼν γινομένους ἡμεροῦται πάντας· τοὺς τε δὴ ἄλλους ἔχει ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ Θρήικας, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἡμῶν ἐόντας πλησιοχώρους Γέτας." Ταῦτα Σκυθῶν ἐπαγγελλομένων, ἐβουλευόντο οἱ βασιλῆες οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνέων ἦκοντες· καὶ σφῶν ἐσχίσθησαν αἱ γνώμαι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Γελωνός, καὶ ὁ Βουδίνος, καὶ ὁ Σαυρομάτης, κατὰ τούτῳ γενόμενοι, ὑπεδέκοντο Σκύθησι τιμωρήσειν· ὁ δὲ Ἀγάθυρσος, καὶ Νευρός, καὶ Ἀνδροφάγος, καὶ οἱ τῶν Μελαγχλαίων καὶ Ταύρων, τὰδε Σκύθησι ὑπεκρίναντο· "εἰ μὲν μὴ ὑμεῖς ἔατε οἱ πρότερον ἀδικήσαντες Πέρσας καὶ ἄρξαντες πολέμου, τούτων δέομενοι τῶν νῦν δέεσθε λέγειν τε ἂν ἐφαίνεσθε ἡμῶν ὀρθὰ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπακούσαντες τούτῳ ἂν ὑμῶν ἐπρήσομεν· νῦν δὲ ὑμεῖς τε ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων ἐσβαλόντες γῆν ἄνευ ἡμέων, ἐπεκρατέετε Περσέων ὅσον χρόνον ὑμῶν ὁ θεὸς παρεδίδου καὶ ἐκείνοι, ἐπεὶ σφῶν ὧντὸς θεὸς ἐγείρει, τὴν ὁμοίην ὑμῶν ἀποδιδούσι· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε τι τότε ἡδικήσαμεν τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους οὐδὲν, οὔτε νῦν πρότεροι πειρησόμεθα ἀδικεῖν· ἢ μέντοι ἐπὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἄρξην τε ἀδικέων, καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐ πεισόμεθα<sup>302</sup>. μέχρι δὲ τούτου ἴδωμεν<sup>303</sup>, μενόμεν παρ' ἡμῶν αὐτοῖσι· ἦκειν γὰρ δοκέομεν οὐκ ἐπ' ἡμέας Πέρσας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀδικίης γενομένους."

119  
meets with  
partial suc-  
cess.

The pleonastic use of οὐ in this passage seems to arise from the desire of the speaker to remind the person he addresses that the main proposition is a negative one. Compare v. 94: ἀποδεικνύντες λόγῳ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Αἰόλευσι μετέδν τῆς Ἰλιάδος χάρις ἢ οὐ σφὶ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις κ.τ.λ., and vii. 16: φανῆναι δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον μὴ δέοι αἰεὶ ἔχοντι τὴν σὴν ἐσθῆτα ἢ οὐ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν.

<sup>301</sup> τῆς πρόσθε δουλοσύνης. This expression refers to the subjugation of the Medes by the Scythians related in i. 103—105, and above, § 12. That inroad is made the ostensible cause of the expedition of Darius (§ 1, above).

<sup>302</sup> οὐ πεισόμεθα. The manuscript S

has οὐκ οἰσόμεθα. The text has caused a good deal of difficulty to the commentators, and various conjectures have been proposed. But the expression seems exactly correspondent with the English idiom, "we will not be passive," and not to demand any change.

<sup>303</sup> μέχρι . . . ἴδωμεν. This use of μέχρι in the sense of 'until' with a verb in the subjunctive is uncommon, but not unprecedented. SOPHOCLES has

μέχρις μυχοὺς κίχῃσι νεπτέρου θεοῦ.  
(*Aj.* 571.)

XENOPHON (*Hist.* i. 1. 3) uses it with an indicative: μέχρις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν.

Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Σκύθαι, ἐβουλεύοντο ἰθυ- 120  
μαχίην μὲν μηδεμίαν ποίεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος, (ὅτι δὴ σφι οὔτοί  
γε σύμμαχοι οὐ προσεγίνοντο,) ὑπεξιώντες δὲ [καὶ ὑπεξελαύνου-  
τες<sup>304</sup>] τὰ φρέατα τὰ παρεξίονεν αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰς κρήνας συγχούν,  
τὴν πόλιν τε ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκτρίβειν<sup>305</sup>, διχοῦ σφέας διελόντες· καὶ  
πρὸς μὲν τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρέων τῆς ἐβασίλευε Σκώπασις, προσ-  
χωρέειν Σαυρομάτας· τούτους μὲν δὴ ὑπάγειν, ἣν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τρά-  
πηται ὁ Πέρσης, ἰθὺ Ταναΐδος ποταμοῦ παρὰ τὴν Μαιῆτιν λίμνην  
ὑποφεύγοντας, ἀπελαύνοντός τε τοῦ Πέρσεω, ἐπιόντας διώκειν.  
αὕτη μὲν σφι μία ἦν μοῖρα τῆς βασιλῆης<sup>306</sup>, τεταγμένη ταύτην  
τὴν ὁδὸν ἦπερ εἴρηται· τὰς δὲ δύο τῶν βασιλιῶν, τὴν τε μεγάλην  
τῆς ἥρχε Ἰδάνθυρσος<sup>307</sup> καὶ τὴν τρίτην τῆς ἐβασίλευε Τάξακις,  
συνελθούσας ἐς τὸντὸ, καὶ Γελωνῶν τε καὶ Βουδίνων προσγινο-  
μένων, ἡμέρης καὶ τούτους ὁδῷ προέχοντας τῶν Περσέων ὑπεξ-  
άγειν, ὑπιόντας τε καὶ ποιεῦντας τὰ βεβουλευμένα· πρῶτα μὲν νυν  
ὑπάγειν σφέας ἰθὺ τῶν χωρέων τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην  
συμμαχίην, [ἵνα καὶ τούτους ἐκπολεμώσωσι<sup>308</sup>,] εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐκόντες  
γε ὑπέδυσαν τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας, ἀλλ' ἄκοντας ἐκπολε-  
μῶσαι· μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ὑποστρέφειν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην, καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖν  
ἣν δὴ βουλευομένοισι δοκέη. Ταῦτα οἱ Σκύθαι βουλευσάμενοι 121  
ἱπηντίαζον τὴν Δαρείου στρατιήν, προδρόμους ἀποστείλαντες τῶν  
ἱππέων τοὺς ἀρίστους· τὰς δὲ ἀμάξας ἐν τῇσί σφι διαιτᾶτο τὰ

The Scythians determine on a plan of warfare.

They form three divisions under Scopasis, Idanthyrus, and Taxacis.

Plan of the campaign.

They send forward a body of skirmishers,

<sup>304</sup> [καὶ ὑπεξελαύνοντες]. These words appear to me to be an alternative reading for ὑπεξιώντες, which have crept from the margin into the text.

<sup>305</sup> τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκτρίβειν. This is apparently the notion of a Greek, who knew enough of the nature of Scythia to be aware that the plains were covered with grass instead of grain, but not enough of their extent to be aware how impossible such a course would be. The water too, in the part of the country Herodotus has in view, would scarcely be spring water, but derived either from natural pools or artificial tanks.

<sup>306</sup> τῆς βασιλῆης. If this word means the "kingdom of Scythia," and τῶν βασιλιῶν "the Royal Scythians," it would seem that in the mind of the narrator the tribes between these and the Ister did not offer any resistance. Perhaps they are not noticed because in a situation of infe-

riority to the Royal Tribe. (See § 20, above.)

<sup>307</sup> Ἰδάνθυρσος. This person is represented as the nephew of Anacharsis in a story for which one Timneas, who was probably a functionary holding a post analogous to that of a foreign consul at one of the Hellenic commercial settlements, is quoted as an authority. (See § 76 and note 214, above.) Possibly he may also be the source of the account of Darius's campaign which follows.

<sup>308</sup> [ἵνα καὶ τούτους ἐκπολεμώσωσι]. It is not easy to conceive that these words can have stood in the text contemporaneously with the phrase ἀλλ' ἄκοντας ἐκπολεμῶσαι. I imagine that the sentence originally ended with them, but that afterwards the author substituted the words which follow them; and that their existence at present arises from the combination of two different editions.

and remove  
their fami-  
lies north-  
wards.

τέκνα τε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες πᾶσαι<sup>309</sup>, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα, πλὴν ὅσα σφι  
ἐς φορβὴν ἱκανὰ ἦν τοσαῦτα ὑπολιπόμενοι, τὰ ἄλλα ἅμα τῇσι  
ἀμάξῃσι προπέμψαν ἐντειλάμενοι αἰεὶ τὸ πρὸς βορρῶ ἐλαύνειν.  
ταῦτα μὲν δὴ προεκομίζετο.

122

Three days'  
march from  
the Ister,  
the Persians  
find the  
Scythian  
light divi-  
sion, and  
pursue  
them across  
the Tanais  
through the  
region of  
the Sauro-  
matae to the

Τῶν δὲ Σκυθέων οἱ πρόδρομοι ὥς εὔρον τοὺς Πέρσας ὅσων τε  
τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπέχοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, οὗτοι μὲν τούτους  
εὐρόντες, ἡμέρης ὁδῶ προέχοντες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς  
φύομενα λεαίνοντες. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὥς εἶδον ἐπιφανείσαν τῶν  
Σκυθέων τὴν ἵππον, ἐπήϊσαν κατὰ στίβον αἰεὶ ὑπαγόντων καὶ  
ἔπειτα, πρὸς γὰρ τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρέων ἴθυσαν, οἱ Πέρσαι ἐδίωκον  
πρὸς ἧώ τε καὶ τοῦ Τανάϊδος διαβάντων δὲ τούτων τὸν Τάναϊν  
ποταμὸν, οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπιδιabάντες ἐδίωκον<sup>310</sup>. ἐς τὸ τῶν Σαυρομα-  
τέων τὴν χώραν διεξελθάντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων.

123

wooden  
town of  
the Budini,  
which they  
burn.  
Going on  
still further  
they reach  
the desert,  
which is  
seven days  
across.

Ὅσον μὲν δὴ χρόνον οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν διὰ τῆς Σκυθικῆς καὶ τῆς  
Σαυρομάτιδος χώρας, οἱ δὲ εἶχον οὐδὲν σίνεσθαι<sup>311</sup>, ἄτε τῆς χώρας  
ἐούσης χέρσου<sup>312</sup>. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων χώραν ἐσέβαλον,  
ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐντυχόντες τῷ ξυλῶφ τείχει<sup>313</sup>, ἐκλελοιπότες τῶν  
Βουδίνων καὶ κεκενωμένου τοῦ τεύχεος πάντων, ἐνέπρησαν αὐτό-  
τούτο δὲ ποιήσαντες εἶποντο αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω κατὰ στίβον, ἐς δὲ  
διεξελθόντες ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἐρήμον ἀπίκοντο· ἡ δὲ ἐρήμος αὕτη  
ὑπὸ οὐδαμῶν νέμεται ἀνδρῶν κέεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Βουδίνων χώρας  
ἐούσα πληθὺς<sup>314</sup> ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν ὁδοῦ ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἐρήμου Θυσσα-  
γέται οἰκέουσι· ποταμοὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τέσσερες μεγάλοι ρέοντες διὰ  
Μαιητέων ἐκδιδούσι ἐς τὴν λίμνην τὴν καλεομένην Μαιήτιν, τοῖσι

<sup>309</sup> ἐν τῇσι σφι διατῆτο τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες πᾶσαι. See the note 197 on § 69.

<sup>310</sup> οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπιδιabάντες ἐδίωκον. From the Ister to the Sea of Azof is reckoned by Herodotus to be a twenty days' journey εὐζώνῃ ἀνδρῶν, for whom the distance allowed is 200 stadia daily (§ 101). This is far more than could be performed by an army for twenty days together, under any circumstances of pressure. But the real distance is such, that according to RENNELL's estimate no less than fifty days would be requisite for an army to march even to the *embouchure* of the Tanais (p. 113). From the *embouchure* the country of the Sauromatae extends for fifteen days northwards in Herodotus's

view (§ 21). This would bring the borders of the Budini about to the region of Woronetz, from which Clarke reached the Sea of Azof in seventeen days. RENNELL (p. 90) believes the Oarus of the text to be the Wolga, which to a casual observer might appear in the higher part of its course to run towards the Sea of Azof.

<sup>311</sup> σίνεσθαι. See note on ix. 13.

<sup>312</sup> τῆς χώρας ἐούσης χέρσου. See above, § 21.

<sup>313</sup> τῷ ξυλῶφ τείχει. See above, § 108.

<sup>314</sup> πληθὺς, "extent." The word is used in precisely the same sense in i. 203, where Caucasus is said to be οὐρέων πλεῖσθαι μέγιστον.

οὐνόματα κέεται τάδε, Λύκος, Ὀαρος, Τάναϊς, Σύργις<sup>315</sup>. Ἐπεὶ 124

ὡν ὁ Δαρείος ἦλθε ἐς τὴν ἐρήμον, παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου ἵδρυσεν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ὀάρῳ· τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ὀκτὼ τείχεα ἐτείχεε μεγάλα ἴσον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντα, σταδίων ὡς ἐξήκοντα μάλιστα καὶ τῶν ἐτι ἐς ἐμὲ τὰ ἐρείπια σῶα ἦν<sup>316</sup>. ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτος πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτράπετο, οἱ διωκόμενοι Σκύθαι περιελθόντες τὰ κατύπερθε ὑπέστρεφον ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἀφανισθέντων δὲ τούτων τὸ παράπαν, ὡς οὐκέτι ἐφαντάζοντό σφι, οὕτω δὲ ὁ Δαρείος τείχεα μὲν ἐκεῖνα ἡμέτεργα μετήκε, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποστρέψας ἤϊε πρὸς ἐσπέρην, δοκέων τούτους τε πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας εἶναι καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην σφέας φεύγειν<sup>317</sup>.

On arriving at the desert, Darius halts and builds eight castles, of which the ruins remain.

The Scythians disappear, and Darius returns westward to Scythia.

Ἐλαίνων δὲ τὴν ταχίστην τὸν στρατὸν, ὡς ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν 125

ἀπίκετο, ἐνέκυρσε ἀμφοτέρῃσι τῇσι μοίρῃσι τῶν Σκυθῶν, ἐντυχὼν δὲ, ἐδίδωκε ὑπεκφέροντας ἡμέρης ὁδῷ καὶ, οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει<sup>318</sup> ἐπιὼν ὁ Δαρείος, οἱ Σκύθαι κατὰ τὰ βεβουλευμένα ὑπέφευγον ἐς τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίην· πρώτην δὲ, ἐς τῶν Μελαγχλαίων τὴν γῆν ὡς δὲ ἐσβαλόντες τούτους ἐτάραξαν οἱ

In Scythia he encounters the two other bodies, who retreat before him through the Melanchlaeni, Androphagi, and

<sup>315</sup> Σύργις. The manuscripts S and V have Σύργις, but that is the only variation. Schäfer alters to Ὀργις, because obviously the same river is meant in § 58, where all the MSS have Ὀργις, except one, which has Ὀργις. But this change obliterates one evidence of the original state of the text. See the note 266 on § 97, above.

<sup>316</sup> τῶν ἐτι ἐς ἐμὲ τὰ ἐρείπια σῶα ἦν. This passage has been cited to shew the extent of the author's travels. But the extremely indistinct character of the description precludes (in my opinion) the inference that he was an eye-witness himself. There is no mention of the material of which these buildings were made, whether stone, brick, wood, or earth. The same expression occurs above (i. 181) also under suspicious circumstances. See note 610. With regard to the ruins themselves, they may possibly have been the stone walls which in some cases surrounded the barrows that cover these plains. "In some cases," probably where the mound was composed of a lighter earth, "it has sunk and left hollow places encircled by a kind of fosse." (CLARKE, vol. i. p. 277.) The tomb of *Halyattes* was surrounded by a 'macerie' of large stones (i. 93). So was that of *Auge* in the plain of the

Caicus (PAUSANIAS, viii. 4. 7); that of *Æpytus* in Arcadia (Id. viii. 16. 3); and others. In cases like these the degradation of the mound would produce at a distance the appearance of a fortification, which would easily suggest its connexion with any oral tradition of an invader. A similar cause doubtless originated the popular belief mentioned by CLARKE (vol. i. p. 358), as prevailing in southern Russia, "that *Alexander the Great* passed the Don, and built a city or a citadel upon the river, at a place called *Zimlanskaia*, 200 miles above the town of *Tcherkask*." See note 380 on ii. 128.

<sup>317</sup> καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην σφέας φεύγειν. There is no reason given by the author why Darius should have supposed that the Scythians had gone westwards. But apparently the narrator supposes him on the western bank of the Oarus, with the desert beyond him northwards. Nothing however can be more vague than the topography.

<sup>318</sup> ἀνίει. Gaisford prints ἀνίει, which most of the MSS have. But S and V have the common form, as is the case with *all* in § 152. All but one have it in ii. 113, and that one has ἀνίει. See the note on ix. 13, *τελειωτο*.

Neuri, to the confines of the Agathyrsi.

τε Σκύθαι καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι, κατηγέοντο οἱ Σκύθαι ἐς τῶν Ἀνδροφάγων τοὺς χώρους· ταραχθέντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, ὑπῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν Νευρίδα· ταρασσομένων δὲ καὶ τούτων<sup>319</sup>, ἤϊσαν ὑποφεύγοντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐς τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους· Ἀγαθύρσοι δὲ ὀρέοντες καὶ τοὺς ὁμούρους φεύγοντας ὑπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ τεταραγμένους, πρὶν ἢ σφὶ ἐμβαλέειν τοὺς Σκύθας, πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἀπηγόρευον Σκύθησι μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν τῶν σφετέρων οὖρων, προλέγοντες ὥς εἰ πειρήσονται ἐσβαλόντες, σφίσι πρῶτα διαμαχήσονται. Ἀγαθύρσοι μὲν προείπαντες ταῦτα ἐβοήθειον ἐπὶ τοὺς οὖρους, ἐρύκειν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐπίνοντας. Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ καὶ Ἀνδροφάγοι καὶ Νευροὶ, ἐσβαλόντων τῶν Περσέων ἅμα Σκύθησι, οὔτε πρὸς ἀλλήν ἑτραποντο ἐπιλαθόμενοι τε τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἔφευγον αἰεὶ τὸ πρὸς βορέῳ ἐς τὴν ἐρήμον τεταραγμένοι· οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐς μὲν τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους οὐκέτι ἀπείπαντας<sup>320</sup> ἀπικνέοντο· οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Νευρίδος χώρας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην κατηγέοντο τοῖσι Πέρσησι.

The Agathyrsi show a bold front, and the Scythians pass from the Neuri into their own land.

126

Darius challenges Idanthyraus to a pitched battle.

Ὡς δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ οὐκ ἐπαύετο, πέμψας Δαρεῖος ἱππέα παρὰ τὸν Σκυθέων βασιλέα Ἰδάνθυρσον<sup>321</sup> ἔλεγε τάδε· “δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, τί φεύγεις αἰεὶ ἐξόν τοι τῶνδε τὰ ἕτερα ποιεῖν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀξιώχρεως<sup>322</sup> δοκέεις εἶναι σεωντῷ τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι ἀντιωθῆναι, σὺ δὲ στάς τε καὶ παυσάμενος πλάνης μάχεσθαι· εἰ δὲ συγγινώσκειαι εἶναι ἡσσω, σὺ δὲ καὶ οὕτω παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου δεσπότη τῷ σὺ δῶρα φέρων γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐλθέ ἐς

<sup>319</sup> ὑπῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν Νευρίδα . . . τούτων. This clause is wanting in S, apparently from the oversight of the copyist.

<sup>320</sup> οὐκέτι ἀπείπαντας. A good deal of difficulty arises out of these words if ἀπείπειν is to be taken in the sense of ἀπαγορεύειν (as it is in iii. 153), for the next sentence seems to prove that the Agathyrsi did not change their mind, and that therefore the Scythians passed from Neuri into their own country. Accordingly it has been proposed to read ἀείπαντας οὐκέτι ἀπικνέοντο. But a good sense will be elicited from the text as it stands by taking ἀπείπειν in a sense which is not unusual in other authors, “to give in” or “succumb.” The Melanchlæni, Androphagi, and Neuri had all professed their intention of resisting the invader if he came against them (above, § 119). But when the brunt arrived, they, ἐπιλαθόμενοι τῆς ἀπειλῆς (an expression which refers to their threatened resistance to the Persians), succumbed and fled northwards. Then the Scythians and Persians reached the Agathyrsi, and found no longer a poltroon people to deal with. Accordingly, out of Neuri the former retreated before the Persians into their own land. The phrase οὐκέτι ἀπείπαντας has a special reference to the preceding expression ἐπιλαθόμενοι τῆς ἀπειλῆς. Translate: “And the Scythians reached indeed the Agathyrsi, but there was an end of giving in, and they on their side out of the Neuri territory led the Persians on into their own.”

<sup>321</sup> Ἰδάνθυρσον. See the note 215 on § 76.

<sup>322</sup> ἀξιώχρεως. This is the reading of the majority of the MSS. Gaisford, with two, gives the Ionic form ἀξιώχρεος.

λόγους." Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Σκυθέων βασιλεὺς Ἰδάνθυρσος ἔλεγε 127  
 τάδε "οὕτω τὸ ἐμὸν ἔχει, ὦ Πέρσα· ἐγὼ οὐδένα κω ἀνθρώπων His answer.  
 δέισας ἔφυγον, οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε νῦν σε φεύγω· οὐδέ τι νεώτερόν  
 εἰμι ποιήσας νῦν ἢ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐώθεα ποιεῖν. ὁ τι δὲ οὐκ αὐτίκα  
 μάχομαι τοι, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο σημαίνω ἡμῖν οὔτε ἄσπεα οὔτε γῆ  
 πεφυτευμένη ἐστὶ, τῶν πέρι δέισαντες μὴ ἀλφῇ ἢ καρῇ, ταχύτερον  
 συμμίσθοιμεν ἂν ἐς μάχην ὑμῖν· εἰ δὲ δέοι πάντως <sup>322</sup> ἐς τοῦτο κατὰ  
 τάχος ἀπικνεῖσθαι, τυγχάνουσι ἡμῖν ἔοντες τάφοι πατρῷοι, φέρετε,  
 τούτους ἀνευρόντες συγχέειν πειρᾶσθε αὐτούς· καὶ γνῶσεσθε τότε,  
 εἴτε ὑμῖν μαχησόμεθα περὶ τῶν τάφων εἴτε καὶ οὐ μαχησόμεθα <sup>324</sup>.  
 πρότερον δέ, ἦν μὴ ἡμέας λόγος αἰρή, οὐ συμμίζομέν τοι. ἀμφὶ  
 μὲν μάχῃ τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω· δεσπότης δὲ ἐμούς ἐγὼ Δία τε νομίζω  
 τὸν ἐμὸν πρόγονον, καὶ Ἰστίην <sup>325</sup> τὴν Σκυθέων βασίλειαν, μούνοιας  
 εἶναι. σοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν δώρων γῆς τε καὶ ὕδατος δῶρα πέμψω  
 τοιαῦτα οἷά σοι πρέπει ἐλθεῖν· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ὅτι δεσπότης ἔφησας  
 εἶναι ἐμός, κλαλεῖν λέγω." [τοῦτό ἐστι ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ῥῆσις <sup>326</sup>.]  
 ὁ μὲν δὴ κῆρυξ οἰχώκεε ἀγγελῶν ταῦτα Δαρείῳ.

Οἱ δὲ Σκυθέων βασιλεῖς ἀκούσαντες τῆς δουλοσύνης τὸ οὖνομα, 128  
 ὀργῆς ἐπλήσθησαν. τὴν μὲν δὴ μετὰ Σαυροματέων μοῖραν ταχθεῖ- The Scythians try to  
 σαν τῆς ἡρχε Σκώπασις πέμπουσι, Ἰωσι κελεύοντες ἐς λόγους cut off the  
 ἀπικέσθαι, τούτοις οἱ τὸν Ἰστρον ἐξευγμένον ἐφρούρουσιν αὐτῶν Persian  
 foragers,

<sup>322</sup> πάντως. See note on vi. 9.

<sup>324</sup> περὶ τῶν τάφων εἴτε καὶ οὐ μαχησόμεθα. This clause is omitted in 8, obviously from the eye of the transcriber being deceived.

<sup>325</sup> Ἰστίην. See § 68.

<sup>326</sup> ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ῥῆσις. The ordinary salutation of civility among the Greeks was χαῖρε or χαίρειν κελύω. The expression κλαῖε or οἰμᾶζε in the place of it would be considered as the pitch of ruffianly ill-breeding,—the behaviour of a Scythian, to whom the refined Greeks attributed every description of coarseness of which they had any account. (See i. 201 and 216, and note 83, above.) Hence it was proverbially described as ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ῥῆσις. A humorous delineation of barbarian manners (somewhat in the same spirit as the representation of those of England in a French vaudeville) is given by ARISTOPHANES in the *Birds* (vv. 1565, seqq.). The unhappy Triballus, the barbarian god, who is united

with Poseidon and Heracles in the legation to Nephelococcygia, does every thing which can display a clownish ignorance of social conventionalities. He comes on the stage with his mantle thrown over the wrong shoulder,—a proceeding which would produce nearly the same sense of absurdity in an Athenian audience as the reversal of the nether garments might in a modern. In the course of the transactions which follow, and in which every advantage is taken of his ignorance of the Greek language, among other 'hits' he is asked the question: ὁ Τρίβαλλος, οἰμᾶζειν δοκεῖ σοι; to which insulting question he cheerfully replies in the affirmative. Bias of Priene, although no less desirous than Idanthyrus in the text to exhibit his contempt for the threats of his enemy Halyattes, avoided the Σκυθέων ῥῆσις by a periphrasis: ἐγὼ δὲ Ἄλυνάτην κελύω κράμματα ἐσθίειν. (DIOGENES LAERTIUS, i. 83.)

who are  
always  
forced back  
on the Per-  
sian infan-  
try.

δὲ τοῖσι ὑπολειπομένοισι ἔδοξε πλανᾶν μὲν μηκέτι Πέρσας, οἷτα δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀναιρεομένοισι<sup>327</sup> ἐπιτίθεσθαι νωμῶντες ὧν οἷτα ἀναιρεομένους τοὺς Δαρείου ἔπολεον τὰ βεβουλευμένα. ἡ μὲν δὲ ἵππος τὴν ἵππον αἰεὶ τρέπεσκε ἡ τῶν Σκυθῶν οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσέων ἱππῶται φεύγοντες ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τὸν πεζὸν ὃ δὲ πεζὸς ἂν ἐπεκούρεε οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐσαράξαντες τὴν ἵππον ὑπέστρεφον, τὸν πεζὸν φοβεόμενοι. ἐποιεύντο δὲ καὶ τὰς νύκτας παραπλησσίας προσ-

129

The braying  
of the asses  
is a great  
protection  
to the Per-  
sians.

βολὰς οἱ Σκύθαι. Τὸ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσασι τε ἦν σύμμαχον καὶ τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἀντίζουσιν ἐπιτιθεμένοισι τῷ Δαρείου στρατοπέδῳ, θῶμα μέγιστον ἐρέω τῶν τε ὄνων ἢ φωνῇ καὶ τῶν ἡμίονων τὸ εἶδος. οὔτε γὰρ ὄνον οὔτε ἡμίονον γῇ ἢ Σκυθικῇ φέρει, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται<sup>328</sup>. οὐδὲ ἔστι ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ πάσῃ χώρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὔτε ὄνος, οὔτε ἡμίονος, διὰ τὰ ψύχρα. ὑβρίζοντες<sup>329</sup> ὧν οἱ ὄνοι ἐτάρασσον τὴν ἵππον τῶν Σκυθῶν πολλάκις δὲ, ἐπελαυνόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, μεταξὺ ὅκως ἀκούσειαν οἱ ἵπποι τῶν ὄνων τῆς φωνῆς, ἐταράσσοντό τε ὑποστρεφόμενοι καὶ ἐν θώματι ἔσκον ὀρθὰ ἰστάντες τὰ ὦτα· ἅτε οὔτε ἀκούσαντες πρότερον φωνῆς τοιαύτης οὔτε ἰδόντες τὸ εἶδος. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐπὶ σμικρὸν τι ἐφέροντο τοῦ πολέμου<sup>330</sup>.

130

The Scythians  
send  
some sym-  
bolical pre-

Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ὅκως τοὺς Πέρσας ἴδοιεν τεθορυβημένους, ἵνα παραμένειν τε ἐπὶ πλέω χρόνον ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ καὶ παραμένοντες ἀνιγάτο, τῶν πάντων ἐπιδευέες ἔοντες<sup>331</sup>, ἐποίουν τοιαύδε ὅκως τῶν

<sup>327</sup> οἷτα ἀναιρεομένοισι, "while cutting forage." Some difficulty has been occasioned by this phrase being confounded with οἷτον ἀφρῖσθαι, which is used by the author (iii. 26; vii. 120) for taking food as at a meal time. οἷτα is used in the general sense of edibles (v. 34).

<sup>328</sup> ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται. See above, § 28. What Herodotus says however is not exactly that the country does not produce ass or mule, but that they will not stand the winter. As the Hyperboreans were said to sacrifice asses to Apollo (PINDAR, *Pyth.* x. 65), this reason can hardly be the real one for their absence. A better one may be found in the fact of the unbounded pasturage of the Scythian plains, which afforded ample supplies for the nobler and more useful animal,—the horse.

<sup>329</sup> ὑβρίζοντες, "by braying." There seems little reason to suppose that here the animals are considered as under the

influence of sexual desire, and still less that, if so, Herodotus has in his eye the expression of Pindar in the passage just quoted: γελᾷ θ' ὄρων ἔβρον ὀρθίαν κταδέλων. The animals in that passage are represented as being sacrificed.

<sup>330</sup> ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐπὶ σμικρὸν τι ἐφέροντο τοῦ πολέμου. This phrase is a very difficult one, but the sense seems to be, "These results now to a certain small extent they achieved in the war." The expression οὐδὲν φέρεσθαι is used in vii. 211 for "to achieve no advantage." The only pretence to success the Persians had was, that the Scythians were baffled by their infantry; but this appears to have always been the case. On the other hand their cavalry was always driven in by the ancestors of the Cossacks. Each side therefore had some advantages, on a very small scale, to boast of.

<sup>331</sup> τῶν πάντων ἐπιδευέες ἔοντες. What-  
ever may be the degree of credit to be

προβάτων τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν καταλίποιεν μετὰ τῶν νομέων, sents to the  
Persians,  
αὐτοὶ ἂν ὑπεξήλαινον ἐς ἄλλον χώρον οἱ δὲ ἂν Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες  
ἐλάβεσκον τὰ πρόβατα, καὶ λαβόντες ἐπήρνοντο ἂν τῷ πεποιημένῳ.  
Πολλάκις δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου, τέλος Δαρειῶς τε ἐν ἀπορίῃσι 131  
εἶχετο, καὶ οἱ Σκυθέων βασιλῆες μαθόντες τοῦτο, ἔπεμπον κήρυκα  
δῶρα Δαρεῖφ φέροντα, ὀρνιθὰ τε καὶ μῦν<sup>332</sup> καὶ βάτραχον<sup>333</sup> καὶ  
οἷστους πέντε Πέρσαι δὲ τὸν φέροντα τὰ δῶρα ἐπειρώτεον τὸν  
νόον τῶν διδομένων ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔφη οἱ ἐπεστάλθαι ἄλλο ἢ δόντα  
τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκέλευε,  
εἰ σοφοὶ εἰσι, γνῶναι τὸ ἐθέλει τὰ δῶρα λέγειν. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες 132  
οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐβουλευντο. Δαρείου μὲν νυν ἡ γνώμη ἦν, Σκύθας which are  
variously  
interpreted.  
ἑωυτῷ δίδοναι σφέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ· εἰκάζων<sup>334</sup> τῇδε,  
ὥς μῦς μὲν ἐν γῇ γίνεται καρπὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ σιτεύμενος,  
βάτραχος δὲ ἐν ὕδατι, ὄρνις δὲ μάλιστα ἔοικε ἵππῳ<sup>335</sup>. τοὺς δὲ

attached to Herodotus's account of the Scythian campaign, it seems (in spite of the Behistun Inscription) to have been a prevalent notion that Darius was, in some Scythian expedition, reduced to great straits. In Aturia there was a village called Γαυγάμηλα (which word signified in Greek *Καμήλου οἶκος*), where the battle of Arbela was really fought. It was said to have been so named by Darius; and its revenue appropriated to the support of the *Camel* which did the best service in the transport of his baggage and provisions during the march διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου Σκυθίας. (STRABO, xvi. c. 1, p. 334.) This however is perhaps a later Greek story to account for the name.

<sup>332</sup> καὶ μῦν. ATHENÆUS, in quoting this story, omits all mention of 'the mouse' as one of the presents, and makes only one arrow to be sent (viii. p. 334). The story, as told by ΠΡΟΚΛΕΥΣΗΣ (*Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromm.* v. § 45), made the presents a mouse, a frog, a bird, an arrow, and a plough, and the parties who interpreted the meaning favourably and unfavourably to have been respectively *Orontopages* and *Xiphodres*. (See note 494 on ii. 160.) He also called the Scythian king *Idanthures* instead of *Idanthyrus*. The animal called a mouse was probably that which goes by the local name of *muslic*, and abounds throughout the whole of the steppes of southern Russia, but especially in the neighbourhood of the Don. It is about the size of a small weasel, and of a

yellow colour, and it is remarkable for the incredible rapidity with which it burrows, sinking first of all a small cylindrical hole perpendicularly to the depth of three feet, and from the bottom of this running out a level, rather in an ascending direction to avoid the water. At the extremity it hoards corn and roots for winter consumption. (CLARKE, i. p. 330.)

<sup>333</sup> καὶ βάτραχον. EUSTATHIUS gives the form *βάθρακος* among the peculiarities of Herodotus's idiom. But all the MSS have the common form. Nevertheless the Villosion Scholiast on *Iliad* iv. 243 confirms the statement of Eustathius, and adds that Herodotus says *μονόκυνθρον* instead of *μονόκυντρον*. Neither of these words are found in the existing codices. See notes 323 and 332 on Book i.

<sup>334</sup> εἰκάζων. The construction is the same as if instead of saying *Δαρεῖον ἡ γνώμη ἦν*, the author had put its equivalent *Δαρεῖος ἐνόμιζε*.

<sup>335</sup> ὄρνις δὲ μάλιστα ἔοικε ἵππῳ, i. e. as both the one and the other symbolize "swiftness," the characteristic of the Scythians. The perception of this equivalence would be more likely in a Persian; as the birdlike tail and wings with which the figure of Ormuzd is invested in the Behistun Sculptures, seem to have this meaning; and Herodotus asserts that in the sacrifice of the *horse* to the Sun, the Massagetæ rested upon the same notion (i. 216). See the note on that passage, and compare ISAIAH xxx. 17.



διστοὺς, ὥς τὴν ἐκωτῶν ἀλκὴν παραδιδούσι. αὕτη μὲν Δαρεῖω ἡ γνώμη ἀπεδέδεκτο· συνεστήκει δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἡ Γωβρύεω<sup>335</sup>, τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπτά ἐνός τῶν τὸν Μάγον κατελόντων, εἰκάζοντες τὰ δῶρα λέγειν “ ἦν μὴ ὄρνιθες γενόμενοι ἀναπτῆσθε ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὦ Πέρσαι, ἡ μύες γενόμενοι κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύητε, ἡ βάτραχοι γενόμενοι ἐς τὰς λίμνας ἐσπηδήσητε, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσετε ὀπίσω ὑπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τοξευμάτων βαλλόμενοι.” Πέρσαι μὲν δι’ οὕτω τὰ δῶρα εἰκαζον.

133

They endeavour to persuade the Ionians not to keep the bridge over the Ister beyond the sixty days they were ordered.

Ἡ δὲ Σκυθέων μία μοῖρα ἡ ταχθεῖσα πρότερον μὲν παρὰ τὴν Μαίητιν λίμνην φρουρέει<sup>337</sup> τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον Ἴωνσι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν, ὥς ἀπικετο ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἔλεγε τάδε “ ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἐλευθερίην ὑμῖν ἤκομεν φέροντες, ἥν περ γε ἐθέλητε ἔσασκεν. πυρθανόμεθα γὰρ Δαρεῖον ἐντείλασθαι ὑμῖν, ἐξήκοντα ἡμέρας μούνας φρουρήσαντας τὴν γέφυραν, αὐτοῦ μὴ παραγινωμένου ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν· νῦν ὦν ὑμεῖς τάδε ποιέοντες, ἐκτὸς μὲν ἔσσεσθε πρὸς ἐκείνου αἰτίας ἐκτὸς δὲ πρὸς ἡμέων τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας παραμεινάντες τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀπαλλάσσεσθε.” οὔτοι μὲν νῦν, ὑποδεξαμένων Ἴώνων ποιήσειεν ταῦτα, ὀπίσω τὴν ταχίστην ἐπέιγοντο.

134

The eyes of the Persians are opened to their danger,

Πέρσῃσι δὲ, μετὰ τὰ δῶρα τὰ ἐλθόντα Δαρεῖω, ἀντετάχθησαν οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες Σκύθαι πεζῶ καὶ ἵπποισι, ὥς συμβαλέοντες. τεταγμένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Σκύθησι λαγὸς ἐς τὸ μέσον διῆξε· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι ὥρεον τὸν λαγὸν ἐδίωκον· ταραχθέντων δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ βοῇ χρωμένων, εἶρετο ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων<sup>338</sup> τὸν θόρυβον· πυθόμενος δὲ σφῆας τὸν λαγὸν διώκοντας<sup>339</sup>, εἶπε ἄρα<sup>340</sup>

<sup>335</sup> συνεστήκει ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἡ Γωβρύεω, “with this opinion that of Gobryas was at direct issue.” See the note on vii. 142. That Gobryas should appear in this confidential relation to Darius is quite in accordance with the genuine Persian traditions. See the notes 199 and 200 on iii. 70.

<sup>337</sup> ἡ ταχθεῖσα πρότερον παρὰ τὴν Μαίητιν λίμνην φρουρέει. See § 120. But from the description in § 122 it would seem that this division had been driven by the Persians in their march from the Ister to the Oarus, and had not disappeared from before them until the edge of the desert was reached, and Darius began to build his forts (§ 124). This would

render it perfectly impossible for it to reach the Ister within the sixty days from Darius's transit (see note 310 on § 122), which is certainly implied in *this* section.

<sup>338</sup> ἀντιπολεμίων. One MS (S) has ἀντιπολέμων. See note 364, below.

<sup>339</sup> πυθόμενος δὲ σφῆας τὸν λαγὸν διώκοντας, “and learning respecting them that they were pursuing the hare.”

<sup>340</sup> ἄρα. This word indicates a tacit conclusion upon some one of the circumstances related. To whom did Darius address his remark? Why, no doubt, to the same persons to whom he was accustomed to say the other things which are reported of him. This thought in the mind of the narrator shows itself by the

πρὸς τούσπερ ἑώθεε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα λέγειν “οὔτοι ὧνδρες ἡμέων πολλὸν καταφρονέουσιν· καὶ μοι νῦν φαίνεται Γωβρύης εἶπαι περὶ τῶν Σκυθικῶν δάρων ὀρθῶς. ὥς ὧν οὕτως ἤδη δοκεόντων καὶ αὐτῷ μοι ἔχειν, βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς δεῖ ὅπως ἀσφαλῆως ἢ κομιδῇ ἡμῖν ἔσται τὸ ὅπισω.” πρὸς ταῦτα Γωβρύης εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ and Gobryas suggests a stratagem for securing their retreat, σχεδὸν μὲν καὶ λόγῳ ἡπιστάμην τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ἀπορίην<sup>341</sup>, ἐλθὼν δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξέμαθον, ὁρέων αὐτοὺς ἐμπαίζοντας ἡμῖν. νῦν ὧν μοι δοκεί, ἐπὶ τὰ τάχιστα νῦν ἐπέλθῃ, ἐκκαύσαντες τὰ πυρὰ ὥς καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐώθαμεν ποιεῖν, τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους ἐς τὰς ταλαιπωρίας ἐξαπατήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ὄνους πάντας καταδήσαντας, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ἰθὺσαι Σκύθας λύσοντας τὴν γέφυραν, ἢ καὶ τι Ἰωσι δόξαι τὸ ἡμέας οἷον τε ἔσται ἐξεργάσασθαι<sup>342</sup>.” Γωβρύης μὲν ταῦτα συν- 135 εβούλευε· μετὰ δὲ, νῦν τε ἐγένετο καὶ Δαρεῖος ἐχρᾶτο τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ<sup>343</sup>. τοὺς μὲν καματηροὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ἦν ἐλάχιστος ἀπολλυμένων λόγος, καὶ τοὺς ὄνους πάντας καταδήσας, κατέλιπε αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ<sup>344</sup> ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· κατέλιπε δὲ τοὺς τε ὄνους καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς τῆς στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκεν ἵνα οἱ μὲν ὄνοι βοῇν παρέχωνται· οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἀσθενεῖς μὲν εἵνεκεν κατελίποντο, προφάσις δὲ τῆσδε· δηλαδὴ αὐτὸς μὲν σὺν τῷ καθαρῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ<sup>345</sup> ἐπιθήσεσθαι μέλλοι τοῖσι Σκύθησι, οὔτοι δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ῥυόιατο<sup>346</sup>. ταῦτα τοῖσι ὑπολειπομένοις ὑποθέμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ πυρὰ ἐκκαύσας, τὴν ταχίστην ἐπέβητο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον· οἱ δὲ ὄνοι ἐρημωθέντες τοῦ ὁμίλου, οὕτω μὲν δὴ

which is acted upon, and succeeds, the Persians stealing a march towards the Ister,

interposition of the particle, thereby producing a shade of meaning too delicate to be expressed directly by a translation. It will be observed that commonly the interlocator is distinctly named.

<sup>341</sup> τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ἀπορίην, “the difficulty of dealing with these men.” A similar expression is used above (§ 83): τῶν Σκυθῶν τὴν ἀπορίην.

<sup>342</sup> ἢ καὶ τι Ἰωσι δόξαι τὸ ἡμέας οἷον τε ἔσται ἐξεργάσασθαι. The cautiousness of the speaker, although distinctly expressing his apprehensions, not to utter words of ill-omen, is to be remarked.

<sup>343</sup> νῦν τε ἐγένετο καὶ Δαρεῖος ἐχρᾶτο τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ. “as night set in, Darius immediately carried this plan out.” See note 472 on § 181, below.

<sup>344</sup> αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ. See note 69 on iii.

25.

<sup>345</sup> σὺν τῷ καθαρῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ, “with the effective part of the army.” In i. 211 the same thing is expressed by ὁ καθαρὸς στρατός.

<sup>346</sup> δηλαδὴ αὐτὸς μὲν κ.τ.λ. The substitution of the word δηλαδὴ for ὅτι, which would be the more regular construction, gives a great increase of life to the expression. It is, like the French *voilà*, a word implying an accompanying gesture. Translate: “And the men were left behind on account indeed of their crippled state, but to help out this pretext, ‘Here was he going in person with the flower of the army to attack the Scythians, and these should in the mean time guard the camp!’”

136

whither  
they are  
followed  
by the three  
divisions of  
the Scythi-  
ans and  
their allies,

who try to  
induce the  
Ionians to  
break up  
the bridge.

137

Miltiades  
votes for  
the mea-  
sure, but  
Histaeus  
against it,

μᾶλλον πολλῶ ἴεσαν τῆς φωνῆς<sup>347</sup>. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι τῶν  
δυνων, πάγχυ κατὰ χώραν ἤλπιζον τοὺς Πέρσας εἶναι. Ἡμέρης δὲ  
γενομένης, γνόντες οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες ὡς προδοδεμένοι εἶεν ὑπὸ  
Δαρείου, χεῖράς τε προτείνοντο τοῖσι Σκύθησι καὶ ἔλεγον τὰ  
κατήκοντα· οἱ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, τὴν ταχίστην συστραφέντες,  
αἷ τε δύο μοῖραι τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ ἡ μία<sup>348</sup>, Σαυρομάται καὶ Βου-  
δῖνοι καὶ Γελωνοὶ, ἐδίωκον τοὺς Πέρσας ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἅτε δὲ  
τοῦ Περσικοῦ μὲν τοῦ πολλοῦ ἔοντος πεζοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς  
οὐκ ἐπισταμένον, ὥστε οὐ τετμημένων τῶν ὁδῶν, τοῦ δὲ Σκυθικοῦ  
ἰππότεω καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐπισταμένον, ἀμαρτύντες ἀλλή-  
λων, ἔφθησαν πολλῶ οἱ Σκύθαι τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν  
ἀπικόμενοι, μαθόντες δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας οὐκ ἂν ἀπυγμένους ἔλεγον  
πρὸς τοὺς Ἴωνας ἔοντας ἐν τῇσι νηυσί· “ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, αἷ τε  
ἡμέραι ὑμῖν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ διοίχονται, καὶ οὐ ποιέετέ γε δίκαια ἐτι  
παραμένοντες· ἀλλ’, ἐπεὶ πρότερον δειμαίνοντες ἐμένετε, νῦν λύ-  
σαντες τὸν πόρον τὴν ταχίστην ἄπιτε χαίροντες ἐλεύθεροι, θεοῖσι  
τε καὶ Σκύθησι εἰδότες χάριν τὸν δὲ πρότερον ἔοντα ὑμέων δε-  
σπότην ἡμεῖς παραστήσόμεθα<sup>349</sup> οὕτω, ὥστε ἐπὶ μηδαμῶς ἐτι  
ἀνθρώπους αὐτὸν στρατεύσασθαι.”

Πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Ἴωνες ἐβουλεύοντο. Μιλτιάδew μὲν τοῦ  
Ἀθηναίου στρατηγέοντος<sup>350</sup> καὶ τυραιννεύοντος Χερσονησιτέων<sup>351</sup>  
τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῃ ἦν γνώμη, πείθεσθαι Σκύθησι καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν  
Ἴωνίνην<sup>352</sup>. Ἰσθιαίου δὲ τοῦ Μιλησίου ἐναντίῃ ταύτῃ, λέγοντος ὡς

<sup>347</sup> ἴεσαν τῆς φωνῆς. The genitive case is not to be taken with μᾶλλον, but after the pronoun *τι* understood. The idea expressed by the use of the genitive is that of a store of noise laid up within the animal, a portion of which is emitted at each time the creature brays.

<sup>348</sup> καὶ ἡ μία. This is the division of Scopasis, which (in § 133) is represented as having marched to the Ister, and which now therefore must have returned and reunited itself with the other two divisions.

<sup>349</sup> παραστήσόμεθα. It is not easy to reconcile this use of the word with the one in iii. 155, *παρίστασθαι*, or *παριστάναι* *ἑαυτοὺς* being the appropriate phrase for “yielding” or “submitting.” Perhaps the true solution of the difficulty is that the phrase is here used by the Scythians in bitter irony, with a reference to the

claim of Darius to their allegiance (§ 126, *δεσπότην τῇ σφ’ ὧρα φέρων*). Translate: “And for that former master of yours, we will render ourselves up to him in such shrewd sort, that against no man any where, in time to come, shall he march in person.”

<sup>350</sup> στρατηγέοντος. See note 365 on § 141.

<sup>351</sup> Χερσονησιτέων. One MS (S) has *Χερσονησιέων*, which is perhaps the true reading. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *ἐνδ* v., says that the inhabitants of this town were called *Χερσονήσιοι*,—the original derivation of the word being apparently lost sight of, and the analogy afforded by the names of other towns followed.

<sup>352</sup> ἐλευθεροῦν Ἴωνίνην. Miltiades was by ancestral traditions attached to the *Lydian* dynasty. (See vi. 37.) He was

νῦν μὲν διὰ Δαρείου ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τυραννεύει πόλιος· τῆς Δαρείου  
 Δὲ δυνάμις κατατρεθείσης, οὔτε αὐτὸς Μιλησίων οἶός τε ἔσται<sup>333</sup>  
 ἄρχειν οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα οὐδαμῶν βουλήσεσθαι γὰρ ἑκάστην τῶν  
 πολλῶν δημοκρατέεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννεύεσθαι. Ἰστιαίου δὲ  
 γνώμην ταύτην ἀποδεικνυμένου, αὐτίκα πάντες ἦσαν τετραμμένοι  
 πρὸς ταύτην τὴν γνώμην, πρότερον τὴν Μιλιτιάδω αἰρεόμενοι.  
 Ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι<sup>334</sup> οἱ διαφέροντες τε τὴν ψήφον καὶ ἔοντες λόγου

and his  
 opinion pre-  
 vails.

138

therefore naturally an enemy of that by which it had been overthrown. Besides this, he was much more at the mercy of the Scythians (see vi. 40) than was the case with the Ionians.

<sup>333</sup> ἔσται. This is the reading of all the MSS, but the irregularity of the construction is so great and so gratuitous, that I should almost be disposed to adopt the conjectural emendation of Bekker, *ἔσεσθαι*.

<sup>334</sup> ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι. This list is at first sight a remarkable one when compared with the description of the force in general terms as "the Ionians," for it appears from it that the Hellespontine dynasts were not only a great majority numerically, but that one of them, Miltiades, was the *στρατηγὸς* of the fleet (§ 137). But the influence of Histæus shows that Miltiades's position was more due to his professional skill than to his political weight; and though there are several Hellespontine dynasts named, Histæus's vote probably outweighed all of them put together, if, as will appear probable, he represented all the Ionian cities not named in the list. That the Ionian contingent was very greatly superior to all the rest cannot be doubted, from the infinitely greater commercial importance of the towns. And hence it is not difficult to understand why the aggregate force should be called "the Ionian." See note on vi. 8, *αἵται μὲν Ἴωνων ἦσαν*.

If too the list be compared with that of the Ionian and Æolian cities given above (i. 142 and 149), there are some remarkable points to be noted. Out of the Ionian cities eight remain unnoticed. Two of them are on the Carian coast, *Myus* and *Priene*. From the size and position of these it seems reasonable to suppose that they were in a state of dependence on the tyrant of Miletus, held by him as a fief of the Persian king, Miletus being one of the cities

which very early entered into an alliance with Cyrus (*ἦσαν ἐν σκέτρὶ τοῦ φόβου ἔρκιον ποιησάμενοι*, i. 143. See the notes on i. 141 and vi. 8). Of *Teos* Herodotus relates, that the inhabitants deserted their city and went *en masse* to Abdera, leaving their empty walls to the conqueror (i. 168). But there remain five cities, mostly of great importance, the fortunes of which can only be gathered from the scanty notices in i. 169. Is it to be supposed that they were held as fiefs by some of the four tyrants mentioned, and that the hint of Histæus bore upon this circumstance? Of the four Ionian cities which are named, *Miletus*, and *Chios* its close ally (see note 67 on i. 19), appear to have made terms with the Persian king without any hostility being exhibited. The latter obtained a footing on the main in return for the extradition of a Persian refugee (i. 160). The tyrant of *Samos* too was a creature of Persia (iii. 144—9); and for *Phocæa*, see the note 357, below.

The mention of *Cuma* alone among the Æolian cities goes to the same point. With the exception of *Smyrna* (which perhaps was considered as Ionian, and placed in the same category with *Ephesus*, *Colophon*, *Lebedus*, *Clazomenæ*, and *Erythræ*, by the Persians), there is no continental Æolian town of any importance in the list given i. 149. The tyrant of *Cuma* may therefore very reasonably be supposed to have had a jurisdiction over all of them. And that something was done to earn such a trust, seems extremely likely from the story of the extradition of *Pactyas* (i. 160). Parties were divided on that subject. It was commanded by an oracle; and in spite of the commentary on this which *Aristodicus* elicited, the *Cumæans*, although they did not give up the refugee, sent him where he was given up. As for the Æolian islanders, they—from whatever cause—were not afraid of Cyrus. See i. 151.

List of the chiefs who took part in the discussion.

πρὸς βασιλῆος· Ἑλλησποντίων μὲν τύραννοι, Δάφνις τε Ἀβυδηνός, καὶ Ἰπποκλος Λαμφακηνός, καὶ Ἡρόφαντος Παριηνός, καὶ Μητρόδωρος Προκονήσιος, καὶ Ἀρισταγόρης Κυζικηνός, καὶ Ἀρίστων Βυζάντιος· οὗτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου. ἀπ' Ἰωνίης δὲ, Στράτις τε Χίος<sup>335</sup>, καὶ Αἰάκης Σάμιος<sup>336</sup>, καὶ Λαοδάμας Φωκαεὺς<sup>337</sup>, καὶ Ἰστιάιος Μιλήσιος, τοῦ ἦν γνώμη ἡ προκειμένη ἐναντὶ τῇ Μιλτιάδῳ. Αἰολέων δὲ παρὴν λόγιμος μούνος Ἀρισταγόρης<sup>338</sup> Κυμαῖος.

139

They artfully deceive the Scythians, who move off in order to intercept the Persians,

Οὗτοι ὧν ἐπεὶ τε τὴν Ἰστιαίου αἰρέοντο γνώμην, ἔδοξε σφί πρὸς ταῦτα<sup>339</sup> τάδε ἔργα τε καὶ ἔπεα προσθεῖναι· τῆς μὲν γεφύρης λύειν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας ὄντα, λύειν δὲ ὅσον τόξευμα ἐξικνέεται· ἵνα καὶ ποιεῖν τι δοκέωσι ποιεῦντες μηδὲν, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι μὴ πειράζω<sup>340</sup> βιώμενοι [καὶ βουλόμενοι<sup>341</sup>] διαβῆναι τὸν Ἰστρον κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν· εἰπεῖν τε λύοντας τῆς γεφύρης τὸ ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἔχον, ὥς πάντα ποιήσουσι τὰ Σκύθησί ἐστι ἐν ἡδονῇ. ταῦτα μὲν προσέθηκάν τῃ γνώμῃ· μετὰ δὲ, ἐκ πάντων ὑπεκρίνατο Ἰστιάιος τάδε λέγων· “ἄνδρες Σκύθαι, χρηστὰ ἤκετε φέροντες καὶ ἐς καιρὸν ἐπέειγεσθε· καὶ τά τε ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν χρηστῶς ὁδοῦται<sup>342</sup> καὶ τὰ ἀπ' ἡμέων ἐς ὑμέας ἐπιτηδέως ὑπηρετεῖται· ὥς

<sup>335</sup> Στράτις τε Χίος. See viii. 132.

<sup>336</sup> Αἰάκης Σάμιος. This *Aeaces* appears (from vi. 13) to have been the son of Syloson, Polycrates' brother (iii. 139).

<sup>337</sup> Λαοδάμας Φωκαεὺς. It must be supposed that after the return of “above half of the population” to Phocæa (as described in i. 164. 5), the town would be held in the strictest control by the Persians. A military despotism would be the only possible government for a population which had just before massacred the garrison which occupied the city. No doubt that Laodamas was in the position of an *ἐπίτροπος* to the great Persian officer who commanded in chief the army which occupied Asia Minor. See the notes on iii. 137 and 141. The same may be said of the Samian chief, who governed a population (probably of a mixed character) which had been brought to colonize Samos after the extermination of all the inhabitants a very short time before (iii. 149).

<sup>338</sup> Ἀρισταγόρης. The son of Heraclides. See v. 37.

<sup>339</sup> πρὸς ταῦτα. The majority of the MSS which Gaisford follows have πρὸς

ταῦτα, i.e. τῇ Ἰστιαίου γνώμῃ. But S and V have πρὸς ταῦτα, “under these circumstances,” which appears preferable.

<sup>340</sup> ἵνα καὶ ποιεῖν τι δοκέωσι . . . καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι μὴ πειράζω. The change of moods arises from the one act being the direct and natural result, the other only a possible and distant one. See the note 40 on i. 9. It was not certain that the Scythians would wish to cross the river by main force, but the operation of the Ionians was to prevent them *if they should*.

<sup>341</sup> καὶ βουλόμενοι. These words are omitted in F. It seems probable that βουλόμενοι was an alternative reading for βιώμενοι, and thus crept from the margin into the text.

<sup>342</sup> τὰ ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν χρηστῶς ὁδοῦται, κ.τ.λ., “your part of the matter is set a-going in a spirit of kindness to us, and our part of it is performing in a way to play into your hands.” ὁδοῦται is “to put a person in the way” to a thing. Thus *Æschylus* (*Agam.* 184) says, τὸν φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὁδῶσαντα, and (*Prom.* 497) δούτεμάρτον εἰς τέχην ἔδωσα θνητοῖς.

γὰρ ὁρᾶτε, καὶ λύομεν τὸν πόρον καὶ προθυμὴν πᾶσαν ἔχομεν, θέλοντες εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι· ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡμέες τάδε λύομεν, ὑμέας καιρὸς ἐστὶ δίζησθαι ἐκείνους, εὐρόντας δὲ, ὑπὲρ τε ἡμέων καὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν τίσασθαι οὕτως ὥς κείνους πρέπει.”

Σκύθαι μὲν τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωσι πιστεύσαντες λέγειν ἀληθέα, 140  
 ὑπέστρεφον ἐπὶ ζήτησιν τῶν Περσέων καὶ ἡμάρτανον πάσης τῆς but miss them.  
 ἐκείνων διεξόδου. αἴτιοι δὲ τούτου αὐτοὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ἐγένοντο, τὰς  
 νομὰς τῶν ἵππων τὰς ταύτῃ διαφθείραντες καὶ τὰ ὕδατα συγχώ-  
 σαντες<sup>363</sup>. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα μὴ ἐποίησαν, παρείχε ἂν σφι, εἰ ἐβού-  
 λοντο, εὐπετέως ἐξευρέειν τοὺς Πέρσας· νῦν δὲ, τὰ σφι ἐδόκεε  
 ἄριστα βεβουλεύσθαι κατὰ ταῦτα ἐσφάλισαν. Σκύθαι μὲν νυν  
 τῆς σφετέρης χώρας τῇ χιλὸς τε τοῖσι ἵπποισι καὶ ὕδατα ἦν,  
 ταύτῃ διεξιόντες ἐδίζητο τοὺς ἀντιπολεμίους<sup>364</sup>, δοκέοντες καὶ  
 ἐκείνους διὰ τοιούτων τὴν ἀπόδρῃσιν ποιέεσθαι· οἱ δὲ δὴ Πέρσαι  
 τὸν πρότερον ἐωυτῶν γενόμενον στῖβον, τοῦτον φυλάσσοντες ἤσαν  
 καὶ οὕτω μόγις εὗρον τὸν πόρον· οἷα δὲ νυκτὸς τε ἀπικόμενοι καὶ  
 λευμένης τῆς γαφύρης ἐντυχόντες, ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην ἀπύκατο μὴ  
 σφεας οἱ Ἴωνες ἔωσι ἀπολελοιπότες. Ἦν δὲ περὶ Δαρεῖον ἀνὴρ 141  
 Αἰγύπτιος, φωνέων μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων τοῦτον [δὴ] τὸν ἄνδρα  
 καταστάντα ἐπὶ τοῦ χεῖλεος τοῦ Ἰστρου, ἐκέλευε Δαρεῖος καλέειν  
 Ἰστιαῖον Μιλήσιον<sup>365</sup>. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐποίησε ταῦτα· Ἰστιαῖος δὲ  
 ἐπακούσας τῷ πρώτῳ κελεύσματι, τὰς τε νέας ἀπάσας παρείχε  
 διαπορθμεύειν τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἔξευξε. Πέρσαι μὲν 142  
 ὦν οὕτω ἐκφεύγουσι· Σκύθαι δὲ διζήμενοι, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἡμαρτον  
The Per-  
sians reach  
the bank of  
the river by  
night,  
and Darius  
causes His-  
tiaeus to be  
halled, and  
the bridge  
put toge-  
ther.

In vi. 73, *ὡς εὐδόκη τὸ εἰς Δημάρτην πρῆγμα*, “as the business with Demartus was got into good train.”

<sup>363</sup> τὰς νομὰς τῶν ἵππων τὰς ταύτῃ διαφθείραντες καὶ τὰ ὕδατα συγχώσαντες. See the note 306 on § 120.

<sup>364</sup> ἀντιπολεμίους. Here two manuscripts (S and V) have the reading ἀντιπολέμους. In vii. 236 *all* have that reading, and so they have in viii. 68. On the other hand in § 134, above, only one (S) has the reading ἀντιπολέμων, the others all giving ἀντιπολεμίον. So impossible is any decision as to the Herodotean usage of peculiar forms.

<sup>365</sup> καλέειν Ἰστιαῖον Μιλήσιον. The prominent place which is assigned to the Ionians, and among them to Histiaeus, and the great importance of Miletus at

the time, combined with the circumstance that Miletus alone of all the Asiatic Greeks seems from the very beginning to have entered into an alliance with the Persian power, make it rather a remarkable circumstance that Miltiades should be represented as the στρατηγὸς of the united fleet, he not being even an Ionian. One is inclined to think that possibly this feature of the story, and also that in which he appears to such advantage as a Greek patriot (§ 137) may have been enhanced by the family traditions of his descendants in Athens. His position was perhaps rather that of the *chief navigator*, as he might easily be familiar with the coast of the Euxine and the dominant winds and currents. (See note 354, above.)

The Scythian character of the Ionians.

τῶν Περσέων. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὡς ἔοντας Ἰωνας ἐλευθέρους, κακίστους τε καὶ ἀνανδροτάτους κρίνουσι εἶναι ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων τοῦτο δὲ ὡς δούλων [Ἰώνων] τὸν λόγον ποιούμενοι, ἀνδράποδα φιλοδέσποτα φασὶ εἶναι καὶ ἄδρηστα μάλιστα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Σκύθησι ἐς Ἰωνας ἀπέρριπται<sup>366</sup>.

143 Darius marches through Thrace, and arrives at Sesos, whence he crosses, leaving Megabazus with 80,000 men to reduce the Hellespontines. Two anecdotes of this

Δαρεῖος δὲ διὰ τῆς Θρηκῆς πορευόμενος, ἀπῆκετο ἐς Σηστόν τῆς Χερσονήσου. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν διέβη τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λείπει δὲ στρατηγὸν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Μεγάβαζον<sup>367</sup>, ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν τῷ Δαρεΐῳ κοτε ἔδωκε γέρας τοιόνδε εἰπας ἐν Πέρσῃσι ἔπος· ὠρμημένου Δαρείου ροιάς τρώγειν, ὡς ἀνοίξε τάχιστα τὴν πρῶτην τῶν ροιέων εἴρετο αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφεὸς Ἀρτάβανος, ὃ τι βούλοιο· ἂν οἱ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος γενέσθαι ὅσοι ἐν τῇ ροιῇ κόκκοι; Δαρεῖος δὲ εἶπε, Μεγαβάζους ἂν οἱ τοσοῦτους ἀριθμὸν γενέσθαι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπήκοον. ἐν μὲν δὴ Πέρσῃσι ταῦτά μιν εἰπας ἐτίμα· τότε δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπέλιπε στρατηγὸν ἔχοντα

144 τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ὀκτὼ μυριάδας. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Μεγάβαζος εἶπας τότε τὸ ἔπος<sup>368</sup> ἐλείπετο ἀθάνατον μνήμην πρὸς Ἑλλησποντιῶν.

τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ὀκτὼ μυριάδας. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Μεγάβαζος εἶπας τότε τὸ ἔπος<sup>368</sup> ἐλείπετο ἀθάνατον μνήμην πρὸς Ἑλλησποντιῶν. γενόμενος γὰρ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, ἐπύθετο ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτεσι πρότερον Καλχηδονίους κτίσαντας τὴν χώραν Βυζαντίων πυθόμενος δὲ ἔφη, "Καλχηδονίους τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυγχάνειν ἔοντας τυφλοῦς" οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦ καλλίωνος παρεόντος κτίζειν χώραν, τὸν αἰσχλόνα ἐλέσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἦσαν τυφλοί<sup>369</sup>. οὗτος δὲ ὢν τότε ὁ Μεγάβαζος στρατηγὸς λειφθεὶς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ Ἑλλησποντιῶν, τοὺς μὴ μηδίζοντας κατεστρέφετο.

<sup>366</sup> ἀπέρριπται. The same expression is used i. 153: ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας Ἑλληνας ἀπέρριψε ὁ Κύρος τὰ ἔπεα, vii. 13: ἀμικίστορα ἀπερρίψαι ἔπεα, and viii. 92: ταῦτα ἀπέρριψε ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα. In all these cases it is applied to contemporary language.

<sup>367</sup> Μεγάβαζον. EUSTATHIUS relates the story which presently follows of a Megabyzus. But it must not be too hastily assumed that the names are convertible, or that the Persian mentioned here and in v. 10. 12. 24, &c., is the same with the Megabyzus selected by Gobryas to assist in the conspiracy against the Magian (iii. 70). For with regard to the story, it is told by PLUTARCH (*Apophth.* Reg. p. 173) to the credit neither of

Megabazus nor Megabyzus, but of Zopyrus. And if the authority Herodotus is here following took the two names to represent the same person, it is strange that he should be introduced here by a description, but one which has no reference to the conspiracy.

<sup>368</sup> εἶπας τότε τὸ ἔπος. This *mot* was in later times attributed to the Delphic oracle. See notes 116 on i. 32; 519 on i. 155; and 494 on ii. 160.

<sup>369</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦ καλλίωνος παρεόντος κτίζειν χώραν, κ.τ.λ. These words are not to be considered as a part of the saying of Megabazus, but as a commentary of the narrator, suggesting the train of thought which led Megabazus to say what he did.

Οὗτος μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔπρασσε τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον χρόνον 145  
 ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἄλλος στρατιῆς μέγας στόλος, διὰ πρόφασιν  
 τὴν ἐγὼ ἀπηγγέσσομαι προδιηγησάμενος πρότερον τάδε· τῶν ἐκ  
 τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπιβατέων παίδων παῖδες <sup>370</sup>, ἐξελασθέντες ὑπὸ Πε-  
 λασγῶν τῶν ἐκ Βραυρώνος ληϊσαμένων τὰς Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας <sup>371</sup>,  
 ὑπὸ τούτων ἐξελασθέντες ἐκ Δήμνου οἴχοντο πλέοντες ἐς Λακεδαί-  
 μονα· ἰζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Τηγέτῳ πῦρ ἀνέκαιον <sup>372</sup>. Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 δὲ ἰδόντες ἄγγελον ἔπεμπον, πευσόμενοι τίνες τε καὶ ὁκόθεν εἰσί;  
 οἱ δὲ τῷ ἄγγέλῳ εἰρωτέοντι ἔλεγον, ὥς εἶψαν μὲν Μινύαι, παῖδες  
 δὲ εἶεν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργοὶ πλεόντων ἡρώων· προσχόντας δὲ τούτους  
 ἐς Λήμνον φυτεῦσαι σφεας. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκηκούτες τὸν  
 λόγον τῆς γενεῆς τῶν Μινύων, πέμφσαντες τὸ δεύτερον εἰρώτεον  
 τί θέλοντες ἤκοιεν τε ἐς τὴν χώραν καὶ πῦρ αἴθιοιεν; οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν,  
 ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἐκβληθέντες ἤκειν ἐς τοὺς πατέρας· (δικαιότατον  
 γὰρ εἶναι οὕτω τοῦτο γίνεσθαι)· δέεσθαι τε οἰκέειν ἅμα τοῖτοισι, 146  
 μοῖράν τε τιμέων μετέχοντες καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπολαχόντες. Λακεδαί-  
 μονίοισι δὲ ἔαδε δέεσθαι τοὺς Μινύας ἐπ' οἷσι θέλουσι αὐτοί·  
 μάλιστα δὲ ἐνὶ γῇ σφεας ὥστε ποικίειν ταῦτα τῶν Τυνδαριδέων ἢ  
 ναυτιλῇ ἐν τῇ Ἀργοὶ· δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μινύας, γῆς τε μετέδοσαν  
 καὶ ἐς φυλὰς διεδάσαντο· οἱ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν γάμους ἔγμμαν, τὰς δὲ  
 ἐκ Δήμνου ἤγοντο ἐξέδοσαν ἄλλοισι. Χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διεξ-  
 ελθόντος, αὐτίκα οἱ Μινύαι ἐξύβρισαν, τῆς τε βασιλεῖδος μετα-  
 τέοντες καὶ ἄλλα ποιεῖντες οὐκ ὅσια. τοῖσι ὦν Λακεδαιμόνιοισι  
 ἔδοξε αὐτοὺς ἀποκτείνειν· συλλαβόντες δὲ σφεας κατέβαλον ἐς  
 ἑρκτὴν. (κτείνουσι δὲ τοὺς ἂν κτείνωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι νυκτὸς, μετ'  
 ἡμέρην δὲ οὐδένα.) ἐπεὶ ὦν ἔμελλον σφεας καταχρήσεσθαι, παραι-  
 τήσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Μινύων, εὐῶσαι ἄσταί τε καὶ τῶν πρῶ-  
 των Σπαρτιητέων θυγατέρες, ἐσελθεῖν τε ἐς τὴν ἑρκτὴν καὶ ἐς  
 λόγους ἐλθεῖν ἐκάστη τῷ ἐωυτῆς ἀνδρὶ· οἱ δὲ σφεας παρήκαν  
 οὐδένα δόλον δοκέοντες ἐξ αὐτέων ἔσεσθαι· αἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ἐσῆλθον,

Contemporaneously with the expedition to Scythia was a great expedition to Libya. Preliminary mythical history, made up of Lacedaemonian, Theraean, and Cyprian traditions.

Minyaeans from Lemnos distributed among the Lacedaemonian tribes.

146 They become ambitious, and are condemned to death, but escaping by a device of their wives,

<sup>370</sup> παίδων παῖδες. This expression shows that in the arrangement of the local legends with a view to their combination in one body, the arrival of the Lemnian fugitives at Taygetum was necessarily placed two generations after the Argonautic expedition.

<sup>371</sup> τῶν ἐκ Βραυρώνος ληϊσαμένων τὰς Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας. This circumstance

is described at greater length (vi. 138), where the Pelasgians are asserted to be the same that were shortly before settled on the flanks of Mount Hymettus.

<sup>372</sup> πῦρ ἀνέκαιον. As the symbol of the Hephaestus-worship, brought with them from the volcanic island Lemnos. See vi. 140.



take sanc-  
tuary in  
Taygetum.

ποιεῦσι τοιάδε πᾶσαν τὴν εἶχον ἐσθίῃτα παραδοῦσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι αὐταὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔλαβον οἱ δὲ Μινυαὶ ἐνδύντες τὴν γυναικὴν ἐσθίῃτα, ἅτε γυναῖκες ἐξήσαν ἔξω, ἐκφυγόντες δὲ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἵζοντο αὐτὶς ἐς τὸ Τηγέτον.

147

Theras be-  
ing about to  
quit Lacedæ-  
mon to  
found a co-  
lony, begs  
to take them  
with him.

Τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον Θήρας ὁ Αὐτεσίωνος, τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ, τοῦ Θερασάνδρου, τοῦ Πολυνείκεος, ἔστειλλε<sup>375</sup> ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος. ἦν δὲ ὁ Θήρας οὗτος, γένος ἐὼν Καδμείος, τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφοῦ τοῖσι Ἀριστοδήμου πασι<sup>376</sup>, Εὐρυσθένῃ καὶ Προκλείῃ· ἐόντων δ' ἔτι τῶν παίδων τούτων νηπίων, ἐπιτροπαίην εἶχε ὁ Θήρας τὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλιάν<sup>377</sup>. αὐξηθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀδελφιδέων καὶ παραλαβόντων τὴν ἀρχήν, αὐτῷ δὲ ὁ Θήρας δεῦνὸν ποιούμενος ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπεὶ τε ἐγεύσατο ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἔφη μενεῖν ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, ἀλλ' ἀποπλεύσεσθαι ἐς τοὺς συγγενέας. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ νῦν Θήρῃ καλεομένη νήσῳ πρότερον δὲ Καλλίστῃ τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ, ἀπόγονοι Μεμβλιάρεω<sup>378</sup> τοῦ Ποικίλειω ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος<sup>379</sup>. Κάδμος γὰρ ὁ Ἀθήνηρος Εὐρώπῃν διζήμενος προσέσχε ἐς τὴν νῦν Θήρην καλεομένην προσχόντι δὲ εἶτε δὴ οἱ ἡ χώρα ἤρρεσε εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι τοῦτο<sup>377</sup>. καταλείπει γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ ἄλλους τε τῶν Φοινίκων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν

The island  
Thera was  
then called  
Calliste, and  
held by  
Phœni-  
cians, who  
had been  
left there by  
Cadmus

<sup>375</sup> ἔστειλλε, "was fitting out." The full expression ἔστειλλε τὴν στρατὴν is used above (iii. 141), and στέλλειν στρατὸν in EUMPRIDES (*Iphig. Aul.* 661). In both cases are denoted the preparations made immediately before putting an army in motion.

<sup>376</sup> τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφοῦ τοῖσι Ἀριστοδήμου πασι. This is a genuine Lacedæmonian tradition, and so is the genealogy of Theras. (See vi. 52.) His sister's name was Argeia. In their account of the conquest of Sparta by Aristodemus himself, and not by his children, the Lacedæmonians differed from "all the poetical accounts."

<sup>377</sup> ἐπιτροπαίην εἶχε τὴν βασιλιάν, "held the regal office as commissioner." See note 392 on iii. 142.

<sup>378</sup> Μεμβλιάρεω. S has Μεβλάρεω and ἄνδρες Φοίνικες.

<sup>379</sup> εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι τοῦτο. A sufficient reason for a Phœnician settlement in Thera would be the extraordinary qualities of the *murex* found on the Peloponnesian, especially the Læconian, coast. (PLINY, *N. H.* ix. 36.)

The extent to which this traffic prevailed formerly is evinced by the circumstance, that at HERMIONE SIBTHORP "had the good fortune to stumble over a vast heap of these shells, whose fish or animals had been employed for this purpose" (*cp. Walpole's Turkey*, i. p. 285). Some of these were identified as the *Murex Trapanulus* of Linnæus. It seems not unlikely that the settlement alluded to was in fact for the purpose of *dyeing*, and that a faint tradition of this remains in the name Poecilas, the father of Membliaras, and in the profession of Corobius (§ 151). Possibly to the vicinity of this settlement the Lacedæmonians owed some of the brilliant accoutrements for their troops to which XENOPHON (*Agæsilas*, c. 2. 8) attributes so striking an effect; for the story told of the distinguished Spartan at the smithy (*ἐν θάμνατι ἢ ὅπλων τὸ ποιῶμενον*, i. 68), does not give a high idea of Lacedæmonian armourers; and still less can we suppose the art of dyeing practised where there were no *μέτοικοι*, and where the free population held every thing but war and hunting in supreme contempt.

ἑωυτοῦ συγγενέων Μεμβλιάρου<sup>370</sup>. οὗτοι ἐνέμοιτο τὴν Καλλίστην eight generations before.  
καλεομένην ἐπὶ γενεάς, πρὶν ἢ Θήραν ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος, ὁκτώ  
ἀνδρῶν. Ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ ὦν ὁ Θήρας, λαὸν ἔχων ἀπὸ τῶν 148  
φυλῶν, ἔστελλε συνουκίῃσιν τούτοισι, καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐξελὼν αὐτοὺς  
ἀλλὰ κάρτα οἰκηιέμενος. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ καὶ οἱ Μινύαι ἐκδράντες ἐκ  
τῆς ἐρκτῆς ἔζοντο ἐς τὸ Τητύγετον, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βουλευομέ-  
νων σφέας ἀπολλύναι, παραίτεται ὁ Θήρας ὅπως μῆτε φόνος  
γένηται, αὐτὸς τε ὑπεδέκετό σφεας ἐξάξειν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· συγχω-  
ρησάντων δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, τρισὶ τριηκοντέροισι ἐς  
τοὺς Μεμβλιάρου<sup>371</sup> ἀπογόνους ἔπλωσε, οὔτι πάντας ἄγων τοὺς  
Μινύας, ἀλλ' ὀλίγους τινάς· οἱ γὰρ πλεῖνες αὐτῶν ἐτράποντο ἐς  
τοὺς Παρωρεάτας καὶ Καύκωνας, τούτους δ' ἐξελάσαντες<sup>380</sup> ἐκ  
τῆς χώρας, σφέας αὐτοὺς ἔξ μοίρας διεῖλον<sup>381</sup>. καὶ ἔπειτα ἔκτισαν  
πόλιας τάσδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι, Λέπρεον, Μάκιστον, Φρίξας, Πύργον,  
Ἐπιον, Νούδιον<sup>382</sup>. (τούτων δὲ τὰς πλεῖνας ἐπ' ἐμέο Ἥλείοι  
ἐπόρθησαν) τῇ δὲ νήσῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκιστέω Θήρα ἡ ἐπωνυμίῃ  
ἐγένετο. Ὁ δὲ παῖς οὐ γὰρ ἔφη<sup>383</sup> οἱ συμπλεύσεσθαι, τουγαρῶν 149

Theras goes in three boats with a few Minyans to Calistae. The remainder build six towns in Paroreatis.

<sup>370</sup> προσχόντι δὲ εἶπε δὴ οἱ ἡ χώρα ἤρεσε εἶπε καὶ ἄλλως ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι τοῦτο καταλείπει γὰρ, κ.τ.λ. The irregularity of this construction has caused a good deal of comment; and Matthiae has attempted to explain it as if in its normal form it would have been προσχὼν δὲ, εἶπε δὴ οἱ . . . ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, καταλείπει ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, κ.τ.λ., and as if προσχὼν became προσχόντι by the "attraction" of the following dative case *οἱ*. But against this interpretation it is enough to say that it implies that Cadmus's wish to leave a settlement, 'on other grounds' than the attractive nature of the place, was first formed after he got to Thera. But as the sentence stands, the clause εἶπε καὶ ἄλλως ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι τοῦτο is entirely disengaged from the operation of the word προσχόντι, and expresses generally a wish entertained by Cadmus to found a settlement in Thera, without any limitation whatever of the time when the wish was formed. The real difficulty in the sentence consists in the coupling of the clauses expressing the alternative hypotheses by εἶπε—εἶπε instead of ἢ—ἢ, but even this may be justified by the consideration that these particles are better calculated to suggest the idea that the reasons assigned are purely hypothetical, resting wholly on

the facts that the island was very beautiful, and that Cadmus did leave a settlement there.

<sup>371</sup> Μεμβλιάρου. S has the form Μεμβριαρέω, which is the one given by PINDAR (*Pyth.* iv. 88).

<sup>380</sup> Παρωρεάτας καὶ Καύκωνας, τοῦτους δ' ἐξελάσαντες. In the ethnographical outline given by the author in viii. 73, the descendants of these hybrid Lemnians are called Paroreates. The meaning here probably is that they expelled the then existing population of the Paroreas. (See STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, *sub* v.) The site of the Caucones in Peloponnesse appears to have been a matter of dispute with ancient chorographers; but ARISTOTLE considered that the most distinct traces of them were in the direction of Dyme, about Buprasia and "hollow" Elis (*cp. Strab.* viii. 3, p. 157). It is clear that they were either identical or had a very close affinity with the aboriginal race which retained possession of Arcadia.

<sup>381</sup> ἔξ μοίρας διεῖλον. See the note 435 on ii. 147.

<sup>382</sup> Ἐπιον, Νούδιον. One MS (S) has Ἐπειον, Νούθειον.

<sup>383</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἔφη. This expression is equivalent to *ὡς οὐκ ἔφη*, or rather the particle γὰρ attaches the notion of cau-

Theras  
leaves his  
son in  
Sparta,  
from whom  
the *Ægidae*  
are descend-  
ed.

ἔφη αὐτὸν καταλείψειν δὴν ἐν λύκοισι· ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔπεος τούτου οὖνομα τῷ νεηνίσκῳ τούτῳ Ὀϊόλυκος ἐγένετο· καὶ κως τὸ οὖνομα τοῦτο ἐπεκράτησε. Ὀϊόλυκου δὲ γίνεται Αἰγίδης, ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰγείδαι καλεῦνται φυλὴ μεγάλη ἐν Σπάρτῃ. τοῖσι δὲ ἐν τῇ φυλῇ ταύτῃ ἀνδράσι οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμεναν τὰ τέκνα<sup>354</sup>, ἰδρύσαντο ἐκ θεσπροπίου Ἑρινύων τῶν Λαίου τε καὶ Οἰδιπόδεω ἱόν· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὑπέμεινε. τὸντὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν Θήρῃ τοῖσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων γεγυόσι<sup>355</sup>.

150

Theræan  
continua-  
tion of the  
history.

Μέχρι μὲν νυν τούτου τοῦ λόγου Λακεδαιμόνιοι Θηραίοισι κατὰ ταῦτα λέγουσι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μῦνοι Θηραῖοι ὥδε γενέσθαι λέγουσι<sup>356</sup>. Γρῖνος ὁ Αἰσανίου, ἐὼν Θήρα τούτου ἀπόγονος καὶ

sality to the clause which it connects, and may be indifferently rendered by the English "for" or "since," or any other causative particle. Translate: "His son too, *as* he declined to sail with him, 'Then,' the father said, 'he would leave him behind, a sheep among wolves.'" Similarly below, "And *as* with the men of this tribe, their children did not live to grow up, they, in pursuance of an oracle, established a temple for the Erinyes of Laius and Oedipodas."

<sup>354</sup> οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμεναν τὰ τέκνα. This calamity was conceived to have come upon the family as the result of the curse uttered by Theras under the feeling of deep irritation at the undutiful conduct of his child. The original idea of the Erinyes is the wrath of a person who has suffered deep wrong and gives vent to his feeling. The passion was regarded as becoming a separate existence, an evil demon (*Ἄρα*, *Ἄτη*, *Νέμεσις*, or *Ἐρινὺς*) pursuing the offending party as an avenging spirit. The subject is admirably developed by MÜLLER, *Preface to the Eumenides of Æschylus*. This particular story is apparently a tradition connected with the Oedipus worship at Sparta and Thera.

<sup>355</sup> τὸντὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν Θήρῃ τοῖσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων γεγυόσι. This sentence is incomplete as it stands, and attempts have been made to conjecture the word requisite to complete it. Reiske and Schweighäuser acquiesce in the violent measure of interposing *συνέβη* after *τοῦτο*, from which the sense would result that in Thera the whole proceeding which had taken place at Lacedæmon was repeated, — the death of the children, the founding of the temple, and the cure of the evil. I cannot think that so curious a parallel

would be noticed so obscurely. For who are the persons described by the words *τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων γεγυόσι*, *is Thera?* They ought to be the descendants of *Ægidae*; but there is no notice whatever of any of these going to Thera. On the contrary, they (in the person of their ancestor) stay at Sparta, and bring a curse upon themselves for doing so.

If any verb is to be supplied, I should conjecture *ἦν* after *Θήρῃ*, which, while the MSS were uncial, might easily be omitted by a transcriber. But I really believe the sentence to be merely a marginal note expressed with the slovenliness as well as the ellipse which in such a case may be expected; and the meaning of the writer to have been that 'this same peculiarity (of the children not living to grow up) was observable at Thera among the descendants of these Minyæans.' This is a very conceivable thing. A *small* number of Lemnians (*ὀλίγοις τιναῖς*) separated from those about them by peculiar religious rites, and probably following from father to son the same occupation under the tutelary care of Hephestus, would be likely to marry only among one another, and, as the natural result, have unhealthy children.

<sup>356</sup> τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μῦνοι Θηραῖοι ὥδε γενέσθαι λέγουσι. It must not be assumed because Herodotus says this, that *he got* the account *direct* from the Theraeans. What he states is that it is the genuine Theraean account of the case, as contradistinguished from the Lacedæmonian. But it does not at all follow that he did not derive it from another quarter, as for instance, such a one as a Samian merchant habitually trading with

βασιλείων Θήρης τῆς νήσου, ἀπύκετο ἐς Δελφούς ἄγων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐκατόμβην· εἶποντο δὲ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν πολιητῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ Βάττος ὁ Πολυμνήστου, ἐὼν γένος Εὐθυμίδης<sup>327</sup> τῶν Μινυέων· χρεωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Γρίνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Θηραίων περὶ ἄλλων χρᾶ ἢ Πυθίῃ κτίζειν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλιν· ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων “ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦναξ, πρεσβύτερός τε ἦδη εἰμὶ καὶ βαρὺς ἀείρεσθαι σὺ δὲ τινα τῶνδε τῶν νεωτέρων κέλευε ταῦτα ποιέειν.” ἅμα τε ἔλεγε ταῦτα καὶ ἐδείκνυε ἐς τὸν Βάττον. τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα. μετὰ δὲ, ἀπελθόντες ἀλογίην εἶχον τοῦ χρησθηρίου, οὔτε Λιβύην εἰδότες ὅκου γῆς εἴη<sup>328</sup> οὔτε τολμώντες ἐς ἀφανὲς χρήμα ἀποστέλλειν ἀποικίην. Ἐπτα δὲ ἑτέων μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔτε την Θήρην<sup>329</sup>. ἐν τοῖσι τὰ 151 δένδρεα πάντα σφί τὰ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πλὴν ἐνὸς ἐξανύθη· χρεωμένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Θηραίοισι προέφερε ἡ Πυθίῃ τὴν ἐς Λιβύην ἀποικίην. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ κακοῦ οὐδὲν ἦν σφί μῆχος, πέμπουσι ἐς Κρήτην ἀγγέλους<sup>330</sup> διζημένους εἰ τις Κρητῶν ἢ μετοίκων ἀπυγμένος εἴη ἐς Λιβύην; περιπλανώμενοι δὲ αὐτὴν οὕτοι ἀπύκοντο καὶ ἐς Ἰτανὸν πόλιν<sup>331</sup>. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ συμμίσγοιεν ἀνδρὶ πορφυρεῖ<sup>332</sup> τῷ οὐνομα ἔην Κοράβιος· ὃς ἔφη ὑπ’ ἀνέμων ἀπενειχθεὶς ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Λιβύην, καὶ Λιβύης ἐς Πλατεάν νήσον· μισθῷ δὲ τοῦτον πεί-

The Delphian oracle orders Grin-nus of Thera, in whose company was Baitus, a Minyean, to found a colony in Libya, then unknown.

The order is neglected, and Thera

is without rain for seven years. The Theraeans send to Crete to inquire if any one knows of Libya, and are directed to it by Corobius, a purple merchant.

Thera. See note 338 on i. 95, and note 396, below.

<sup>327</sup> Εὐθυμίδης. This is the reading of all the MSS but one (S), which has Εὐθυμῆδης. Gaisford (following others) has adopted the reading Εὐφθυμίδης from PINDAR (*Pyth.* iv. 455). But nothing can be more unsatisfactory than such a proceeding as this. It effectually masks the evidence yet remaining of the differences which existed in the several local accounts, and thus tends to confirm that erroneous opinion of their nature which in its turn suggests similar arbitrary changes. Herodotus is following a Theraean tradition, as he himself says; Pindar, in all probability, a Cyrenian one.

<sup>328</sup> οὐτε Λιβύην εἰδότες ὅκου γῆς εἴη. Herodotus here seems to be following an authority very different from the one he rests on in ii. 50, where see note 147.

<sup>329</sup> οὐκ ἔτε τὴν Θήρην. The ellipse is of ὁ θεός or ὁ Ζεὺς (see ii. 13; iii. 124. 5), and the accusative Θήρην is governed by the transitive verb ἔω, “to wet with rain,” of which the passive form appears above, § 50, and elsewhere.

<sup>330</sup> πέμπουσι εἰς Κρήτην ἀγγέλους. The

celebrity of the Cretans as bold navigators in early times gave rise to the proverb, *Κρῆς ἀγνοεῖ τὴν θάλατταν*, applied to persons who pretended to simplicity being in reality remarkable for craft. But besides their general character, the position of Crete is such, that of all the Greeks they would necessarily become first acquainted with Libya. In the time of Strabo there were several direct lines of transit: one from Apollonias, the port of Cyrene, to the westernmost point of Crete (*κρῖου μέτωπον*), which was a run of 1000 stades with a s. by w. wind (*Leuco-notus*); another from Chersonesus in Africa to Cyclus in Crete, 1500 stades with a s. wind; a third from Megas Limen to Chersonesus in Crete, 3000 stades. (STRABO, xvii. c. 3, pp. 497-9.) Crete is made by Strabo to be only a run of 700 stades from Thera (x. p. 386).

<sup>331</sup> ἐς Ἰτανὸν πόλιν. This city was perhaps a Phoenician settlement originally. Its eponymous founder was said to be a Phoenician. (STEPH. BYZ., *sub v.*)

<sup>332</sup> ἀνδρὶ πορφυρεῖ, “a merchant in purple dye.” See the note 377 on § 147.

They leave  
Corobius in  
the island  
Platea, off  
the Libyan

152

main.  
He is re-  
lieved by a  
Samian  
ship, which  
afterwards  
reaches Tar-  
tessus, then  
a virgin  
mart.

The owner  
from the  
tithe of his  
profits  
makes an  
offering in  
the Heraeum  
at Samos.

σαντες ἴηγον ἐς Θήρην ἐκ δὲ Θήρης ἔπλεον κατάσκοποι ἄνδρες, τὰ πρῶτα οὐ πολλοὶ, κατηχησαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κορωβίου ἐς τὴν νήσον ταύτην δὴ τὴν Πλατέαν, τὸν μὲν Κορωβίον λείπουσιν σιτία καταλείποντες ὅσων δὴ μηνῶν<sup>393</sup>, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἔπλεον τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαγγελλόντες Θηραίοισι περὶ τῆς νήσου. Ἀποδημούντων δὲ τούτων πλέω χρόνον τοῦ συγκειμένου, τὸν Κορωβίον ἐπέλιπε τὰ πάντα· μετὰ δὲ, νηὺς Σαμὴ τῆς ναύκληρος ἦν Κωλαῖος, πλέουσα ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπηνεύχθη ἐς τὴν Πλατέαν ταύτην· πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι παρὰ τοῦ Κορωβίου τὸν πάντα λόγον, σιτία οἱ ἐνιαυτοῦ καταλείπουσιν<sup>394</sup>. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναχθέντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου καὶ γλιχόμενοι Αἰγύπτου ἔπλεον ἀποφερόμενοι<sup>395</sup> ἀπληρώτῃ ἀέμφῃ, καὶ, οὐ γὰρ ἀνέει· τὸ πνεῦμα, Ἡρακλέας στήλας διεκπερήσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ταρτησσὸν, θελὴ πομπῇ χρεώμενοι. τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον τοῦτο ἦν ἀκήρατον<sup>396</sup>· τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὥστε ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι ὀπίσω, μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκίην ἴδμεν ἐκ φορτίων ἐκέρδησαν, μετὰ γε Σώστρατον τὸν Λαοδάμαντος, Αἰγιστήτην· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐκ οἶά τέ ἐστι ἐρίσαι ἄλλον. οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐπικερδίων ἐξελόντες ἐξ τάλαντα, ἐποίησαντο χαλκήσιον κρητήρος Ἀργολικοῦ τρόπου· πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ γρυπῶν κεφαλὰι πρόκροσσοί<sup>397</sup>· εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνέθηκαν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον<sup>398</sup>, ὑποστήσαντες

<sup>393</sup> ὅσων δὴ μηνῶν, "for so many months, whatever the number was." See the note 526 on i. 157.

<sup>394</sup> σιτία οἱ ἐνιαυτοῦ καταλείπουσιν. It is remarkable that a Samian vessel bound to Egypt should be able to spare provisions for so large a space of time. If it had been on the return voyage, the circumstance would have been less extraordinary, for corn and salted fish was a cargo that might very easily have been taken in there. See DEMOSTHENES (c. DIONYSIODOR. p. 1285) and note 54 on ii. 15.

<sup>395</sup> ἔπλεον ἀποφερόμενοι ἀπληρώτῃ ἀέμφῃ. This is a wind of all others the most unfavourable for the course from Platea to Egypt. Perhaps we should put a stop after ἔπλεον, and read ἀποφερόμενοι δὲ ἀν. ἀν. If the text is not corrupt some explanation like that suggested in note 398, below, seems necessary.

<sup>396</sup> ἀνέει. See note 318 on § 125, above.

<sup>397</sup> ἀκήρατον. This is scarcely compatible with what the author says (i. 163), that the Phocceans were the discoverers of

Tartessus; but I believe that he is here following the account of a Samian, and in the other passage some other authority,—possibly that of an earlier writer. But see the note 538 on i. 163.

<sup>398</sup> γρυπῶν κεφαλὰι πρόκροσσοι, "griffin heads standing out from the surface." See note on vii. 188, where all the MSS have the feminine form πρόκροσσαι, although here equally unanimous for the other.

<sup>399</sup> εἰς τὸ Ἡραῖον. It seems probable that to this offering was traditionally attached the story which Herodotus has just related. The name of the master of the Samian vessel would appear in such a case, for doubtless it was inscribed on the offering. But if the πρόκροσσοι of the Heraeum were the channel through which the narrative came to Herodotus, the circumstance of the vessel being outward or inward bound at the time of the incident might easily be mistaken by him. (See above, note 394.) Hence perhaps the difficulty of the course of the Samians may be explained. If they wished to return home, and on getting

αὐτῷ τρεῖς χαλκούς κολοσσούς ἐπταπήχεας ταῖσι γούνασι ἔρη- Alliance  
 ρισμένους. Κυρηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Θηραίοισι ἐς Σαμίους ἀπὸ τούτου Thera, Sa-  
 τοῦ ἔργου πρῶτα φίλαι μεγάλαι<sup>339</sup> συνεκρήθησαν. Οἱ δὲ Θηραῖοι, 153  
 ἐπεὶ τε τὸν Κορώβιον λιπόντες ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Θήρην, mos, and  
 ἀπήγγελλον ὡς σφί εἴη νῆσος ἐπὶ Διβύῃ ἐκτισμένη. Θηραίοισι δὲ Cyrene.  
 ἔαδε ἀδελφεὸν τε ἀπ' ἀδελφεοῦ πέμπειν πάλλω λαχόντα, καὶ ἀπὸ Battus sails  
 τῶν χώρων ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τὰ ἐόντων ἄνδρας εἶναι δὲ σφειων καὶ to Platæa.  
 ἡγεμόνα καὶ βασιλέα Βάτταν. οὕτω δὲ στέλλουσι δύο πευτηκον-  
 τέρους ἐς τὴν Πλατέαν.

Ταῦτα δὲ Θηραῖοι λέγουσι· τὰ δ' ἐπίλοιπα τοῦ λόγου, συμφέ- 154  
 ρονται ἤδη Θηραῖοι Κυρηναίοισι. Κυρηναῖοι γὰρ<sup>400</sup> τὰ περὶ Cyrenian  
 Βάττον οὐδαμῶς ὁμολογέουσι. Θηραίοισι· λέγουσι γὰρ οὕτω ἔστι account of  
 τῆς Κρήτης Ἀξός<sup>401</sup> πόλις ἐν τῇ ἐγένετο Ἐτέαρχος βασιλεύς· ὃς the origin  
 ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ ἀμήτορι, τῇ αὖνομα ἦν Φρονίμη, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἔγχετο is very dif-  
 ἄλλην γυναῖκα· ἣ δὲ ἐπεσελθοῦσα ἐδικαίεν εἶναι καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ It makes  
 μητρικῇ τῇ Φρονίμῃ, παρέχουσά τε κακὰ καὶ πᾶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ μηχανή- him son of  
 νωμένη<sup>402</sup>. καὶ τέλος, μαχλοσύνην ἐπενείκασα<sup>403</sup> οἱ πείθει τὸν Polymnes-  
 ἄνδρα ταῦτα ἔχειν οὕτω· ὁ δὲ ἀναγνωσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔργον tus, a Tho-  
 οὐκ ὅσιον ἐμχανᾶτο ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ. ἦν γὰρ δὴ Θεμίσιων ἀνὴρ rean, and  
 Θηραῖος ἔμπορος ἐν τῇ Ἀξῷ· τοῦτον ὁ Ἐτέαρχος παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ Phronime,  
 ξείνια ἐξορκοῖ, ἥ μὲν οἱ διηκονήσειν ὅ τι ἂν δεηθῇ· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐξόρ- a female  
 κωσε, ἀγαγὼν οἱ παραδιδόει τὴν ἐωντοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ ταύτην ἐκέλευε from Aeneas  
 in Crete.

out to sea found an east wind, they might very reasonably make sail, and, with a wind nearly on the beam, endeavour to shape their course for the westernmost point of Crete (Cape Krio) with the intention of afterwards running eastward under the shore. But if their desire had been to get to Egypt, they would never have made sail at all,—but have used their oars,—with however little success. If an east wind had been blowing while they were at Platæa, they would undoubtedly not have put to sea at all.

<sup>339</sup> φίλαι μεγάλαι. This friendship, on whatever occasion arising, was probably cemented by commercial interest. The Samians were by the aid of the Cyrenians enabled to get a share of the trade with the interior of Africa, (see ii. 32; iii. 26,) and also advanced somewhat nearer to the great object of Hellenic wishes—trade with Spain. (See the notes on i. 170 and v. 106.) On the other hand the Cyrenians found a ready market for

their *σιφλίαι*, and perhaps the Theraeans for purple-coloured robes. (See note 377 on § 147.) Amasis the Egyptian not improbably formed another party to this commercial league. See note 554 on ii. 182.

<sup>400</sup> Κυρηναῖοι γὰρ. See the notes 326 on § 150 and 424 on § 163.

<sup>401</sup> Ἀξός. Gaisford prints this on the authority of S and V, but several MSS have Ὀαξός, and that is the form under which STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS describes the place. In the Cretan dialect *ἄξος* signified *κρημνώδης τόπος*, and the O of the alternative form is possibly a representative of the digamma, the root being *ἄγω*.

<sup>402</sup> πᾶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ μηχανωμένη. Compare v. 62: πᾶν ἐπὶ τοῖσι Πεισιστρατίδῃσι μηχανώμενοι.

<sup>403</sup> ἐπενείκασα. Some of the MSS have the common form *ἐπενέγκουσα*, although in § 166 they all have *ἐπενείκας*.

καταποντῶσαι ἀπαγαγόντα· ὁ δὲ Θεμίσων περιημεκτήσας τῇ ἀπάτῃ τοῦ ὄρκου καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὴν ξεινίην, ἐποίησε τοιαύδε παραλαβὸν τὴν παῖδα ἀπέπλεε· ὥς δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πελάγει, ἀποσιεύμενος τὴν ἐξόρκωσιν<sup>404</sup> τοῦ Ἑτεάρχου σχοινίοισι αὐτὴν διαδήσας κατήκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνασπάσας δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν

155 Θήρην. Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὴν Φρουρίμην παραλαβὸν Πολύμνηστος, ἐὼν τῶν Θηραίων ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ἐπαλλακεύετο<sup>405</sup>. χρόνου δὲ περι-  
 ἴοντος ἐξεγένετο οἱ πᾶσι ἰσχυρόφωνος καὶ τραυλὸς, τῷ οὐνομα ἐτέθη Βάττος, ὥς Θηραῖοί τε καὶ Κυρηναῖοι λέγουσι· ὥς μέντοι ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἄλλο τι, Βάττος δὲ μετωνομάσθη ἐπεὶ τε ἐς Λιβύην ἀπίκετο, ἀπὸ τε τοῦ χρηστηρίου τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Δελφοῖσι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς τὴν ἔσχε τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιούμενος· Δίβυες γὰρ βασι-  
 λέα Βάττον καλέουσι· καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέω<sup>406</sup> θεοπιζύουσιν τὴν Πυθίην καλέσαι μιν Διβυκῇ γλώσσει, εἰδυῖαν ὥς βασιλεὺς ἔσται ἐν Λιβύῃ. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ἠνδρώθη οὗτος, ἦλθε ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῆς φωνῆς· ἐπειρωτέοντι δὲ οἱ χρᾶ ἡ Πυθίῃ τάδε·

The word *Battus* means "prince" in the Libyan language.

Βάττ', ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες· ἄναξ δέ σε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων ἐς Λιβύην πέμψει μελοτρόφον οἰκιστῆρα<sup>407</sup>.

ὥσπερ εἰ εἴποι Ἑλλάδι γλώσσει χρεωμένη· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες." ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· "ὦ ἄναξ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἦλθον παρὰ σέ· χρησόμενος περὶ τῆς φωνῆς· σὺ δέ μοι ἄλλα ἀδύνατα χρεῶς κελεύων Διβύην ἀποικίζειν τέφρ' ὀδυμένην; κοίτη χειρὶ;"

<sup>404</sup> ἀποσιεύμενος τὴν ἐξόρκωσιν, "just saving the oath imposed on him." See below, § 203: *λόγιόν τι ἀποσιεύμενοι*, "just saving his obedience to a certain oracle."

<sup>405</sup> ἐπαλλακεύετο. It must not be supposed that Polymnestus necessarily entertained Phronime in the relation of a mistress (*ἐταίρη*). The word *παλλακή* would be employed to designate a wife by a morganatic marriage. It answers to the Latin *concubina* as well as *pelles*; and where a marriage was contracted between parties who were not citizens of the same state, it and not the word *γυνή* would be used to describe the wife. No doubt the term is susceptible of the other sense; but in this instance there can be little doubt that Battus was in fact the issue of a marriage of disparagement, such as those of which Phalantus and the Parthenize were the offspring at Lacedæmon, or those

between patricians and plebeians at Rome antecedently to the passing of the Licinian laws.

<sup>406</sup> καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέω. PAUSANIAS saw at Delphi a statue of Battus in a chariot, crowned by a figure impersonating Libya, the chariot being driven by another representing Cyrene; and to this the story was traditionally attached that Battus recovered his voice by the fright of suddenly coming on a lion in the neighbourhood of Cyrene (x. 15. 4). The statue was said to be the work of Amphion the son of Acestor, a sculptor of Cnossus (whom SELLIG places about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war). If this statue had been at Delphi when Herodotus visited the place, it seems unlikely that he should have omitted to mention it and the story connected with it.

<sup>407</sup> οἰκιστῆρα. The manuscripts S and V have *οἰκίζοντα*.

ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄλλα οἱ χρᾶν ὥς δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐθέσπιζέ  
οἱ καὶ πρότερον, οἷχετο μεταξὺ ἀπολιπῶν ὁ Βάττος ἐς τὴν Θήρην.  
Μετὰ δὲ αὐτῷ τε τούτῳ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Θηραίοισι συνεφέρετο 156  
παλυγκότως<sup>408</sup>. ἀγνοεῦντες δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς οἱ Θηραῖοι, ἔπεμπον  
ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφί ἔχρησε  
συγκτίζουσι Βάττῳ Κυρήνην τῆς Λιβύης ἄμεινον πρήξειν. ἀπ-  
έστελλον μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Βάττον οἱ Θηραῖοι δύο πεντηκοντέροις  
πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Λιβύην οὗτοι, οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ὃ τι ποιέωσι  
ἄλλο, ὅπισω ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Θήρην· οἱ δὲ Θηραῖοι κατα-  
γομένους ἔβαλλον καὶ οὐκ ἔων τῇ γῇ προσίσχαι, ἀλλ' ὅπισω  
πλῶειν ἐκέλευον οἱ δὲ, ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὅπισω ἀπέπλων<sup>409</sup>. καὶ  
ἔκτισαν νῆσον ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ κειμένην τῇ οὐνομα, ὥς καὶ πρότερον  
εἰρέθη, ἐστὶ Πλατέα. λέγεται δὲ ἴση εἶναι ἡ νῆσος τῇ νῦν Κυρη-  
ναίων πόλει.

Ταύτην οἰκέοντες δύο ἔτεα, οὐδὲν γὰρ σφί χρηστὸν συνεφέρετο<sup>410</sup>, 157  
ἕνα αὐτῶν καταλιπόντες οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς Δελφοὺς·  
ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐχρέωντο, φάμενοι οἰκέειν τε τὴν  
Λιβύην καὶ οὐδὲν ἄμεινον πρήσσειν οἰκέυντες· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφί  
πρὸς ταῦτα χρᾶ τάδε·

Αἰ τὸ ἐμεῦ Λιβύην μηλοτρόφον<sup>411</sup> οἶδας ἔμεινον  
μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐλθόντος, ἔγωγ ἔγαμαι σοφίην σου.

Ἀκούσαντες δὲ τούτων οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Βάττον ἀπέπλων ὅπισω· οὐ  
γὰρ δὴ σφεας ἀπίει ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀποικίης πρὶν δὴ ἀπίκωνται ἐς

<sup>408</sup> συνεφέρετο παλυγκότως. The ellipse is probably of ὁ θεός. The word παλιγκότης is especially applicable to a person whose irritation, after being apparently allayed, breaks out afresh. παλιγκοτα παθήματα are, in the technical phraseology of HIPPOCRATES, ailments which burst forth over and over again. Translate: "After this, a spiteful fortune clave both to this man himself and to the rest of the Theraeans." The anger of the god is conceived of as an evil genius inseparable from the side of his victims: "*neque decedit arata triverni et Post equitem sedet atra cura.*"

<sup>409</sup> ἀπέπλων. Here the majority of the MSS have ἀπέπλεον, which in the next section is the reading of all but one (S). On the other hand, in vi. 116, all

of them have περιέπλων. In viii. 5, S and V have ἀποπλώσσεσθαι, and the rest the common form.

<sup>410</sup> οὐδὲν σφί χρηστὸν συνεφέρετο, "nothing but ill-luck haunted them." The expression οὐδὲν χρηστὸν is an euphemism for πάντα πονηρά, the use of a word of ill omen being avoided as far as possible even in a narrative of a still existing settlement.

<sup>411</sup> Λιβύην μηλοτρόφον. PLUTARCH (*Cur Pythia*, &c., § 27, t. ii. p. 408) quoting this oracle, gives the Doric forms Λιβύαν μηλοτρόφον, but all the MSS here have the Ionic dialect, although in the oracle recited in § 159, they are equally unanimous in giving γὰς ἀναδαιόμενας. Plutarch has also ἄρειον for ἄμεινον.



- αὐτὴν τὴν Λιβύην<sup>412</sup>. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ ἀναλαβόν-  
τες τὸν ἔλιπον, ἔκτισαν αὐτῆς τῆς Λιβύης χῶρον ἀντίον τῆς νήσου  
τῷ οὐνομα ἦν "Ἀζύρις"<sup>413</sup>, τὸν νάπαι τε κάλλισται ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω  
158 συγκληθούσι καὶ ποταμὸς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα παραρρέει. Τοῦτον  
οἶκεον τὸν χῶρον ἐξ ἔτα· ἐβδόμῃ δὲ σφεας ἔτει παραιτησάμενοι  
οἱ Λίβυες, ὥς ἐς ἀμείνονα χῶρον ἄξουσιν, ἀνέγνωσαν ἐκλείπειν.  
ἦγον δὲ σφεας ἐνθεύτεον οἱ Λίβυες ἀναστῆσαντες πρὸς ἐσπέρην  
καὶ τὸν κάλλιστον τῶν χώρων ἵνα διεξιόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες μὴ ἴδωιν,  
συμμετρησάμενοι τὴν ὥρην τῆς ἡμέρης, νυκτὸς παρήγον· ἔστι δὲ  
τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ οὐνομα Ἰρασσά· ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφεας ἐπὶ κρήνην  
λεγομένην εἶναι Ἀπόλλωνος εἶπαν "ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐνθαῦτα  
ὑμῖν ἐπιτήδεον οἰκέειν· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται"<sup>414</sup>.
- 159 Ἐπὶ μὲν νυν Βάττω<sup>415</sup> τε τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς ζῆς, ἄρξαντος ἐπὶ  
τεσσεράκοντα ἔτα, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀρκεσίλειω, ἄρξαντος  
ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτα, οἶκεον οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, ὄντες τοσοῦτοι ὅσοι ἀρχὴν  
ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἐστάλησαν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου Βάττω τοῦ Εὐδαί-  
μονος καλεομένου Ἕλληνας πάντας ὥρμησε χρήσασα ἡ Πυθίη  
πλέειν συνοικήσοντας Κυρηναίοισι Λιβύην· ἐπεκαλέοντο γὰρ οἱ  
Κυρηναῖοι ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ. ἔχρησε δὲ ὧδε ἔχοντα·

Annals of  
Cyrene.  
The founder  
and his son  
Arceas  
reign for  
fifty-six  
years.  
A general  
immigration  
of Greeks

<sup>412</sup> οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφεας ἀπὶ τοῦ ὁ θεός, κ.τ.λ.  
See note 6 on i. 1.

<sup>413</sup> Ἀζύρις. CALLIMACHUS (*Hymn. Apoll. 89*) has the form "Ἀζιλίς.

<sup>414</sup> ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται. The plain of Cyrene lies remarkably insulated, being throughout backed by a range of high mountains lying e. and w., from which spurs run out towards the sea. On the south side of the range rain seldom or never falls, and this contrast with the condition of the Cyrenian plain doubtless produced the expression in the text. But still the climate, considered absolutely, was not an excessively moist one. THEOPHRASTUS (*De causis plantarum*, vi. 18. 3) even says of it, ἡ χώρα λεπτή καὶ ξηρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἔχει θερμὴν καθαρόν τε γὰρ τῷ ἀέρι καὶ ἀνδρὶ περιέχεται, — an expression which Schneider considers corrupt, but which is extremely appropriate if we suppose it to refer to the air of the circumjacent desert.

Valcknaer has proposed the conjecture βουνὸς for οὐρανὸς, considering the allusion to be to the excellent spring which the natives pointed out. There never was so

unfortunate an application of acuteness. The frequent fall of rain is perhaps the form of all others in which the peculiar favour of Providence would, by persons inhabiting the arid soil of Africa, be recognized as resting upon the land. Thus this feature is put prominently forward in *Deuteronomy* (xi. 11) as distinguishing Canaan from Egypt. The former is "a land of hills and valleys which drinketh water of the rain of heaven, a land which the Lord God careth for." And in *xviii. 12*, the special blessing: "The Lord shall open unto thee his good treasure, the heaven to give the rain unto thy land in his season, and to bless all the work of thine hand," corresponds to the special curse (*ver. 23*): "Thy heaven that is above thy head shall be brass." The expression, "Behold, if the Lord would make windows in heaven" (*2 Kings vii. 2*) is apparently a proverbial phrase derived from the same idea as that expressed in the text.

<sup>415</sup> Βάττω. The MSS vary in this section between this form and Βάττω. In § 162 they all have Βάττω.

\*Ος δὲ κεν ἐς Λιβύην πολυήρατον ὑστερον ἔλθῃ  
γὰς ἀναδαιομένας, μετὰ οἱ ποκά φαμι μελήσειν.

under the  
third prince  
surnamed  
the Pros-  
perous.  
The native  
Libyans put  
themselves  
under the  
protection  
of *Apries*,  
who sends  
an army to  
their aid  
fruitlessly.

Συλλεχθέντος δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, περιταμνόμενοι γῆν πολλὴν οἱ περίοικοι Λίβυες καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν τῷ ὄνομαι ἦν Ἀδικράν, οἷα τῆς τε χώρας στερισκόμενοι καὶ περιῦβριζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων, πέμψαντες ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀπρίῃ τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῖ<sup>416</sup>. ὁ δὲ συλλέξας στρατὸν Αἰγυπτίων πολλὸν ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ τὴν Κυρήνην οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι ἐκστρατεύσαντες ἐς Ἰρασα χώραν καὶ ἐπὶ κρήνην Θεόστην, συνέβαλον τε τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ ἐνίκησαν τῇ συμβολῇ· ἅτε γὰρ οὐ πεπειρημένοι πρότερον οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι Ἑλλήνων, καὶ παραχρεώμενοι, διεφθάρησαν οὕτω ὥστε ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ἀπενόστησαν ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἀντὶ τούτων Αἰγύπτιοι κατὰ ταῦτα<sup>417</sup> ἐπιμεμφόμενοι Ἀπρίῃ, ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Βάττεω<sup>418</sup> γίνεται πάϊς Ἀρκεσίλῳ ὃς βασι- 160  
λεύσας πρῶτα τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῖσι ἐστασίασε, ἐς ὃ μιν οὔτοι ἀπολιπόντες οἶχοντο ἐς ἄλλον χώραν τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν βαλλόμενοι, ἔκτισαν πόλιν ταύτην ἣ τότε καὶ νῦν Βάρκη καλεῖται· κτίζοντες δ' ἅμα αὐτὴν ἀπιστᾷσι ἀπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων τοὺς Λίβυας<sup>419</sup>. μετὰ δὲ, Ἀρκεσίλῳ ἐς τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους τε τῶν Λιβύων καὶ ὑποστάντας τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους, ἐστρατεύετο· οἱ δὲ Λίβυες δέσαντες αὐτὸν, οἶχοντο φεύγοντες πρὸς τοὺς ἡοίους τῶν Λιβύων ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλῳ εἶπετο φεύγουσι, ἐς οὗ ἐν Λεύκωνί τε τῆς Λιβύης ἐγένετο ἐπιδιώκων, καὶ ἔδοξε τοῖσι Λίβυσι ἐπιθέσθαι οἱ συμβαλόντες δὲ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Κυρηναίους τοσοῦτο, ὥστε ἐπα-  
Arceilaus, son of Battus the Prosperous, succeeds.  
His brothers found Barca as a rival city.  
He loses an army in an attack on the Libyans; and

<sup>416</sup> Ἀπρίῃ τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῖ. This is no doubt the place where Herodotus intended to fulfil the promise (made in ii. 161) of a more detailed account of the expedition of the Egyptian king against Cyrene. But it is not easy to conceive that the passage in the text is really the fulfilment of it, or any thing more than an outline of what was contemplated by the author when he was writing the second book.

<sup>417</sup> ἀντὶ τούτων Αἰγύπτιοι κατὰ ταῦτα. This is the reading retained by Gaisford, but it seems impossible to believe that it is not corrupt. It has been proposed to read κατὰ ταῦτα, and give it the sense of αὐτίκα; but if it could be used in this

sense—which I doubt, its proper place would be before the word ἀπέστησαν. The best solution I can offer of the difficulty is that ἀντὶ τούτων and κατὰ ταῦτα may be *alternative readings*, of which several instances have been pointed out in the notes.

<sup>418</sup> Βάττεω. Gaisford gives this reading from a single MS (S). The others all have the common form Βάττου, although in both the instances in which the name appears in the last section, some of them have Βάττεω.

<sup>419</sup> κτίζοντες δ' ἅμα αὐτὴν ἀπιστᾷσι ἀπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων τοὺς Λίβυας. See note 430, below.

is assassinated.

161

His widow revenges him. Battus the Lame succeeds.

A new constitution is given to the state by Demonax of Mantinea.

162

Arceilaus his son attempts a revolution, and is expelled. His mother Pheretima flies to Salamis in Cyprus.

κισχιλίους ὀπλίτας Κυρηναίων ἐνθαῦτα πεσέειν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ τρώμα τοῦτο Ἀρκεσίλῳ μὲν κάμνοντά τε καὶ φάρμακον πεποκότα ὁ ἀδελφεὸς Λέαρχος ἀποσπνύγει· Λέαρχον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ Ἀρκεσίλῳ δόλω κτείνει, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ἐρυζώ. Διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν βασιληῖαν τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλῳ ὁ πάις Βάττος, χωλὸς ἔων καὶ οὐκ ἀρτίπους. οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι πρὸς τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν συμφορὴν ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησομένους, ὃν τινα τρόπον καταστησάμενοι κάλλιστα ἀν οἰκίειν; ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἐκέλευε ἐκ Μαντινέης τῆς Ἀρκαδῶν καταρτιστῆρα ἀγαγέσθαι. αἷτεον ὧν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, καὶ οἱ Μαντινέες ἔδοσαν ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Δημόναξ. οὗτος ὧν ὠνήρ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην καὶ μαθὼν ἕκαστα, τοῦτο μὲν τριφύλους ἐποίησέ σφεας, τῇδε διαθείς· Θηραίων μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῶν περιούκων μίαν μοῖραν ἐποίησε, ἄλλην δὲ Πελοποννησίων καὶ Κρητῶν, τρίτην δὲ νησιωτέων πάντων· τοῦτο δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ Βάττῳ τεμένεια ἐξελὼν καὶ ἱρῳσίνας<sup>420</sup>, τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ πρότερον εἶχον οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐς μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἔθηκε.

Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ Βάττεω οὕτω διετέλλε ἔοντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τούτου παιδὸς Ἀρκεσίλῳ πολλὴ ταραχὴ περὶ τῶν τιμῶν ἐγένετο. Ἀρκεσίλῳ γὰρ ὁ Βάττου τε τοῦ χωλοῦ καὶ Φερετίμης οὐκ ἔφη ἀνέξεσθαι κατὰ τὰ ὁ Μαντινεὺς Δημόναξ ἔταξε, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε τὰ τῶν προγόνων γέρεα. ἐνθεύτεν στασιάζων ἐσσώθη, καὶ ἔφυγε ἐς Σάμῳν ἡ δὲ μήτηρ οἱ ἐς Σαλαμίνα τῆς Κύπρου ἔφυγε<sup>421</sup>. (τῆς δὲ Σαλαμῖνος τούτου τὸν χρόνον ἐπεκράτεε Εὐέλθων<sup>422</sup>, ὃς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θυμητήριον, ἐὼν ἀξιοθέητον, ἀνέθηκε,

<sup>420</sup> τεμένεια ἐξελὼν καὶ ἱρῳσίνας. There is some difficulty in deciding on the exact meaning of this phrase; but perhaps we shall be right in considering that what Demonax did was to secure certain priestly functions to the house of the king, and to give it likewise the full control of a domain set apart for defraying the religious ceremonies. See the note 396 on iii. 143.

<sup>421</sup> ἡ δὲ μήτηρ οἱ ἐς Σαλαμίνα τῆς Κύπρου ἔφυγε. The use of the dative of here is not superfluous. It seems to imply a concert between Pheretima and her son. She went in his interests. See note 318 on ii. 113.

<sup>422</sup> τῆς δὲ Σαλαμῖνος τούτου τὸν χρόνον ἐπεκράτεε Εὐέλθων. The compound ἐπεκράτεε induces the belief that Salamis was an addition which Evelthon had made to his paternal dominions. The circumstance of his offering at Delphi being placed in the Corinthian treasury (which in reality was the treasury of the Cypselid dynasty, i. 14) suggests that he might have been mixed up with the commercial policy of that family. Perhaps the object of Pheretima was to show the advantages which it was in her son's power to bestow should he, by the aid of Evelthon, be restored to his sovereignty, while on the other hand her son addressed himself to a people who

τὸ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ κέεται ἀπικομένη δὲ παρὰ τοῦτον ἡ Φερετίμη ἐδέετο στρατιῆς ἢ κατὰξει σφέας ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην ὃ δὲ γε Εὐέλθων πᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιὴν οἱ ἐδίδουν ἢ δὲ λαμβάνουσα τὸ διδόμενον, καλὸν μὲν ἔφη καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι, κάλλιον δὲ ἐκείνο τὸ δοῦναι οἱ δεομένη στρατιήν· τοῦτο ἐπὶ παντὶ γὰρ τῷ διδομένῳ ἔλεγε <sup>423</sup>, τελευταῖόν οἱ ἐξέπεμψε δῶρον ὃ Εὐέλθων ἄτρακτον χρύσειον καὶ ἡλακάτην, προσῆν δὲ καὶ εἴριον εἰπάσης δὲ αὐτὴς τῆς Φερετίμης τὸντοῦτο ἔπος, ὃ Εὐέλθων ἔφη τοιοῦτοισι γυναικάς δωρεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ στρατιήν.) Ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔων ἐν Σάμῳ <sup>424</sup>, συνήγειρε πάντα ἄνδρα ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ συλλεγομένου δὲ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ, ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφούς Ἀρκεσίλεως χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ περὶ κατόδου ἢ δὲ Πυθίῃ οἱ χρᾶ τάδε· “ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερας Βάττους καὶ Ἀρκεσίλεως τέσσερας, ὅκτῳ [ἄνδρῶν <sup>425</sup>] γενεάς, διδοὶ ὑμῖν Δοξίης βασιλεῦεν Κυρήνης· πλέον μέντοι τούτου οὐδὲ πειράσθαι παραινέει. σὺ μέντοι ἥσυχος εἶναι κατελθὼν ἐς τὴν σεωυτοῦ ἦν δὲ τὴν κάμινον εὐρῆς πλέην ἀμφορέων, μὴ ἐξοπτήσης τοὺς ἀμφορέας, ἀλλ' ἀπόπεμπε κατ' οὖρον <sup>426</sup>. εἰ δὲ ἐξοπτήσεις τὴν κάμινον, μὴ ἐσέλθῃς ἐς τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀποθανέαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ταῦρος ὃ καλλιστεύων <sup>427</sup>.” Ταῦτα ἡ Πυθίῃ Ἀρκεσίλεω χρᾶ· ὃ δὲ, παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου κατῆλθε ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην καὶ ἐπικρατήσας τῶν πρηγμάτων, τοῦ μαντιῆτου οὐκ ἐμέμνητο ἀλλὰ δίκας τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας αἰτεε τῆς ἑωυτοῦ φυγῆς. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπαλλάσσοντο, τοὺς δὲ τινὰς χειρωσάμενος ὃ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐς Κύπρον ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ διαφθορῇ· τούτους μὲν νυν Κνίδιοι ἀπενειχθέντας

Anecdote of her at the court of *Evelikhon*, the donor of a censor at Delphi.

163  
Arcesilaus levies an army of adventurers in *Samos*. The Delphian oracle counsels moderation in case of victory.

164  
He pursues the opposite course, and destroys his enemies, some of whom are rescued by the *Cnidians* and sent to *Thera*.

knew how much they would lose if the traffic with Cyrene got into other hands. See the note 399, above.

<sup>423</sup> τοῦτο ἐπὶ παντὶ γὰρ τῷ διδομένῳ ἔλεγε. So two manuscripts (S, F). Gaisford with others has τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπὶ π. δ. ε., and places a full stop after the word ἔλεγε. But for the construction see note 383 upon § 149.

<sup>424</sup> τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔων ἐν Σάμῳ. The occasion here referred to would undoubtedly cause the whole history of Cyrene to be brought to the common knowledge of the Samians. See notes 386 and 399, above.

<sup>425</sup> [ἄνδρῶν]. This word is omitted in

S and V. I am inclined to suspect that the whole clause ὅκτῳ ἀνδρῶν γενεάς is an interpolation of two different dates, and that S and V exhibit it in its earliest form.

<sup>426</sup> κατ' οὖρον, “with all speed,” literally “adown the wind.” Compare *ÆSCHYLUS* (*Theb.* 696):—

ἴτω κατ' οὖρον κύμα Κεκυτοῦ λαχὼν φοίβῃ στυγῆθ' ἐν πᾶν τὸ λατοῦ γένος.

<sup>427</sup> ταῦρος ὃ καλλιστεύων. This is probably a reference to *Alaxir*, the father-in-law of *Arcesilaus*, king of *Barca*, and as such described as the “*vir gregis*,” the leading bull of the herd.

πρὸς τὴν σφετέρην ἐρρύσαντο, καὶ ἐς Θήρην ἀπέστειλαν<sup>420</sup>. ἐτέρους δὲ τινὰς τῶν Κυρηναίων ἐς πύργον μέγαν Ἀγλωμάχου καταφυγόντας ἰδιωτικὸν, ὕλην περιώσας ὁ Ἀρκεσίλειος ἐνέπρησε. μαθὼν δὲ ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι<sup>421</sup> τὸ μαντήιον ἔδν τοῦτο, ὅτι μιν ἡ Πυθίη οὐκ ἔα εὐρόντα ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐξοπτῆσαι, ἔργοιο ἐκὼν τῆς τῶν Κυρηναίων πόλιος, δειμαίνων τε τὸν κεχρημένον θάνατον καὶ δοκέων ἀμφίρρυτον τὴν Κυρήνην εἶναι· εἶχε δὲ γυναῖκα συγγενέα ἑωυτοῦ, θυγατέρα δὲ τοῦ τῶν Βαρκαίων βασιλέως τῷ ὄντομα ἦν Ἀλαξίρ<sup>422</sup>. παρὰ τοῦτον ἀπικνέεται καὶ μιν Βαρκαῖοι τε ἄνδρες καὶ τῶν ἐκ Κυρήνης φυγάδων τινὲς καταμαθόντες ἀγοράζοντα, κτείνουσι· πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν πενθερὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀλαξίρα. Ἀρκεσίλειος μὲν νυν, εἴτε ἐκὼν εἴτε ἄκων, ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐξέπλησε μοῖραν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ.

His death, together with his father-in-law *Alasir*.

165

Pheretima flies to Egypt and claims the protection of *Ary-andes*.

Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ Φερετίμη, τέως μὲν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλειος ἐν τῇ Βάρκῃ διαιτᾷτο ἐξεργασμένος ἑωυτῷ κακὸν<sup>423</sup>, ἡ δὲ εἶχε αὐτῇ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ γέρεα ἐν Κυρήνῃ, καὶ τὰλλα νεμομένη καὶ ἐν βουλῇ παρίζουσα· ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἔμαθε ἐν τῇ Βάρκῃ ἀποθανόντα οἱ τὸν παῖδα, φεύγουσα οἰχώκεε ἐς Ἀλγυπτον· ἦσαν γάρ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλειου εὐεργεσίαι<sup>424</sup> ἐς Καμβύσεια τὸν Κύρου πεπονημένοι· (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλειος ὃς Κυρήνην Καμβύσῃ ἔδωκε καὶ φόρον ἐτάξατο) ἀπικομένη

<sup>420</sup> ἐς Θήρην ἀπέστειλαν. From this place being selected, it seems likely that the prisoners were individuals belonging to the first of the three tribes of Demonax, —perhaps descendants of the original colonists.

<sup>421</sup> μαθὼν ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι. Compare JUVENAL (*Sat.* xiii. 237):

“—quid fas  
Atque nefas, tandem incipiunt sentire per-  
actis  
Criminibus.”

<sup>422</sup> θυγατέρα τοῦ τῶν Βαρκαίων βασιλέως τῷ ὄντομα ἦν Ἀλαξίρ. By the circumstance of the Barcean prince bearing this barbarous name, one may be inclined to suppose that the policy of the brothers of Arcesilaus's grandfather, who built Barca, was to identify themselves as much as possible with the African population, and even adopt barbarian appellations. Perhaps *Alasir* is the equivalent of a Hellenic name in the native language. It is clear that *Alasir* was not a native chief,

from the circumstance that his daughter was a *syngenis* of Arcesilaus.

<sup>423</sup> ἐξεργασμένος ἑωυτῷ κακόν, i. e. by taking the step against which the oracle warned him,—ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον.

<sup>424</sup> εὐεργεσίαι. This would be the mode most tolerable to Hellenic ears of expressing the payment of tribute to an oriental liege lord. The circumstances of the case are related in iii. 13, although in a very different form,—for with the narrator there the central feature of the story is obviously Cambyses's largesse to the soldiery. But the substantial identity of the two accounts appears in the circumstance of the Barceans and Cyrenians being combined in iii. 13 (although it was only the Cyrenian offering which was so contemptuously treated), while again in the narrative here some connexion between the two states is evident, both from the marriage of Arcesilaus with *Alasir*'s daughter, and from the refuge found by the former in Barca.

δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἢ Φερετίμη Ἀρυάνδῳ ἱκέτις ἔξετο, τιμωρῆσαι  
 ἐωυτῇ κελεύουσα· προϊσχομένη πρόφασιν, ὡς διὰ τὸν μηδισμόν ὁ  
 παῖς οἱ τέθηκε <sup>433</sup>. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρυάνδης ἦν οὗτος τῆς Αἰγύπτου  
 ὑπαρχος ὑπὸ Καμβύσῳ κατεστέως· δς ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ τούτων  
 παρσιεύμενος <sup>434</sup> Δαρείῳ διεφθάρη. πυθόμενος γὰρ καὶ ἰδὼν Δα-  
 ρεῖον ἐπιθυμούντα μνημόσυνον ἐωυτοῦ λιπέσθαι τοῦτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλῃ  
 εἰη βασιλεῖ κατεργασμένον <sup>435</sup>, ἐμμέετο τούτον ἐς οὐ ἔλαβε τὸν  
 μισθόν. Δαρείος μὲν γὰρ χρυσίον καθαρώτατον ἀπεψήσας ἐς τὸ  
 δυνατώτατον, νόμισμα ἐκόψατο Ἀρυάνδης δὲ ἄρχων Αἰγύπτου  
 ἀργύριον τάντῳ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ ἀργύριον καθαρώτατον  
 τὸ Ἀρυανδικόν. μαθὼν δὲ Δαρείος μιν ταῦτα ποιεῖντα <sup>436</sup>, αἰτίην

166  
 Aryandes's  
 coinage.

<sup>433</sup> ὡς διὰ τὸν μηδισμόν ὁ παῖς τέθηκε. It is very difficult, in the present paucity of information, to say how this profession could be made out. Possibly Cambyzes was considered as the representative of the line of Apries, whose grandson some Egyptian accounts made him (iii. 2). Compare also the statement of DIONON, quoted in the note 9 on iii. 3. Now Apries was the feudal lord of the native inhabitants, the perieci, of Cyrene (iv. 159); and on the other hand the connexion of Amasis with the Greeks (φιλέλλην γενόμενος, ii. 178), and especially with the Cyrenians was a very close one (ii. 181, 182). And if the return of Arcesilus was brought about in a great measure by sacrificing the interests or prejudices of the Hellenic element of the population in favour of the aborigines which formed a δῆμος there,—which several circumstances make not at all improbable,—he would transfer to his cause the political traditions of the party which originally called Apries in. (See the notes 419, 430, and 432.) His conduct therefore might be represented as a μηδισμός, inasmuch as he and Cambyzes would under such circumstances stand to each other in the relation of vassal and suzerain. At any rate there would be enough for a πρόσχημα, in order that Libya might be conquered. (See § 167.)

<sup>434</sup> παρσιεύμενος. The force of the preposition should not be overlooked—“indirectly putting himself on a footing with Darius.” The assertion of sovereignty was contained in the fact of his issuing a coinage at all, but masked by the comparative meanness of the metal in which it was struck.

<sup>435</sup> ἐργασμένον. This expression must be taken with an allowance of some kind or other. Perfectly pure gold from its softness would spoil a coinage; and if the circumstance of the coinage being gold at all was what constituted it a memorial, the minting silver could not be attempted with even the semblance of that excuse. Possibly the real novelty consisted in the fact that Darius was the first oriental sovereign who issued an independent coinage. The wealth of Croesus appears to have consisted of ingots (i. 50) and gold dust (vi. 126), although the Sardians boasted of being the first who coined money (i. 94). The passage containing the account of his largesse to the Delphians of two staters a-piece does not exist in the manuscripts S and V; and, supposing it to be genuine, it may very reasonably be an expression in terms of a later time of the sum which was really paid. But if the distinctive character of what Darius did was that it was the first oriental coinage, it must be put together with his cadastral system, and regarded as constituting one portion of a large financial measure which redeemed the Persian empire from the condition of an assemblage of barbarian hordes, and earned for its author the soubriquet of ὁ κάπλος from his ignorant and ruffianly countrymen. See note on vii. 28.

<sup>436</sup> μαθὼν δὲ Δαρείος μιν ταῦτα ποιεῖντα. The precarious position of Darius for some time after his accession is shown by several circumstances, of which we here have one. The issuing the silver coinage was a symbol of the position which Aryandes hoped to occupy—one very similar to that of Oroctes in Asia. (See note 350

<sup>435</sup> τοῦτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλῃ εἰη βασιλεῖ κατ-

- καταποντῶσαι ἀπαγαγόντα· ὁ δὲ Θεμίσων περιημεκτήσας τὴν ἀπάτην τοῦ ὄρκου καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὴν ξεινίην, ἐποίησε τοιάδε παραλαβὼν τὴν παῖδα ἀπέπλεε· ὥς δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πελάγῃ, ἀποσιεύμενος τὴν ἐξόρκωσιν<sup>404</sup> τοῦ Ἑτεάρχου σχοινίοισι αὐτὴν διαδήσας κατήκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνασπάσας δὲ ἀπῖκετο ἐς τὴν
- 155 Θήρην. Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὴν Φρονίμην παραλαβὼν Πολύμνηστος, ἐὼν τῶν Θηραίων ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ἐπαλλακεύετο<sup>405</sup> χρόνου δὲ περιῶντος ἐξεγένετο οἱ πᾶσι ἰσχνόφωνος καὶ τραυλὸς, τῷ οὐνομα ἐτέθη Βάττος, ὥς Θηραῖοι τε καὶ Κυρηναῖοι λέγουσι· ὥς μέντοι ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἄλλο τι, Βάττος δὲ μετωνομάσθη ἐπεὶ τε ἐς Λιβύην ἀπῖκετο, ἀπὸ τε τοῦ χρηστηρίου τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Δελφοῖσι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς τὴν ἔσχε τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιούμενος· Λίβνες γὰρ βασιλέα Βάττον καλέουσι· καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέω<sup>406</sup> θεσπίζουσιν τὴν Πυθίην καλέσαι μιν Λιβυκὴ γλῶσση, εἰδυῖαν ὥς βασιλεὺς ἔσται ἐν Λιβύῃ. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ἠνδράθῃ οὗτος, ἦλθε ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῆς φωνῆς· ἐπειρωτέοντι δὲ οἱ χρᾶ ἡ Πυθίῃ τάδε

The word *Battus* means "prince" in the Libyan language.

Βάττ', ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθε· ἄναξ δὲ σε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων  
ἐς Λιβύην πέμπει μηλοτρόφον οἰκιστῆρα<sup>407</sup>.

ὥσπερ εἰ εἴποι Ἑλλάδι γλῶσση χρεωμένη· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες." ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· "ὦ ναξ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἦλθον παρὰ σὲ χρησόμενος περὶ τῆς φωνῆς· σὺ δέ μοι ἄλλα ἀδύνατα χρεῶς κελεύων Λιβύην ἀποικίζειν τέφρῃ δυνάμει; κοίῃ χειρὶ;"

<sup>404</sup> ἀποσιεύμενος τὴν ἐξόρκωσιν, "just saving the oath imposed on him." See below, § 203: λόγιόν τι ἀποσιεύμενοι, "just saving his obedience to a certain oracle."

<sup>405</sup> ἐπαλλακεύετο. It must not be supposed that Polymnestus necessarily entertained Phronime in the relation of a mistress (*ἐταίρη*). The word *παλλακή* would be employed to designate a wife by a morganatic marriage. It answers to the Latin *concubina* as well as *pellea*; and where a marriage was contracted between parties who were not citizens of the same state, it and not the word *γυνή* would be used to describe the wife. No doubt the term is susceptible of the other sense; but in this instance there can be little doubt that Battus was in fact the issue of a marriage of disparagement, such as those of which Phalantus and the Partheniae were the offspring at Lacedæmon, or those

between patricians and plebeians at Rome antecedently to the passing of the Licinian laws.

<sup>406</sup> καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέω. PAUSANIAS saw at Delphi a statue of Battus in a chariot, crowned by a figure impersonating Libya, the chariot being driven by another representing Cyrene; and to this the story was traditionally attached that Battus recovered his voice by the fright of suddenly coming on a lion in the neighbourhood of Cyrene (x. 15. 4). The statue was said to be the work of Amphion the son of Acestor, a sculptor of Cnoesus (whom SILLIG places about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war). If this statue had been at Delphi when Herodotus visited the place, it seems unlikely that he should have omitted to mention it and the story connected with it.

<sup>407</sup> οἰκιστῆρα. The manuscripts S and V have οἰκίζοντα.

ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄλλα οἱ χράν' ὥς δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐθέσπιζέ  
οἱ καὶ πρότερον, οἷχετο μεταξὺ ἀπολιπὼν ὁ Βάττος ἐς τὴν Θήρην.  
Μετὰ δὲ, αὐτῷ τε τούτῳ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Θηραίοισι συνεφέρετο 156  
παλυγκότως<sup>408</sup>. ἀγνοεῦντες δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς οἱ Θηραῖοι, ἔπεμπον  
ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν ἢ δὲ Πυθίῃ σφί ἔχρησε  
συγκτίζουσι Βάττῳ Κυρήνην τῆς Λιβύης ἄμεινον πρήξειν. ἀπ-  
έστελλον μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Βάττον οἱ Θηραῖοι δύο πεντηκοντέροις  
πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Λιβύην οὗτοι, οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ὃ τι ποιέωσι  
ἄλλο, ὀπίσω ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Θήρην οἱ δὲ Θηραῖοι κατα-  
γομένους ἔβαλλον καὶ οὐκ ἔων τῇ γῇ προσίσχειν, ἀλλ' ὀπίσω  
πλώειν ἐκέλευον οἱ δὲ, ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὀπίσω ἀπέπλων<sup>409</sup>. καὶ  
ἔκτισαν νῆσον ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ κειμένην τῇ οὐνομα, ὥς καὶ πρότερον  
εἰρήθη, ἐστὶ Πλατέα. λέγεται δὲ ἴση εἶναι ἢ νῆσος τῇ νῦν Κυρη-  
ναίων πόλι.

Ταύτην οἰκέοντες δύο ἕτεα, οὐδὲν γάρ σφί χρηστὸν συνεφέρετο<sup>410</sup>, 157  
ἕνα αὐτῶν καταλιπόντες οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς Δελφοὺς·  
ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐχρέωντο, φάμενοι οἰκέειν τε τὴν  
Λιβύην καὶ οὐδὲν ἄμεινον πρήσσειν οἰκεῖντες· ἢ δὲ Πυθίῃ σφί  
πρὸς ταῦτα χρᾶ τάδε·

Αἰ τὸ ἐμεῦ Λιβύην μηλοτρόφον<sup>411</sup> οἶδας ἄμεινον  
μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐλθόντος, ἔγωγε ἔγμαι σοφίην σευ.

Ἀκούσαντες δὲ τούτων οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Βάττον ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω οὐ  
γὰρ δὴ σφεας ἀπείη ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀποικίης πρὶν δὴ ἀπίκωνται ἐς

<sup>408</sup> συνεφέρετο παλυγκότως. The ellipse is probably of ὁ θεός. The word παλυγκότης is especially applicable to a person whose irritation, after being apparently allayed, breaks out afresh. παλυγκοτα παθήματα are, in the technical phraseology of HIPPOCRATES, ailments which burst forth over and over again. Translate: "After this, a spiteful fortune clave both to this man himself and to the rest of the Theraeans." The anger of the god is conceived of as an evil genius inseparable from the side of its victims: "*neque dedit arata iriremi ei Post equitem sedet astra cura.*"

<sup>409</sup> ἀπέπλων. Here the majority of the MSS have ἀπέπλεον, which in the next section is the reading of all but one (S). On the other hand, in vi. 116, all

of them have περιέπλων. In viii. 5, S and V have ἀποπλάσσεσθαι, and the rest the common form.

<sup>410</sup> οὐδὲν σφί χρηστὸν συνεφέρετο, "nothing but ill-luck haunted them." The expression οὐδὲν χρηστὸν is an euphemism for πάντα ποιηρὰ, the use of a word of ill omen being avoided as far as possible even in a narrative of a still existing settlement.

<sup>411</sup> Λιβύην μηλοτρόφον. PLUTARCH (*Cur Pythia*, &c., § 27, t. ii. p. 408) quoting this oracle, gives the Doric forms Λιβύαν μηλοτρόφον, but all the MSS here have the Ionic dialect, although in the oracle recited in § 169, they are equally unanimous in giving γὰς ἀναδαιομένας. Plutarch has also ὕριον for ἄμεινον.



167  
He sends  
a force  
against  
Barca and  
Ocyrene.

οἱ ἄλλην ἐπενείκας<sup>437</sup>, ὥς οἱ ἐπανίσταται<sup>438</sup>, ἀπέκτεινε. Τότε δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἀρυνάνδης κατοικτείρας Φερετίμην, διδοὶ αὐτῇ στρατὸν τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἅπαντα<sup>439</sup>, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατηγὸν δὲ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ Ἀμασιὴν ἀπέδεξε ἄνδρα Μαρράφιον<sup>440</sup>, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Βάδρην<sup>441</sup>, ἔοντα Πασαργάδην γένος. πρὶν δὲ ἡ ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν στρατιήν, ὁ Ἀρυνάνδης πέμψας ἐς τὴν Βάρκην κήρυκα, ἐπυνθάνετο τίς εἴη ὁ Ἀρκεσίλειον ἀποκτείνων; οἱ δὲ Βαρκαῖοι αὐτοὶ ὑποδεκέατο πάντες· πολλὰ τε γὰρ καὶ κακὰ πάσχειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πυθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀρυνάνδης, οὕτω δὴ τὴν στρατιήν ἀπέστειλε ἅμα τῇ Φερετίμῃ. αὕτη μὲν νυν αἰτίη πρόσχημα τοῦ λόγου ἐγένετο· ἀπεπέμπετο δὲ ἡ στρατιή, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐπὶ Λιβύων καταστροφῇ· Λιβύων γὰρ δὴ ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὀλίγα βασιλέως ἦν ὑπήκοα, τὰ δὲ πλεῶν ἐφρόντιζε Δαρεῖον οὐδέν.

168  
Description  
of the Li-  
byan tribes.  
Next to the  
Egyptian  
frontier  
come the

Οἰκέουσι δὲ κατὰ τάδε Λίβυες<sup>442</sup>. ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι, πρῶτοι Ἀδυρμαχίδαι Λιβύων κατοικῆνται· οἱ νόμοισι μὲν τὰ πλεῶν Αἰγυπτίοισι χρέωνται, ἐσθῆτα δὲ φοροῦσι οἷον περ οἱ ἄλλοι Λίβυες· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ψέλιον περὶ ἑκατέρῃ τῶν κνημέων φοροῦσι χάλκεον· τὰς κεφαλὰς δὲ κομῶσαι, τοὺς φθειράς ἐπεάν

on iii. 127.) He had been appointed by Cambyses as Oroetes had been by Cyrus, and he wished to convert his tenure into an independent kingdom, owing a nominal allegiance to the king of Persia, as a duke of Burgundy in the twelfth century might to a king of France, or a pasha of Egypt to the Porte. It is observable that Darius keeps out of sight the delicate question of independent sovereignty. Probably at this time his own father-in-law was holding a similar position in Asia, and his plan for the subdivision of satrapies had not been got into work. (See notes 240 on iii. 88 and 390 on iii. 141.) But as soon as any charge was brought against him, Artanes knew what was the real point at issue, and threw off the mask by an open revolt.

<sup>437</sup> ἐπενείκας. See note 403, above.

<sup>438</sup> ἐπανίσταται. The MSS vary between ἐπανιστάται, ἐπανιστέατο, and ἐπανιστάτο. Gaisford adopts the second of these readings. But Herodotus habitually uses the optative mood in such cases.

<sup>439</sup> τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἅπαντα. See the next note.

<sup>440</sup> ἄνδρα Μαρράφιον. The appointment

of an individual to the command of the whole land army, who was not a Pasargad, and consequently not closely connected with the reigning dynasty, is not to be overlooked with reference to the schemes noticed in the note 436. For the tribes of the Persians see i. 125.

<sup>441</sup> Βάδρην. The manuscript S has Μάρδην and V has Μάρδην. These forms are all etymologically equivalent with one another, and also with Βάρδης or Bartius and Smerdis. See note 83 on iii. 30. It is a curious circumstance that an individual of this name should be placed in a high office by Aryandes.

<sup>442</sup> Λίβυες. In the description of Libya which follows Herodotus appears to rest on the authority of merchants' stories, of which that in ii. 32 is a remarkable specimen. It seems to me not improbable that from here to the end of § 180, his information is gained from coasting navigators, while at § 181 he begins to depend upon the accounts brought by the caravan traders into Egypt. Hence the diversity apparent in some of the details may perhaps be accounted for. See for example note 456 on § 174.

λάβωσι τοὺς ἐαυτῆς ἐκάστη ἀντιδάκνει καὶ οὕτω ρίπτει· οὗτοι δὲ *Adyma-*  
 μῦνοι Διβίων τοῦτο ἐργάζονται· καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ μῦνοι τὰς παρ- *chids.*  
 θένους μελλούσας συνοικέειν ἐπιδεικνύουσιν· ἢ δὲ ἂν τῷ βασιλεῖ  
 ἀρεστὴ γένηται, ὑπὸ τούτου διαπαρθενέεται. παρήκουσι δὲ οὗτοι  
 οἱ Ἀδύρμαχιδαι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μέχρι λιμένος τῷ ὄνομα Πλυνός  
 ἐστὶ <sup>169</sup>· Τούτων δὲ ἔχονται Γιλνγάμμαι, νεμόμενοι τὴν πρὸς  
 ἐσπέρην χώραν μέχρι Ἀφροδισιάδος νήσου· ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξύ τού- *Next come*  
 του χώρου ἢ τε Πλατέα νήσος ἐπικέεται, τὴν ἔκτισαν Κυρηναῖοι *the Gili-*  
 καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Μενελαῖος λιμὴν ἐστὶ <sup>170</sup>, καὶ Ἀζιρίς τὴν οἱ *gamme.*  
 Κυρηναῖοι οἰκοῦν καὶ τὸ σίλφιον <sup>171</sup> ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τούτου παρήκει  
 δὲ ἀπὸ Πλατέης νήσου μέχρι τοῦ στόματος τῆς Σύρτιος τὸ σίλφιον.  
 νόμοισι δὲ χρεώνται οὗτοι παραπλησίοισι τοῖσι ἐτέροισι. Γιλ- *170*  
 ᾱμμένων δὲ ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Ἀσβύσαι <sup>172</sup>. οὗτοι τὸ *Then the*  
 ὑπὲρ Κυρήνης οἰκέουσι, ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ οὐ κατήκουσι Ἀσβύσαι· *Adysia,*  
 τὸ γὰρ παρὰ θάλασσαν Κυρηναῖοι νέμονται· τεθριπποβάται δὲ *inland of*  
 οὐκ ἤκιστα, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα Διβίων εἰσὶ νόμους δὲ τοὺς πλεῖντας *Cyrene.*  
 μιμέεσθαι ἐπιτηδεύουσι τοὺς Κυρηναίων. Ἀσβυστέων δὲ ἔχονται *171*  
 τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Αὐσχίσαι. οὗτοι ὑπὲρ Βάρκης οἰκέουσι, κατ- *Then the*  
 ἤκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατ' Εὐεσπερίδας <sup>173</sup>. Αὐσχιστέων δὲ κατὰ *Auschia,*  
 μέσον τῆς χώρας οἰκέουσι Κάβαλες <sup>174</sup>, ὀλίγον ἔθνος, κατήκοντες *inland of*  
 ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατὰ Ταύχειρα <sup>175</sup> πόλιν τῆς Βαρκαίης· νόμοισι δὲ *Barca, in*  
 is a small

<sup>169</sup> μέχρι λιμένος τῷ ὀνόματι Πλυνός ἐστὶ. SCYLAX (p. 48) places the *Adymachids* entirely within the Egyptian boundary, which he makes to extend as far as *Apis* (a town in the immediate vicinity of Paratonium), of which Herodotus perhaps speaks above (ii. 8). Eastward he brings them as far as the Canobic branch of the Nile.

<sup>170</sup> Μενελαῖος λιμὴν. See note 336 on ii. 119.

<sup>171</sup> τὸ σίλφιον. The use of the article is to be observed. See note 490 on § 191, below. The Silphium was well known in its imported state. It was used, among other purposes, to sprinkle the fried Boeotian eels,—a dish held in the highest estimation. (ANTIPHANES *ap. Athenæum*, vii. p. 623. Compare ARISTOPHANES, *Av.* 1579.) The sale of it produced so much as to render the expression τὸ Βάρτου σίλφιον proverbial to denote unbounded wealth; and it appears on the coins of Cyrene, as being the staple pro-

duce of the place. For a description of the plant see PLINY (*N. H.* xix. 3), and for its medical uses (xxiii. 23). In the time of PLAUTUS, Capua was the great staple for it. (*Rud.* iii. 2. 16.)

<sup>172</sup> Ἀσβύσαι. Two of the MSS (M and K) have Ἀσύνται, and Ἀσύντεων for Ἀσβυστέων, below. Gaisford suggests that this variation may arise from the confusion of the contractions of *βυ* and *υν*, which are very similar.

<sup>173</sup> Εὐεσπερίδας. This place was founded under the auspices of the fourth Arcesilaus. (*Schol. ad Pind. Pyth.* v. 33.) It was subsequently called *Berevickh* after the queen of Ptolemy III., who beautified it. (STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS, v. *Berevickh.*)

<sup>174</sup> Κάβαλες. So Gaisford prints on the authority of the majority of MSS. Two however have *Bákales*.

<sup>175</sup> Ταύχειρα. The site of this town is said to be still traceable in some ruins called *Tukrah*, about ten hours' distance from Ptolemais.

172

insulated  
tribe, the  
*Kabales*.  
Next the  
*Nasamonæ*,  
a widely  
extended  
tribe, shep-  
herds, and  
carriers of  
dates from  
*Augila*.

τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ Κυρήνης. *Δυσχισίων* δὲ τούτων τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἔχονται *Νασαμῶνες*, ἔθνος ἐὼν πολλόν· οἱ τὸ θέρος<sup>450</sup> καταλείποντες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ τὰ πρόβατα, ἀναβαίνουνσι ἐς *Αὔγιλα* χώραν ὀπωριεύντες τοὺς φοίνικας· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀμφιλαφεές πεφύκασι, πάντες ἔοντες καρποφόροι· τοὺς δὲ ἀττελέβους<sup>451</sup> ἐπεὶ ἀν θηρεύσωσι, αὐγίαντες πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον καταλέουσι, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ γάλα ἐπιπάσσοντες πίνουν· γυναῖκας δὲ νομίζοντες πολλὰς ἔχειν ἕκαστος, ἐπικοῖνον αὐτῶν τὴν μῆξιν ποιεῖνται<sup>452</sup>· τρόπον παραπλησίῳ τῷ καὶ *Μασσαγῆται*· ἐπεὶ σκίπωνα προστήσονται, μίσγονται· πρῶτον δὴ γαμέοντος *Νασαμῶνος* ἀνδρὸς, νόμος ἐστὶ τὴν νύμφην νυκτὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διὰ πάντων διεξελεῖν τῶν δαιτυμόνων μισγομένην· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἕκαστός οἱ μυχθῇ, διδοὶ δῶρον τὸ ἂν ἔχῃ φερόμενος ἐξ οἴκου ὀρκίοισι δὲ καὶ μαντικῇ χρέωνται τοιγὰρ ὁμνύουσι μὲν τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι ἄνδρας δικαιοτάτους καὶ ἀρίστους λεγομένους γενέσθαι, τούτους, τῶν τύμβων ἀπτόμενοι· μαντεύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων φοιτέοντες τὰ σήματα, καὶ κατευξάμενοι ἐπικατακοιμῶνται<sup>453</sup>. τὸ δ' ἂν ἴδῃ

<sup>450</sup> τὸ θέρος. Some unnecessary difficulty as regards these words has been occasioned by the circumstance that the date harvest generally begins in October; and Larcher, to avoid it, proposes to read μετὰ τὸ θέρος. But there seems no occasion to resort to this alteration, or to the theory that the date harvest would in some years take place much earlier than in others. All that Herodotus says is, that during the *dry season* (to which the Hellenic expression θέρος is the nearest approach) the *Nasamonæ* left their flocks in the pastures on the northern coast, and went into the interior to secure the date harvest (whenever that may have taken place). They really were the carriers in the caravan traffic which took place between the coast and the interior. They appear to have had business at the Oasis of Ammon (ii. 32), and doubtless were carriers of salt, which forms so important an article of African trade. We may suppose them to leave the north just after the sheep shearing, and to re-appear again after the date harvest, having in the mean time been engaged in a course of traffic, the last results of which appeared at the ports on the coast in the shape of dates, or possibly of palm wine.

<sup>451</sup> τοὺς δὲ ἀττελέβους, "the wingless locusts."

<sup>452</sup> ἐπικοῖνον αὐτῶν τὴν μῆξιν ποιεῖνται. There is no reason whatever to suppose that these words involve a contradiction to what follows, and are an interpolation. The very instance of the *Massagetæ* referred to disproves such a notion. *Marco Polo* relates a similar practice to that of the *Nasamonæ* and *Massagetæ* as existing among the tribes of central Asia and China. He says that it was sanctioned by the priests of their religion, and that the people considered a deviation from it as likely to bring barrenness on the country. Perhaps if it had a religious sanction, it was originally adopted by the priests as a first step towards bringing the people from a yet more degraded state, such as that attributed to the *Auses* and *Machlyes* (§ 180, below). So far as the community extended to members of the same tribe, it would probably be interpreted on the principle ascribed by Herodotus to the *Agathyrsi*: ἵνα καστίγγητοί τε ἀλλήλων ἔωσι, καὶ οἰκῆτοί ἐόντες πάντες μήτε φθόνον μήτ' ἔχθρῃ χρέωνται ἐς ἀλλήλους (§ 104, above).

<sup>453</sup> ἐπικατακοιμῶνται. This ritual is substantially the same as that which also

ἐν τῇ ὄφει ἐνύπνιον, τούτῳ χρᾶται· πίστισι δὲ τοιγσίδε χρέωνται  
ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς διδοὶ πιεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἐτέρου πίνει <sup>454</sup>. ἦν  
δὲ μὴ ἔχῃσι ὑγρὸν μηδὲν, οἱ δὲ τῆς χαμάθεν σποδοῦ λαβόντες  
λείχουσι.

Νασαμῶσι δὲ προσόμουροι εἰσι Ψύλλοι. οὗτοι ἐξαπολώλασι **173**  
τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ὁ νότος σφι πνέων ἄνεμος τὰ ἔλυτρα τῶν ὑδάτων <sup>455</sup> Next came  
ἐξηγήνη· ἡ δὲ χώρα σφι πᾶσα ἐντὸς ἐοῦσα τῆς Σύρτιος, ἣν ἄνυδρος· an extinct  
οἱ δὲ, βουλευσάμενοι, κοινῇ λόγῳ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τὸν νότον· race within  
(λέγω δὲ ταῦτα τὰ λέγουσι Λίβυες) καὶ ἐπεὶ τε ἐγίνοντο ἐν τῇ the Syrtis,  
ψάμμῳ, πνεύσας ὁ νότος κατέχῳσέ σφας· ἐξαπολομένων δὲ τοῦ· whose terri-  
των, ἔχουσι τὴν χώραν οἱ Νασαμῶνες. Τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε **174** tory has  
πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον, ἐν τῇ θηριώδει οἰκέουσι Γαράμαιτες <sup>456</sup>. οἱ Inland of  
πάντα ἄνθρωπον φεύγουσι καὶ παντὸς ὁμιλίῃν καὶ οὔτε ὄπλου the Paylli  
ἐκτέαται ἀρήϊον οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀμύνεσθαι ἐπιστέαται. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ southwards  
κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νασαμώνων· τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν come the  
ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Μάκκαι· οἱ λόφους κείρονται, τὸ μὲν **175**  
μέσον τῶν τριχῶν ἀνέντες αὔξεσθαι τὰ δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κεί- Garaman-  
ροντες ἐν χορῷ ἐς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον στρουθῶν καταγαίων δορὰς <sup>457</sup> tes, a timid  
φορέουσι προβλήματα. διὰ δὲ αὐτῶν Κίνυψ ποταμὸς <sup>458</sup> ῥέων and unwar-  
ἐκ λόφου καλυμένου Χαρίτων, ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ· ὁ δὲ λόφος like race.  
Along the  
coast west-  
wards are  
the Makai,  
in whose  
territory is  
the embou-

prevailed in the earliest historical times in Italy and Greece. See VIRGIL (*Aeneid*. vii. 80—100) and the commentators thereon. See also note 164 on i. 52.

<sup>454</sup> ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς . . . πίνει. SHAW states that a relic of the habits of the Nasamones still survives in the marriage ceremony of the native Algerines, where the contracting parties plight their troth to each other merely by drinking out of each other's hands. (*Travels in Barbary*, p. 303.)

<sup>455</sup> τὰ ἔλυτρα τῶν ὑδάτων, "the water-tanks." See note 625 on i. 185.

<sup>456</sup> Γαράμαιτες. The description which follows of this tribe seems to accord rather with the timorous Troglodytæ (the *Tibboos*), whom, according to Herodotus in another passage (§ 183, below), the Garamantes hunt. Accordingly a factitious distinction has been attempted by Larcher between a tribe of *nomad* Garamantes (to whom he supposes the author to allude in the other passage) and another portion of the same nation having fixed habitations, which are meant here. Another solution

of the difficulty has been sought by reading Γαμφάσαντες here instead of Γαράμαιτες, to which some colour is given by a passage in MELA (i. 8), and one in PLINY (*N. H.* v. 8. 8). But there is no variation in the MSS of Herodotus to supply the least support to this conjecture; and possibly a less violent explanation of the diversity of description is to be found in the conjecture that the authority here followed by Herodotus took the Garamantes for the Troglodyte Tibboos.

<sup>457</sup> στρουθῶν καταγαίων δορὰς. The Asiatic Ethiopians in the army of Xerxes are similarly represented as using the skins of cranes by way of defensive armour (vii. 70). Probably a covering of feathers was so contrived as to break the blow of a sharp instrument, a result achieved by the South Sea islanders with the same materials.

<sup>458</sup> Κίνυψ ποταμὸς. This is the site on which Dories of the Spartan attempted to found a colony (v. 42). Its extreme productiveness above every other part of Libya is remarked (§ 196, below).

chure of the  
*Cinyras*.

176

Conter-  
minous  
with the  
Makæ are  
the *Gin-  
danes*.

177

Out of their  
territory  
runs a pro-  
montory in-  
habited by  
the *Lotus-  
eaters*.

178

Next to the  
Lotus-eat-  
ers come the  
*Machlyes*,  
as far as  
the river  
*Triton* and  
the lake  
*Tritonis*.

179

Legend of  
Jason con-  
nected with  
this lo-  
cality.

οὗτος ὁ Χαρίτων δασὺς ἰδησί' ἐστι, εὐούσης τῆς ἄλλης τῆς προκατα-  
λεχθείσης Διβύης ψιλῆς· ἀπὸ θαλάσσης δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν στάδιοι δι-  
ηκόσιοι εἰσι. Μακῶν δὲ τούτων ἐχόμενοι Γίνδανές εἰσι· τῶν αἰ-  
γυναικες περισφύρια δερμάτων πολλά ἐκάστη φορεῖν· κατὰ τοιοῦνδε  
τι, ὡς λέγεται· κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον μιχθέντα περισφύριον περι-  
δέεται· ἥ δ' ἂν πλείστα ἔχη, αὕτη ἀρίστη δέδοκται εἶναι ὡς ὑπὸ  
πλείστων ἀνδρῶν φιληθείσα. Ἀκτὴν δὲ προέχουσαν ἐς τὸν πόντον  
τούτων τῶν Γινδάνων νέμονται Λωτοφάγοι· οἱ τὸν καρπὸν μούνων  
τοῦ λωτοῦ τρώγοντες ζῶουσιν· ὁ δὲ τοῦ λωτοῦ καρπός<sup>439</sup> ἐστὶ  
μέγαθος ὅσον τε τῆς σχίνου· γλυκύτητα δὲ, τοῦ φοίνικος τῷ καρπῷ  
προσεῖκελος· ποιεῦνται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ τούτου οἱ Λωτοφάγοι καὶ  
οἶνον<sup>440</sup>.

Λωτοφάγων δὲ τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχονται Μάχλυες<sup>441</sup>, τῷ λωτῷ  
μὲν καὶ οὗτοι χρεώμενοι, ἀτὰρ ἡσόν γε τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων.  
κατήκουσι δὲ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν μέγαν, τῷ οὐνομα Τρίτων ἐστὶ· ἐκδιδοί  
δὲ οὗτος ἐς λίμνην μεγάλην Τριτωνίδα· ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ νῆσος ἔνι, τῇ  
οὐνομα Φλά· ταύτην δὲ τὴν νῆσον Λακεδαιμονίοισι φασι λόγιον  
εἶναι κτίσαι.

\*Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁδε λόγος λεγόμενος· Ἰήσωνα, ἐπεὶ τε οἱ ἐξεργάσθη  
ὑπὸ τῷ Πηλῷ ἢ Ἀργῷ, ἐσθόμενον ἐς αὐτὴν ἄλλην τε ἐκατόμ-  
βην<sup>442</sup> καὶ δὴ καὶ τρίποδα χάλκεον, περιπλώειν Πελοπόννησον  
βουλόμενον ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπικέσθαι· καὶ μιν, ὡς πλέοντα γενέσθαι  
κατὰ Μαλέην, ὑπολαβεῖν ἄνεμον βορρῇν καὶ ἀποφέρειν πρὸς τὴν  
Διβύην· πρὶν δὲ κατιδέσθαι γῆν, ἐν τοῖσι βράχεσι γενέσθαι λίμνης  
τῆς Τριτωνίδος· καὶ οἱ ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἐξαγωγὴν λόγος ἐστὶ φανῆναι  
Τρίτωνα, καὶ κελεύειν τὸν Ἰήσωνα ἐνωτῷ δοῦναι τὸν τρίποδα·  
φάμενόν σφι καὶ τὸν πόρον δέξειν, καὶ ἀπήμονας ἀποστελέειν  
πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἰήσωνος, οὕτω δὴ τὸν τε διέκπλοον τῶν βρα-

<sup>439</sup> ὁ δὲ τοῦ λωτοῦ καρπός. See note 252 on ii. 96.

<sup>440</sup> καὶ οἶνον. According to POLYBIUS (*Fragm.* xii. 2), the lotus wine was produced by first steeping the fruit for some time in water, and then pressing it. It would not however keep for more than ten days; so that it could never have been exported.

<sup>441</sup> Μάχλυες. It seems doubtful whether this is a genuine Libyan name, or has

a Greek root. In the latter case it would probably, like Troglodytæ and Lotophagi, have a reference to the habits of the people who were called by it. See the latter part of § 180.

<sup>442</sup> ἐκατόμβην. By this name must be understood the aggregate offering to the deity, and not merely the cattle designed for sacrifice. The tripod made a part of it.

χέων δεικνύναι τὸν Τρίτωνά σφι, καὶ τὸν τρίποδα θεῖναι ἐν τῷ ἔωντοῦ ἱρῷ· ἐπιθεσπίσαντά τε τῷ τρίποδι, καὶ τοῖσι σὺν Ἱήσωνι σημήναντα τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὥς ἐπεὰν τὸν τρίποδα κομίσῃται τῶν ἐκγόνων τις τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ συμπλεόντων, τότε ἑκατὸν πόλιας οἰκῆσαι περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην Ἑλληνίδας πᾶσαν εἶναι ἀν-ἀγκην ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους τῶν Διβύων κρύψαι τὸν τρίποδα<sup>443</sup>.

Τούτων δὲ ἔχονται τῶν Μαχλύων Αὔσεις. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ 180  
Μάχλυνες πέριξ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην οἰκεύουσιν· τὸ μέσον δὲ σφι  
οὐρίζει ὁ Τρίτων καὶ οἱ μὲν Μάχλυνες τὰ ὀπίσω κομέουσι τῆς  
κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ Αὔσεις τὰ ἔμπροσθε ὀρτῇ δὲ ἐνιαυσίῃ Ἀθηναίης  
αἱ παρθέναι αὐτῶν δίχα διαστᾶσαι μάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλας  
λίθοισι τε καὶ ξύλοισι, τῇ αὐθυγενεῖ θεῷ λέγουσαι τὰ πάτρια  
ἀποτελέειν, τὴν Ἀθηναίην καλέομεν τὰς δὲ ἀποθνησκούσας τῶν  
παρθένων ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων<sup>444</sup> ψευδοπαρθένους καλέουσι· πρὶν δὲ  
ἀνεῖναι αὐτὰς μάχεσθαι, τὰδε ποιέουσιν· κοινῇ παρθένον τὴν καλλι-  
στεύουσιν ἑκάστοτε κοσμήσαντες κυνῇ τε Κορινθίῃ καὶ πανοπλῇ  
Ἑλληνικῇ, καὶ ἐπ' ἄρμα ἀναβιβάσαντες, περιάγουσι τὴν λίμνην  
κύκλῳ<sup>445</sup>. ὁτέοισι δὲ τὸ πάλαι ἐκόσμεον τὰς παρθένους, πρὶν ἢ

Conterminous with the  
Machlyes  
are the  
Auses.

Their wor-  
ship of  
a native  
deity corre-  
sponding to  
Athena, and  
procession  
in her ho-  
nour.

<sup>443</sup> κρύψαι τὸν τρίποδα. The tripod (the symbol of the tutelary deity of the settlers, see note 493 on i. 144) is a most important feature in the legend, and appears in all the versions of it. The whole story is a fair specimen of the mythical way in which the history of colonization was described in early times. The later ages consolidated the poetic fictions of the earlier period into facts, and accounted for them on the principle which Euhemerus was noted for systematically carrying out. Thus APOLLONIUS RHODIUS makes the sacred tripod a return for the piece of earth, which in his narrative, as well as that of PINDAR (*Pyth.* iv. 22, *seqq.*), is the symbol by which Triton makes over the soil to the Hellenic settlers (iv. 1648). DIODORUS brings the matter down even closer to the level of daily experience. Triton, according to him, was the king of the country, who, on explaining to the Argonauts the difficulties of the coast, was rewarded by them with a brazen tripod, which in after times was to be actually seen, covered with hieroglyphics, at Berenice (iv. 56).

See, for further illustration of the way in which mythical stories were used by the ancients for the purpose of justifying actual policy, the notes on vi. 140.

<sup>444</sup> τρωμάτων. This form, which Gaisford adopts, rests on the authority of M, K, P, S, V, F, and a, the other MSS having τρωνμάτων or τρωδμάτων. EUSTATHIUS (*ad Il.* v. 596) lays down the canon that where the diphthong *au* is changed into *ou* without crasis, the latter form is in Ionic a dissyllable. On this principle one ought to write *θούμα* and *εωθόν*, although the crasis which had taken place would justify *εμεωντοῦ* and *σεωντοῦ* (*ἐμέο αὐτοῦ* and *σέο αὐτοῦ*), *τάντδ* (*τὸ αὐτὸ*) *έντδς* (*ὁ αὐτὸς*), and *έντοί* (*οἱ αὐτοί*). But in this particular case *τρώμα* may be reasonably concluded a form directly derived from a present tense *τρώω*. And even if this were not the case, it seems very hazardous to be guided by the factitious rules of Alexandrine grammarians or their followers in the case of an author who writes so loosely as Herodotus.

<sup>445</sup> περιάγουσι τὴν λίμνην κύκλῳ. The existence of this practice may have sug-

σφι "Ελληνας παροικισθῆναι, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι"<sup>466</sup>. δοκέω δ' ὦν Αἰγυπτίοισι ὄπλοισι κοσμέεσθαι αὐτάς· ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ κράνος φημὶ ἀπῖχθαι ἐς τοὺς "Ελληνας"<sup>467</sup>. τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναίην φασὶ Ποσειδέωνος εἶναι θυγατέρα καὶ τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης· καὶ μιν μεμφθεῖσάν τι τῷ πατρὶ, δοῦναι ἑωυτὴν τῷ Διὶ· τὸν δὲ Δία ἑωυτοῦ μιν ποιήσασθαι θυγατέρα. ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι. μῆξιν δὲ ἐπῖκοινον τῶν γυναικῶν ποιεῖνται, οὔτε συνοικέοντες κτηνηδὸν τε μισγόμενοι· ἐπεὰν δὲ γυναικὶ τὸ παιδίον ἀδρὸν γένηται, συμφοιτέουσι ἐς τὸντὸ οἱ ἄνδρες τρίτου μηνὸς, καὶ τῷ ἄν οἰκῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ παιδίον, τούτου παῖς νομίζεται"<sup>468</sup>.

181

The inland  
parts of  
Libya.

Οὔτοι μὲν οἱ παραθαλάσσιοι τῶν Νομάδων Λιβύων εἰρέεσται· ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἡ θηριώδης ἐστὶ Λιβύη· ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς θηριώδεος ὄφρυν ψάμμης"<sup>469</sup> κατήκει, παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ Θηβέων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπὶ Ἑρακλῆϊας στήλας· ἐν δὲ τῇ ὄφρυν ταύτῃ μάλιστα διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ, ἄλως ἐστὶ τρύφεια κατὰ χάνδρους μεγάλους ἐν κολωνοῖσι· καὶ ἐν κορυφῇσι ἐκάστου τοῦ κολωνοῦ

gested to the friends of Pisistratus the demonstration described by Herodotus above, i. 60, where see note 201. It seems scarcely doubtful that this Athene is a war goddess, a kind of Enyo, Bellona, or Amazon, analogous to the Mother of Ares at Papremis, where on the day of the high festival there was "a passage of arms" not unlike the one described in the text. See ii. 63.

<sup>466</sup> οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι. This expression indicates that no positive knowledge respecting the practice reached back to an earlier time than that in which direct mercantile transactions between Hellas and Libya existed.

<sup>467</sup> ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου... "Ελληνας. It is not easy to reconcile this statement with what is known of the Hellenic armour. Before the time of Psammitichus (as it would seem from the story in ii. 152), the Hellenic casque and shield must have been unknown to the Egyptians. But they were long before familiar to the Greeks of Asia, as appears from the Homeric poems, and probably to the Carians (who formerly inhabited the islands) even at an earlier period. See THUCYDIDES i. 8. If they came from Egypt to the Greeks at all in early times, it was perhaps only as from a staple of manufactures fabricated by *foreigners* settled there. See notes

128, 129, and 134 on Book ii. But the Egyptian priest in PLATO (*Tymaeus*, p. 24) takes the same view as Herodotus.

<sup>468</sup> τούτου παῖς νομίζεται. The description of the tribes on the coast is continued in § 186, the intermediate five sections being taken up with an account of the tribes inland, apparently derived from information brought by the caravans into Egypt.

<sup>469</sup> ψάμμης. The form ψάμμη in place of the more common ψάμμος is defended by the use of ARISTOPHANES (*Lysistr.* 1260): ἦν γὰρ τῶνδρες οὐκ ἐλάσσους τῆς ψάμμης. It would almost seem however as if the expression was put in the mouth of the speaker in that passage as a Dorian peculiarity, and if so, its use here may be thought to indicate the source of the information. But elsewhere Herodotus uses the other form (i. 47; iii. 26, 102; and even 182, below). And in this passage S and V have ψάμμος, as if in the sense of ψάμμος, or as if a gloss of ὄφρυν standing alone. Perhaps the last is the most probable supposition. For in § 182 all the MSS have τῆς ψάμμου, and it is scarcely conceivable that if Herodotus had advisedly used the feminine termination here, he would have changed it so soon in a part of the narrative closely cohering with this.

ἀνακοντίζει ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ἁλὸς ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν καὶ γλυκὺ περὶ δὲ αὐτὸ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέουσι ἔσχατοι πρὸς τῆς ἐρήμου, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς θηριαώδους. πρῶτοι μὲν, ἀπὸ Θηβέων διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ<sup>470</sup>, *The Oasis of Ammon.* Ἀμμώνιοι, ἔχοντες τὸ ἱρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θηβαίους Διός· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Θήβησι, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται μοι, κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Διὸς τὰγαλμά ἐστι. τυγχάνει δὲ καὶ ἄλλο σφι ὕδωρ κρηναῖον ἐόν· τὸν μὲν ὄρθρον γίνεται χλιαρὸν<sup>471</sup>, ἀγορῆς δὲ πληθυσύσης ψυχρότερον μεσαμβρίῃ τέ ἐστι, καὶ τὸ κάρτα γίνεται ψυχρὸν· τηλικαῦτα δὲ ἄρδουσι τοὺς κήπους· ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρης ὑπλεται τοῦ ψυχροῦ, ἐς οὗ δύεται τε ὁ ἥλιος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ γίνεται χλιαρὸν<sup>472</sup>, *Fountain of the sun, which is cold at mid-day, and boils at midnight.* ἐπὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἰὼν ἐς τὸ θερμὸν ἐς μέσας νύκτας πελάζει· τηλικαῦτα δὲ ζέει ἀμβολάδην παρέρχονται τε μέσαι νύκτες καὶ ψύχεται μέχρι ἐς ἥω· ἐπὶ κλησιν δὲ αὕτη ἡ κρήνη καλεῖται Ἑλίου.

Μετὰ δὲ Ἀμμωνίους, διὰ τῆς ὁφρύης τῆς ψάμμου, δι' ἁλλέων 182  
δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ, κολωνός τε ἁλός ἐστι ὁμοίος τῷ Ἀμμωνίῳ καὶ *Ten days from Am-*

<sup>470</sup> διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ. The real distance of Thebes from the Oasis of Ammon is nearly 400 geographical miles. Probably there is some confusion between it and the greater Oasis (*El Wah*) of which the author speaks in iii. 26, where see note 73. The Oasis of Ammon is situated lat. 29° 9' 50", long. 26° 20'. HERODOTUS indeed attempts to identify the distances given by Herodotus with those of existing caravan routes, by supposing a station left out between Thebes and the Oasis of Ammon, and another between Augila and the Garamantes. But his whole discussion (*African Nations*, chapter vi.) although ingenious, is based upon the assumption of much greater exactness in Herodotus's work than is compatible with the phenomena observable therein. That every station should consist of a hill of salt, and that from the summit of every hill a stream of fresh water should burst out, ought to have raised some suspicion of the accuracy of the narrative. The phenomena of the region are in fact such as to suggest the account in the text, but not to warrant it. There are large deposits of salt, and out of some fresh water springs rise, but the appearance in the great majority of cases is that of a field, not a hillock, of salt; and the water springing from the deposit is generally saline.

<sup>471</sup> τὸ τὸν μὲν ὄρθρον γίνεται χλιαρὸν.

For the accounts prevalent among the ancients with regard to this fountain see ARISTOTLE (*ap. Antigonum Carystium, De Mirabilibus*, § 144) and LUCRETIUS (vi. 849—874). The physical fact causing the general belief doubtless is the circumstance that while the temperature of the water coming from a considerable depth remained constant, that of the air would vary enormously; and by comparison with this the apparent temperature of the water would be such as described in the text. See a parallel case with regard to the effect of the sun in India (iii. 104, note 301).

<sup>472</sup> δύεται τε ὁ ἥλιος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ γίνεται χλιαρὸν, "as the sun sets, so does the water grow tepid." This mode of expression, in which the synchronism of two events is denoted by coupling the clauses expressing them by the particles τε—καί, is a favourite one with Herodotus, but peculiar to him. Thus, below, *παρέρχονται τε μέσαι νύκτες καὶ ψύχεται μέχρι ἐς ἥω*, "as midnight passes, so does the water grow colder even till dawn." § 199: *συγκεκρίμιστα τε ὄντος ὁ μέσος καρπὸς καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ κατωπερτάτῃ τῆς γῆς πεπαιγνεται*, "as this midland-grown crop is housed, the crop in the highlands is getting ripe." And above, § 135: *νύξ τε ἐγένετο καὶ Δαρεῖος ἐχράτο τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ*. v. 86: *τοὺς τε Ἀθηναίους ἀποβεβάναι . . . καὶ παρῆναι τοὺς Ἀργεῖους*.



mon is  
Augila.

183

Ten days  
from Augila  
are the  
Garaman-  
tes, thirty  
days' jour-  
ney from the Loto-  
phagi on  
the coast.

These Garaman-  
tes hunt  
the Troglody-  
tes, a race  
which have  
a language  
like the  
scream of  
bats.

184

Ten days  
beyond the  
Garamantes  
are the

ὑδωρ· καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι· τῇ δὲ χώρῃ τούτῃ οὖνομα Αὔγिला ἐστὶ. (ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χώρον <sup>473</sup> οἱ Νασαμώνες ὅπωριεύντες τοὺς φοίνικας φοιτέουσι.) Ἀπὸ δὲ Αὔγιλων, διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ἀλλέων ὁδοῦ, ἕτερος ἄλός κολωνός, καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ φοίνικες καρποφόροι πολλοὶ, κατὰπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἐτέροισι· καὶ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέουσι ἐν αὐτῇ τοῖσι οὖνομα Γαράμαντές ἐστι, ἔθνος μέγα ἰσχυρῶς· οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλα γῆν ἐπιφορέοντες, οὕτω σπείρουσι· (συντομώτατον· δ' ἐστὶ ἐς τοὺς Λωτοφάγους, ἐκ τῶν τριήκοντα ἡμερέων ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁδός ἐστι.) ἐν τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ὀπισθονόμοι βόες γίνονται· ὀπισθονόμοι δὲ διὰ τόδε εἰσὶ· τὰ κέρα ἔχουσι κεκυφῶτα ἐς τὸ ἔμπροσθε· διὰ τοῦτο ὀπίσω ἀναχωρέοντες νέμονται· ἐς γὰρ τὸ ἔμπροσθε οὐκ οἰοί τέ εἰσι, προεμβαλλόντων ἐς τὴν γῆν τῶν κερῶν· ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων βοῶν ὅτι μὴ τοῦτο, καὶ τὸ δέρμα ἐς παχύτητά τε καὶ τρίψιν. οἱ Γαράμαντες δὲ οὔτοι <sup>474</sup> τοὺς Τρωγλοδύτας Αἰθίοπας θηρεύουσι τοῖσι τεθρίπποισι. οἱ γὰρ Τρωγλοδύται Αἰθίοπες πόδας τάχιστα ἀνθρώπων πάντων εἰσὶ τῶν ἡμεῖς περὶ λόγους ἀποφερομένους ἀκούομεν· σιτέονται δὲ οἱ Τρωγλοδύται ὄφεις καὶ σαύρας, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἐρπετῶν γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐδεμὴ ἄλλη παρομοίην νενομίκασι <sup>475</sup>, ἀλλὰ τετρίγασιν <sup>476</sup> κατὰπερ αἱ νυκτερίδες.

Ἀπὸ δὲ Γαράμαντων δι' ἀλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ, ἄλλος ἄλός τε κολωνός καὶ ὕδωρ· καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι, τοῖσι οὖνομά ἐστι Ἀτάραντες <sup>477</sup>. οἱ ἀνώνυμοι εἰσι μῦθοι ἀνθρώ-

<sup>473</sup> ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χώρον. Dates are produced in the Oasis of Ammon, but the quantity which grows at Augila is very much greater. Hence being the principal market of the article, the latter is especially mentioned. See above, § 172, note 450.

<sup>474</sup> οἱ Γαράμαντες δὲ οὔτοι. See above, note 466 on § 174.

<sup>475</sup> γλῶσσαν . . . νενομίκασι. See note 484 on i. 142.

<sup>476</sup> τετρίγασιν. The Tibboos, the race living in the holes of the Tibesti mountains, still, as formerly, hunted for the purpose of making slaves of them, are said by the Augilians to have a language like the "whistling of birds." But this is the effect of almost any language which is entirely unintelligible upon the ear of an uneducated person. Thus Herodotus endeavours to explain the legend of the pigeon of Dodona, (ii. 57;) and Clytæm-

nestra in ÆSCHYLUS compares the unknown foreign language of Cassandra to the voice of the swallow (*Agam.* 1050). See also ARISTOPHANES (*Birds*, 1681). An ingenious attempt has been made to show that the names of many of the tribes mentioned in the Homeric poems are derived from this supposed similarity of their languages to the notes of birds. See the *Cambridge Philological Museum*, vol. i. pp. 609—627.

<sup>477</sup> Ἀτάραντες. So Gaisford prints, and the commentators universally since the time of Salmasius have approved of the change. It is however a conjectural one from Ἀτλαντες, the reading of all the MSS. And it would seem that both PLINY and STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS found the reading Ἀτλαντες in their copies. HEEREN places the tribe in question in the territory of Tegerry, the fron-

πων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· ἀλέσι μὲν γὰρ σφί ἐστι Ἀτάραντες οὖνομα, *Atarantes* or *Atlantes*, ἐνὶ δὲ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν οὖνομα οὐδὲν κέεται. οὗτοι τῷ ἡλίῳ ὑπερ- who have no individual names. βάλλοντι καταρέωνται, καὶ πρὸς τούτοισι πάντα τὰ αἰσχροῦ λοι- Ten days beyond these is another hill of salt and spring of water: and then *Mount Atlas*, the pillar of heaven. The people there, who are called *Atlantes*, eat no living thing. δορέονται, ὅτι σφέας καίων ἐπιτρίβει, αὐτούς τε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. μετὰ δὲ, δι' ἀλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ<sup>478</sup>, αἷος κολωνὸς αἷος καὶ ὕδωρ· καὶ ἀνθρώποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι. ἔχεται δὲ τοῦ αἷος τούτου οὗρος τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Ἀτλας· ἔστι δὲ στεῖνων καὶ κυκλοτερές πάντη· ὑψηλὸν δὲ οὕτω δὴ τι λέγεται, ὥς τὰς κορυφὰς αὐτοῦ οὐκ οἶά τε εἶναι ἰδέσθαι· οὐδέποτε γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀπολείπειν νέφεα, οὔτε θέρεος οὔτε χειμῶνος· τοῦτο τὸν κίονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι εἶναι· ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ οὐρεος οἱ ἀνθρώποι οὗτοι ἐπώνυμοι ἐγένοντο· καλέονται γὰρ δὴ Ἀτλαντες· λέγονται δὲ οὔτε ἐμφυχον οὐδὲν σιτέεσθαι οὔτε ἐνύπνια ὀραῖν.

Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀτλάντων τούτων, ἔχω τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν ἐν 185 τῇ ὀφρῇ κατοικημένων καταλέξει· τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτων, οὐκέτι· διήκει Beyond this the desert extends to the pillars of Heracles, and even further. But all that the author knows is the existence of a remarkable δ' ὦν ἡ ὀφρὴ μέχρι Ἡρακλήων στηλέων, καὶ· τὸ ἔξω τούτων ἔστι δὲ αἷος τε μέταλλον ἐν αὐτῇ διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ<sup>479</sup>, καὶ ἀνθρώποι οἰκέοντες· τὰ δὲ οἰκία τούτοις πᾶσι ἐκ τῶν ἀλίνων χόνδρων οἰκοδομέαται<sup>480</sup>. ταῦτα γὰρ ἤδη τῆς Λιβύης ἀνομβρά ἐστι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἡδυνέατο μένειν οἱ τοίχοι εὐόντες ἄλινοι, εἰ ὕε. ὁ δὲ ἄλς αὐτόθι καὶ λευκὸς καὶ πορφύρεος τὸ εἶδος ὀρύσσεται. ὑπὲρ δὲ

tier town of Fazzan, the halting-place for the caravans from the south. Here the Arabic language ceases and the Bornou begins. The Bornouese are said by LEO AFRICANUS (quoted by Heeren) to have no proper names strictly speaking, but to be called by nicknames derived from some accidental quality. But Herodotus does not seem to mean this, which is in fact the origin of the great majority of surnames in all languages; but that they have no individual names at all, and are a mere herd of men. It is plain that his information is in the highest degree vague; and it is worse than useless to attempt to disguise this by arbitrary emendations and strained explanations.

<sup>478</sup> ὁδοῦ. This word is omitted from the manuscripts M, K, P, S, V.

<sup>479</sup> διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ. This ten days' march would probably, in the views of Herodotus, have to be reckoned from the Atlantes, of whom he has just spoken. Heeren attempts to fix the site at the salt

mines of *Tegazah*, spoken of by LEO AFRICANUS, about twenty days' journey from *Timbuctoo*, on the caravan road to Morocco.

<sup>480</sup> ἐκ τῶν ἀλίνων χόνδρων οἰκοδομέαται. STRABO relates that *Gerrha*, a city built by Chaldaean exiles on the coast of the Persian gulf, was constructed of salt, and that when the surface scaled off by the excessive heat of the sun, the inhabitants were accustomed to repair the mischief by sprinkling it with water (xvi. c. 3, p. 382). The houses of *Tegazah* are described by ISN BATUTA as built of rock salt and covered with camels' hides. The mountain *Had-Deffa*, which consists of the purest rock salt, at the eastern extremity of the *Lake of Marks* (the ancient *Tritonia*), is said by modern travellers to be as hard as stone, quite different from pit salt, and to be of a red hue, although the salt which is detached by dew loses this colour and becomes white.

salt mine  
ten days  
off.

τῆς ὀφρύης ταύτης, τὸ πρὸς νότον καὶ μεσόγαίαν τῆς Λιβύης, ἐρήμος καὶ ἄνυδρος καὶ ἄθηρος καὶ ἄνομβρος καὶ ἄξυλός ἐστι ἢ χώρη καὶ ἱκμάδος ἐστὶ ἐν αὐτῇ οὐδέν.

186

West of the  
lake Tri-  
tonis the  
tribes of  
the coast  
are not  
nomads.

Οὕτω μὲν μέχρι τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης <sup>441</sup> ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου νομάδες εἰσὶ κρεοφάγοι τε καὶ γαλακτοπόται Λίβυες καὶ θηλέων τε βοῶν οὐ τι γεύομενοι, διότι περ οὐδὲ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ὅς οὐ τρέφοντες βοῶν μὲν νυν θηλέων οὐδ' αἱ Κυρηναίων γυναῖκες <sup>442</sup> δικαιοῦσι πατέεσθαι, διὰ τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἴσιω, ἀλλὰ καὶ νηστείας αὐτῇ καὶ ὀρτάς ἐπιτελέουσι· αἱ δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων γυναῖκες οὐδὲ ἰῶν πρὸς

187

These  
are very  
healthy,  
and attri-  
bute it to  
the practice  
of cauter-  
izing parts  
of the head  
when young.

τῇσι βουσί γέγονται· ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἔχει. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρῃ τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης οὐκέτι νομάδες εἰσὶ Λίβυες <sup>443</sup>, οὐδὲ νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρεώμενοι, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰ παιδία ποιεῖντες οἷόν τι καὶ οἱ νομάδες ἐώθασιν ποιεῖν· οἱ γὰρ δὴ τῶν Λιβύων νομάδες, (εἰ μὲν πάντες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως τοῦτο εἶπαι,) ποιεῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν συχνοὶ τοιάδε· τῶν παιδίων τῶν σφετέρων, ἐπεὰν τετραέτεα γένηται, οἴσπη προβάτων καίουσιν τὰς ἐν τῇσι κορυφῇσι φλέβας μετ' ἐξέτεροι δὲ αὐτῶν, τὰς ἐν τοῖσι κροτάφοισι· τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὥς μὴ σφεας ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον καταρρέου φλέγμα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς δηλῆται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό σφεας λέγουσι εἶναι ἰγμηροτάτους <sup>444</sup>. εἰσὶ γὰρ ὥς ἀληθέως οἱ Λίβυες ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἰγμηρότατοι, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· εἰ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι, ἰγμηρότατοι δ' ὦν εἰσὶ· ἦν δὲ καλοῦσι τὰ παιδία σπασμός ἐπνυγνῆται, ἐξεύρηται

They cure  
convulsions  
by goats'  
urine.

<sup>441</sup> οὕτω μὲν μέχρι τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης. Here is resumed the account of the tribes on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea which had been broken off with § 180, the intervening five sections being derived from a different class of authorities. See above, note 442 on § 168. It seems not impossible that the mine of rock salt which is described in the last section is an union of accounts of two distinct places, the red rock Had-Deffa and the pits at Bilma.

<sup>442</sup> αἱ Κυρηναίων γυναῖκες. It was quite to be expected that there should be a mixture of race between the early Hellenic settlers and the aborigines whom they found; and that it actually took place appears from the genealogy of Telesicrates (PINDAR, *Pyth.* ix. 109) and from CALLIMACHUS (*Hymn. Apoll.* 85, 87).

<sup>443</sup> οὐκέτι νομάδες εἰσὶ Λίβυες. It has been thought that this expression is an inaccurate one, from the circumstance of

the *Auses*, a tribe on the west of Lake Tritonis (§ 180), being included among the *nomad Libyans* (§ 181). But the inaccuracy, such as it is, seems rather to lie in the including such tribes as the *Auses* and *Machlyes* among nomads. They appear by the description to be entirely confined to the shore of the lake, and the deity whom they worship is termed ἀδύγητος, an expression quite inapplicable in the case of a tribe without a local habitation. But all that Herodotus seems to say amounts to stating that the country east of the Lake Tritonis is the region of the nomad races, and that when you pass it you no longer find them. Neither the *Kabales* (§ 171) nor the *Lotus-eaters* (§ 177) appear to be a nomad race in the strict sense of the term.

<sup>444</sup> ἰγμηροτάτους. See note 198 on ii. 77.

σφι ἄκος τράγου οὖρον σπείσαντες<sup>485</sup> ῥύονται σφεα· λέγω δὲ τὰ  
λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Λίβυες. Θυσίαι δὲ τοῖσι νομάσι εἰσι αἶδε ἐπεὶν 188

τοῦ ἁπλὸς ἀπάρξονται τοῦ κτήνεος, ῥιπτέουσι ὑπὲρ τὸν δόμον·  
τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἀποστρέφουσι τὸν αὐχένα αὐτοῦ. θύουσι The mode  
δὲ ἡλῶ καὶ σελήνη μούνοισι. τοῦτοις μὲν νυν πάντες Λίβυες of sacrifice  
used by the  
nomads.

θύουσι· ἀτὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην νέμοντες τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ  
μάλιστα, μετὰ δὲ, τῷ Τρίτῳ καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι. Τὴν δὲ ἄρα 189

ἑσθῆτα καὶ τὰς αἰγίδας τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐκ τῶν  
Λιβυσσέων ἐποίησαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες· πλὴν γὰρ ἡ ὅτι σκυτίνη ἢ  
ἑσθῆς τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐστὶ, καὶ οἱ θύσανοι οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰγίδων  
αὐτῆσι οὐκ ὀφίεις εἰσι<sup>486</sup>, ἀλλὰ ἰμάντινοι· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ  
τῶντ' ἑσταλται· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα κατηγορεῖ<sup>487</sup>, ὅτι ἐκ Λιβύης  
ἦκει ἡ στολὴ τῶν Παλλαδίων· αἰγέας γὰρ περιβάλλονται ψιλὰς  
περὶ τὴν ἑσθῆτα θυσανωτὰς αἱ Λίβυσσαι, κεχριμένας ἐρευθεδάνῃ<sup>488</sup>.

ἐκ δὲ τῶν αἰγέων τουτέων αἰγίδας οἱ Ἕλληνες μετωνόμασαν δοκέει  
δ' ἐμοὶ γε καὶ ἡ ὀλολυγὴ ἐν ἱοῖσι ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον γενέσθαι· κάρτα  
γὰρ ταύτῃ χρέωνται αἱ Λίβυσσαι, καὶ χρέωνται καλῶς. καὶ τέσ-  
σερας ἵππους συζευγνύει παρὰ Λιβύων οἱ Ἕλληνες μεμαθήκασι. Libya.

<sup>485</sup> τράγου οὖρον σπείσαντες. The restorative effect would no doubt arise from the ammonia with which the urine is strongly impregnated.

<sup>486</sup> θύσανοι . . . οὐκ ὀφίεις εἰσι. The development of the fringe of the *agis* into snakes was due to the progress of art, and preceded the time of Herodotus by a very little. In the oldest monument of Hellenic pictorial art, the Panathenaic vase discovered by Mr. Burgon, the fringe still remains.

<sup>487</sup> καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα κατηγορεῖ. The name *αἰγίη* is unquestionably a purely Hellenic word; so that if the peculiar garb of Athens and its name (*αἰγίς*) were imported simultaneously into Hellas, and both derived from the Libyan women, it cannot be supposed that these were a pure native population. Now both the *αἰγίς* and the *ὀλολυγὴ* are in the Homeric poems found as part and parcel of the garb and ritual of Athens;—which decisively shows their familiarity in Asiatic Greece long before the settlement of Battas at Cyrene. Nevertheless the garb of Athens being the same as the common dress of the Libyan women seems on the other hand a certain evidence

that such a representation of the deity must be of Libyan origin,—or, at least, could not possibly have been brought into Libya from a country where the costume was different. And as soon as ever it became a sacred garb, a sacredness would also attach to its name, and the two, if exported, would be exported together. The combination of these varied *data* must be very arbitrary; but as one hypothesis, I should be inclined to suggest that the Libyans found by Battas were the descendants of very early settlers (perhaps Carian islanders) who had become incorporated with the aboriginal Africans (perhaps *Berbers*), had adopted the native *agis*-bearing deity, and super-added to her costume the casque and shield. (See note 467 on § 180, above.) If these settlements happened before the time represented by the reign of Minos, there would be room left for the exportation of Athens with her whole costume and ritual to Asiatic Greece before the composition of the Homeric poems.

<sup>488</sup> κεχριμένας ἐρευθεδάνῃ. These red-dened goat-skins are perhaps represented by the red morocco leather of the present day.

190

The nomad  
mode of  
sepulture.

Their port-  
able huts.

Θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας οἱ νομάδες κατὰπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, πλὴν Νασαμώνων οὗτοι δὲ κατημένους θάπτουσι, φυλάσσοντες, ἐπεὶ ἀπὴν τὴν ψυχὴν, ὅκως μιν κατίσουσι, μηδὲ ὑπτιος ἀποθαῖνεται. οἰκήματα δὲ σύμπηκτα ἐξ ἀνθερίκων ἐνερμένων περὶ σχοίνους ἐστὶ, καὶ ταῦτα περιφορητά· νόμοισι μὲν τοιούτοις οὗτοι χρέωνται.

191

West of the  
river Triton  
are the agri-  
cultural  
Libyans.  
The *Mazyes*.

Τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ, Αὐσέων ἔχονται ἀροτήρες ἡδὴ Λίβυες, καὶ οἰκίας νομίζοντες ἐκτῆσθαι τοῖσι αἶνονα κέεται Μάξυες· οἱ τὰ ἐπιδεξιά τῶν κεφαλῶν κομόωσι, τὰ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν στερὰ κείρουσι· τὸ δὲ σῶμα χρίονται μίλτῳ· φασὶ δὲ οὗτοι εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀνδρῶν. ἡ δὲ χώρα <sup>489</sup> αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ τῆς Λιβύης ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην, πολλὰ θηριωδεστέρα τε καὶ δασυτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν νομάδων χώρας· ἡ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πρὸς τὴν ἡὼ τῆς Λιβύης, τὴν οἱ νομάδες νέμονται, ἔστι ταπεινὴ τε καὶ ψαμμώδης, μέχρι τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ· ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης, ἡ τῶν ἀροτήρων, ὀρεινὴ τε κάρτα καὶ δασέα καὶ θηριώδης· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄφεις οἱ ὑπερμεγάρηες καὶ οἱ λέοντες κατὰ τούτους εἰσὶ, καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντές τε καὶ ἄρκτοι <sup>490</sup>, καὶ ἀσπίδες τε καὶ ὄνοι οἱ τὰ κέρεια <sup>491</sup> ἔχοντες· καὶ οἱ κυνοκέφαλοι, καὶ οἱ ἀκέφαλοι <sup>492</sup> οἱ ἐν τοῖσι στήθεσι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες, (ὡς δὴ λέγονται γε ὑπὸ Λιβύων,) καὶ οἱ ἀγριοὶ ἄνδρες, καὶ γυναῖκες ἀγριαί, καὶ ἄλλα πλῆθει πολλὰ θηρία

Monsters  
found in the  
country.

192

ἀκατάψευστα <sup>493</sup>. Κατὰ τοὺς Νομάδας δὲ ἐστὶ τούτων οὐδὲν, ἀλλ'

<sup>489</sup> ἡ δὲ χώρα, κ.τ.λ. This part of Africa, answering to the pashalik of Tunis, was a part of the domain or under the influence of Carthage; and the exclusive policy of that country doubtless contributed to exaggerate the formidable character of the animals which inhabited the region. The soldiers of Regulus were very reluctant to follow him into a country about which such terrible stories were current. (See the next note.)

<sup>490</sup> οἱ ὄφεις . . . . ἄρκτοι. The use of the article is to be remarked. "The serpents and the lions," i.e. which we hear such stories of. So again οἱ κυνοκέφαλοι and οἱ ἀκέφαλοι. See notes 206, 222, and 232 on Book ii., and note 445, above. No elephants are found now in this region, although they seem to have existed in the time of Pompey. See PLUTARCH. *Pomp.* § 12.

<sup>491</sup> οἱ τὰ κέρεια. One manuscript (c) omits of τὰ. The animal described is per-

haps the *xyloghax*, unless it be merely taken from a picture. Such a representation is to be found in the *Monuments Egyptiens*, pl. 84.

<sup>492</sup> καὶ οἱ ἀκέφαλοι. That the author intends a human race by these seems likely from his using the term *στάθες*, which could hardly be applied to any other. They have doubtless only a traditional existence. PLINY (v. 8) terms them *Blennyæ*, and SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE, who calls them "folk of foule stature and of cursed kynde, that have no heddes, and here eyen ben in here scholdres," puts them in "an ile toward the south" (p. 203). Possibly the origin of the fiction is some symbolical representation. Pliny (l. c.) speaks also of some *Himantopodes*, which seem to be a fiction arising out of the symbolical representations of *Abrazas*. See *Monuments Egyptiens*, pl. 86.

<sup>493</sup> ἀκατάψευστα. The manuscripts δ,

ἄλλα τοιάδε πύγαργοι<sup>494</sup>, καὶ ζορκάδες, καὶ βουβάλιες, καὶ ὄνοι, οὐκ οἱ τὰ κέρεια ἔχοντες ἀλλὰ ἄλλοι ἄποτοι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πίνουσι· καὶ ὄρνες, τῶν τὰ κέρεια τοῖσι φοιῶσι οἱ πῆχες ποιεῦνται<sup>495</sup>. μέγας δὲ τὸ θηρίου τοῦτο κατὰ βούν ἐστί· καὶ βασσάρια<sup>a</sup>, καὶ ὕαινοι, καὶ ὕστριχες, καὶ κριοὶ ἄγριοι, καὶ δίκτυες<sup>496</sup>, καὶ θῶες, καὶ πάνθηρες, καὶ βόρνες, καὶ κροκόδειλοι ὅσον τε τριπῆχες χερσαῖοι, τῇσι σαύρησι ἐμπερέστατοι· καὶ στρουθοὶ κατάγαιοι, καὶ ὄφεις σμικροὶ κέρας ἐν ἑκαστος ἔχοντες. ταῦτά τε δὴ αὐτόθι ἐστὶ θηρία, καὶ ἄπερ τῇ ἄλλῃ, πλὴν ἐλάφου τε καὶ ὕος ἀγρίου· ἔλαφος δὲ καὶ ὕς ἀγρίου ἐν Λιβύῃ πάμπαν οὐκ ἔστι<sup>497</sup>. μυῶν δὲ γένεα τριζὰ αὐτόθι ἐστί· οἱ μὲν δίποδες καλέονται<sup>498</sup>, οἱ δὲ ζευγέριες<sup>499</sup>. (τὸ δὲ οὐνομα τοῦτό ἐστι μὲν Λιβυκόν, δύναται δὲ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν βουνοί·) οἱ δὲ ἐχίνες. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γαλαῖ ἐν τῷ σιελφῷ γινόμεναι, τῇσι Ταρτηρσίησι ὁμοιόταται. τοσαῦτα μὲν νυν θηρία ἢ τῶν Νομάδων Λιβύων γῇ ἔχει, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἱστορέοντες ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἶοι τε ἐγενόμεθα ἐξικέσθαι.

Animals found among the nomad tribes.

d have ἀκατάφραστα. Bekker reads κατάφραστα, D'Orville ἐκατάφραστα.

<sup>494</sup> πύγαργοι, possibly "bisons." The animal is spoken of in *Deuteronomy* (xiv. 5). The ζορκάδες (for which S has *δορκάδες* and V *δορκάδες*) and βουβάλιες are two species of antelope, and the same may be said of the ὄρνος,—an animal which ARISTOTLE calls *ὄρνος* and PLINY *oryx*.

<sup>495</sup> τῶν τὰ κέρεια . . ποιεῦνται, "whose horns are made into the frames for the Phœnician lutes." See *ATHENÆUS*, xiv. p. 63. The construction of the sentence is the same as that of viii. 27: ἡ δὲ δεκάτη ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστῶτες.

<sup>a</sup> βασσάρια, "foxes." The *Etymologicum Magnum* says: λέγεται βασσάρως ἢ ἀλάπηξ ὑπὸ Κυρηναίων. If the word be a local one, we may conjecture that here the author is following (mediately or immediately) a Cyrenian authority.

<sup>496</sup> δίκτυες. What these animals are it is impossible to say, as no other author mentions them. The Lacedæmonians gave the name δίκτυς to the 'kite' (HESYCHIUS), but it seems impossible that any bird should be interposed among a list of beasts.

<sup>497</sup> ὕς ἀγρίου . . . οὐκ ἔστι. Herodotus in this statement is followed by ARISTOTLE (*Hist. Animal.* viii. 28). But SHAW

says that wild hogs abound, and are in fact the chief food of the lion. In Socatou (lat. 15°, long. 6°) CLAPPERTON found them, but Herodotus is here apparently confining himself to the north of Africa. Perhaps the origin of the assertion is, that while in Greece the deer and boar comprised the whole of the nobler kind of game, in Africa they constituted a very small part in comparison with the enormous flocks of antelopes of different kinds.

<sup>498</sup> οἱ μὲν δίποδες καλέονται. These animals are doubtless the *jerboa*, which, although a quadruped, uses its forelegs very little, but, like the kangaroo, skips and sits upon its hind legs. It is probably the creature mentioned in *ISAIAH* (lxvi. 17), which our translators render by the word 'mouse.'

<sup>499</sup> οἱ δὲ ζευγέριες. BOCHART (quoted by *Larcher, ad loc.*) derives this word from the Punic word *zigar*, which is said to mean a kind of turnip. If the plural *zigarî* meant "bulbs," it would not be far off the signification of *βουνοί*. Bochart wished to change *βουνοί* into *βουνίνοι*, but it seems doubtful whether *βουνός* is not really an adjective, the masculine of the feminine *βουνίς*, which is used by *ÆSCHYLUS* (*Suppl.* 117. 128). The pair of forms would be analogous to *ὄρνις* and *ὄρνις*, *χρυσῶπις* and *χρυσῶπις*.

193 Μαξίων δὲ Λιβύων Ζαΐηκες<sup>500</sup> ἔχονται, τοῖσι αἱ γυναῖκες

194 ἥριοχεῦσι τὰ ἄρματα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. Τούτων δὲ Γύζαντες<sup>501</sup>  
*Zaenotes, Gyantes.* ἔχονται, ἐν τοῖσι μέλι μὲν πολλὸν μέλισσαι κατεργάζονται, πολλὰ

195 οὖν πάντες οὗτοι, καὶ πιθηκοφαγέουσιν· οἱ δὲ σφι ἄφθονοι ὅσοι ἐν  
*Island Cyprus, where the Carthaginians say gold is obtained from the mud of a pool. Tar springs of Zacynthus.* τοῖσι οὖρεσι γίνονται. Κατὰ τούτους<sup>502</sup> δὲ λέγουσι Καρχηδόνιοι  
 κέεσθαι νήσον τῇ οἴνομα εἶναι Κύρανιν, μήκος μὲν διηκοσίῳ  
 σταδίων πλάτος δὲ στενὴν, διαβατὸν ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου, ἐλαίῳ τε  
 μεστὴν καὶ ἀμπέλων λίμνην δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ εἶναι, ἐκ τῆς αἰ παρθένου  
 τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πτεροῖσι ὀρνίθων κεχριμένοισι πίσιον ἐκ τῆς ἰλῆος  
 ψήγμα ἀναφέρουσι χρυσοῦ. ταῦτα εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ ἀληθὲς οὐκ οἶδα,  
 τὰ δὲ λέγεται γράφω· εἴη δ' ἂν πᾶν ὅκου καὶ ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ἐκ  
 λίμνης καὶ ὕδατος πίσιον ἀναφερομένην αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ὤρεον. εἰσὶ  
 μὲν καὶ πλεῖνες αἱ λίμναι αὐτόθι, ἡ δὲ ὦν μεγίστη αὐτέων ἐβδο-  
 μήκοντα ποδῶν πάντῃ βάθος δὲ διόργυιός ἐστι· ἐς ταύτην κουντὸν  
 κατικεῖσι ἐπ' ἄκρῳ μυρσίῳν προσδήσαντες, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀναφέρουσι  
 τῇ μυρσίῳ πίσιον, ὁδὸν μὲν ἔχουσιν ἀσφάλτου τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς  
 Πιερικῆς πίσιος ἀμείνω<sup>504</sup>. ἐσχέουσι δὲ ἐς λάκκον ὀρωρυγμένον  
 ἀγγχοῦ τῆς λίμνης· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀθροίσωσι συχὴν, οὕτω ἐς τοὺς  
 ἀμφορέας ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου καταχέουσι· ὃ τι δ' ἂν ἐσπέσῃ ἐς τὴν  
 λίμνην, ὑπὸ γῆν ἰὸν ἀναφαίνεται ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ· ἡ δὲ ἀπέχει ὡς  
 τέσσερα στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης<sup>505</sup>. οὕτω ὦν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου  
 τῆς ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ κειμένης οἰκῶτα ἐστὶ ἀληθινή<sup>506</sup>.

<sup>500</sup> Ζαΐηκες. The manuscripts S and V have Ζάβηκες. Perhaps both the β and ν are merely dialectal varieties of the same sound, which may be that expressed in the early Greek by the digamma.

<sup>501</sup> Γύζαντες. This is the reading of the majority of MSS, but some have Ζύζαντες. Another form Βύζαντες had the authority of other writers. ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ (*sub v.*) says: Λίβυες περὶ Καρχηδόνα τῆς Λιβύης· ἔθνος, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ πόλις Βυζάντιον, καὶ Βυζάντιοι αἱ ἐν Λιβύῃ παρ' Ἡροδότῃ δὲ κακῶς διὰ τοῦ γ Γύζαντες.

<sup>502</sup> πολλὰ δὲ ἐστὶ πλέον δημιουργοὺς ἀνδρας ποιεῖν. See note on vii. 31.

<sup>503</sup> κατὰ τούτους, "abreast of these." See note 195 on ii. 76, and note 46 on iii. 14.

<sup>504</sup> τῆς Πιερικῆς πίσιος ἀμείνω. Herodotus's authority probably merely judged

from appearance. The substance really possesses a corrosive quality, which renders it unfit to be applied to cordage, although mixed with other pitch it does for paying the outside of boats. The Pierian pitch with which Herodotus compares the produce of the Zante tar springs is spoken of by PLINY (*N. H.* xiv. 21) as having the same repute in Greece as the pitch from Mount Ida enjoyed in Asia. The Zante tar can scarcely have been an important article of commerce, as its present yield is no more than about twenty barrels annually. It became however sufficiently well known for PLINY to compare it with the Babylonian and contrast it with the Judean (*xxxv.* 16).

<sup>505</sup> ἀπέχει ὡς τέσσερα στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης. The exactness of the eye-witness is manifest from this expression, although the face of the locality is changed. The

Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τάδε Καρχηδόνιου εἶναι τῆς Λιβύης χώρον τε 196  
καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἔξω Ἑρακλήτων στηλέων κατοικημένους, ἐς τοὺς  
ἐπεὰν ἀπικῶνται καὶ ἐξέλωνται τὰ φορτία, θέντες αὐτὰ ἐπεξῆς  
παρὰ τὴν κυματογῆν, ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα τύφειν καπνὸν τοὺς  
δ' ἐπιχωρίους ἰδομένους τὸν καπνὸν ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ  
ἔπειτα ἀντὶ τῶν φορτίων χρυσὸν τιθέναι, καὶ ἐξαναχωρεῖν πρόσω  
ἀπὸ τῶν φορτίων τοὺς δὲ Καρχηδονίους ἐκβάντας σκέπτεσθαι  
καὶ ἦν μὲν φαίνεται σφί ἄξιος ὁ χρυσὸς τῶν φορτίων, ἀπελόμενοι  
ἀπαλλάσσονται, ἦν δὲ μὴ ἄξιος, ἐσβάντες ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ πλοῖα  
κατέαται· οἱ δὲ προσελθόντες ἄλλον πρὸς ὧν ἔθηκαν χρυσὸν, ἐς οὐ  
ἂν πειθῶσι· ἀδικεῖν δὲ οὐδετέρους<sup>107</sup>. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοῦ χρυσοῦ  
ἄπτεσθαι πρὶν ἂν σφί ἀπισωθῇ τῇ ἀξίᾳ τῶν φορτίων, οὐτ' ἐκείνους  
τῶν φορτίων ἄπτεσθαι πρότερον ἢ αὐτοὶ τὸ χρυσὸν λάβωσι.

Οὗτοι μὲν εἰσι τοὺς ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν Λιβύων ὀνομάσαι· καὶ τούτων 197  
οἱ πολλοὶ βασιλέος τοῦ Μήδων οὔτε τι νῦν οὔτε τότε ἐφρόντιζον  
οὐδέν· τόσον δὲ ἔτι ἔχω εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, ὅτι τέσσερα  
ἔθνηα νέμεται αὐτὴν καὶ οὐ πλέω τούτων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν καὶ τὰ  
μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα τῶν ἐθνέων, τὰ δὲ δύο οὐ. Λίβυες μὲν καὶ  
Αἰθίοπες αὐτόχθονες, οἱ μὲν τὰ πρὸς βορρῶν οἱ δὲ τὰ πρὸς νότον  
τῆς Λιβύης οἰκούντες· Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Ἕλληγες ἐπήλυδες. Δοκέει 198

Carthagi-  
nian ac-  
count of  
the mode  
of barter  
with the  
natives be-  
yond the  
pillars of  
Heracles.

In Libya  
are two na-  
tive and two  
foreign  
races.

tar springs were visited by HAWKINS in 1795, and a full description of them is given in *Walpole's Turkey*, vol. ii. At the s.e. extremity of the island a morass of an oval form and about one-fourth of a mile long is formed by a narrow bar of shingle which has been thrown up by the sea, and intercepts the water which would otherwise run out. There are two springs from which the tar is taken,—the most productive being that which is farthest from the sea, and to which Herodotus here alludes. It now rises in the peat moss, in which a hole is cut for the purpose of procuring the tar, which, gradually oozing out from the surface of the earth, settles at the bottom of the hole. In calm weather the bitumen is observed to rise from the bottom of the sea in several parts of the adjoining bay; and there can be no doubt that it was this circumstance which led to the notion that substances thrown into the hole appear in the sea.

<sup>106</sup> οὕτω ἂν . . . οἰκῶτα ἐστὶ ἀληθῆρ. It seems strange that the existence of any

single tar spring should have had such weight with the writer as to render the Carthaginian story credible to him, unless he had been ignorant of the existence of others. Yet he describes (vi. 119) some springs, of the same kind but even more remarkable, and alludes to others (i. 179). Perhaps however the passage in the sixth book is an addition by an ancient editor. See note on *οἱ καὶ μέχρι ἐμὲ . . . . . ἀρχαίην γλῶσσαν*.

<sup>107</sup> ἀδικεῖν δὲ οὐδετέρους. All modern travellers confirm the credibility of this story, by showing its coincidence with the practice of the present day in the traffic between the different races of Africa. There being no intercourse between them except on the arrival of the caravans, and the use of money being unknown, trade must of necessity be a barter, and business be conducted by signs. SHAW gives an account of this kind of transaction between the western Moors and the Nigritians, and LYON of the same between some tribes in Soudan and the traders from Fes.



Remarkable  
fertility of  
the *Cyrena*.

δέ μοι οὐδ' ἀρετὴν εἶναι τις ἢ Λιβύη σπουδαίη<sup>508</sup>, ὥστε ἡ Ἀσίη ἢ  
Εὐρώπῃ παραβληθῆναι, πλὴν Κίνυπος μόνῃς· τὸ γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸ  
οὖνομα ἢ γῇ τῷ ποταμῷ ἔχει· αὕτη δὲ ὁμοίη τῇ ἀρίστῃ γεῶν  
Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν, οὐδὲ οἴκε οὐδὲν τῇ ἄλλῃ Λιβύῃ  
μελάνγαιός τε γάρ ἐστι, καὶ ἔπυδρος πίδαξι· καὶ οὔτε αὐχμοῦ  
φροντίζουσα οὐδὲν, οὔτε ὄμβρον πλέω πιούσα δεδήληται· ἔεται γὰρ  
δὴ ταῦτα τῆς Λιβύης· τῶν δὲ ἐκφορίων τοῦ καρποῦ ταῦτα μέτρα  
τῇ Βαβυλωνίῃ<sup>509</sup> γῇ κατίσταται. ἀγαθὴ δὲ γῇ καὶ τὴν Εὐεσπερί-  
ται νέμονται· ἐπ' ἑκατοστὰ γὰρ, ἐπεὰν αὕτη ἐωυτῆς ἀριστα ἐνείκη,  
ἐκφέρει· ἢ δὲ ἐν τῇ Κίνυτι, ἐπὶ τριησόσια. Ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἡ Κυρη-  
ναίη χώρα, ἐούσα ὑψηλοτάτῃ ταύτης τῆς Λιβύης τὴν οἱ Νομάδες  
νέμονται, τρεῖς ὥρας ἐν ἐωυτῇ ἀξίας θώματος· πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ τὰ  
παραθαλάσσια τῶν καρπῶν ὀργᾷ ἀμᾶσθαι τε καὶ τρυγᾶσθαι· τού-  
των δὲ συγκεκομισμένων, τῶν ὑπερθαλασσιδίων χώρων τὰ μέσα  
ὀργᾷ συγκομιζέσθαι, τὰ βουνούς καλέουσι<sup>510</sup>. συγκεκόμισται τε  
οὗτος ὁ μέσος καρπὸς καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ κατυπερτάτῃ τῆς γῆς πεπαίνεται  
τε καὶ ὀργᾷ· ὥστε ἐκπέποται τε καὶ καταβέβρωται ὁ πρῶτος καρ-  
πὸς, καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος συμπαραγίνεται. οὕτω ἐπ' ὀκτὼ μῆνας  
Κυρηναίους ὁπῶρῃ ἐπέχει. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐπιτοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω.

where the  
harvest  
lasts four  
months.

## 200

The army  
sent by  
Aryandes  
besieges  
Barca for  
nine  
months,

Οἱ δὲ Φερετίμης τιμωροὶ Πέρσαι ἐπεὶ τε ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου στα-  
λέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρυάνδεω ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Βάρκην, ἐπολιόρκεον  
τὴν πόλιν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου τοῦ  
Ἀρκεσίλεω τῶν δὲ πᾶν γὰρ ἦν τὸ πλῆθος μεταίτιον<sup>511</sup>, οὐκ  
ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους, ἐνθαῖτα δὴ ἐπολιόρκεον τὴν Βάρκην ἐπὶ  
μῆνας ἑννέα, ὀρύσσοντές τε ὀρύγματα ὑπόγαια<sup>512</sup> φέροντα ἐς τὸ  
τεῖχος καὶ προσβολὰς καρτερὰς ποιεῦμενοι. τὰ μὲν νυν ὀρύγματα  
ἀνὴρ χαλκεὺς ἀνεύρε ἐπιχάλκῳ ἀσπίδι, ὧδε ἐπιφρασθεῖς περι-

<sup>508</sup> οὐδ' ἀρετὴν εἶναι τις ἢ Λιβύη σπου-  
δαίη. One manuscript (S) has οὐδ' ἀρετὴ  
εἶναι τις ἐν Λιβύῃ σπουδαίη. But the  
text is supported by the unanimous con-  
sent of every other.

<sup>509</sup> ταῦτα μέτρα τῇ Βαβυλωνίῃ. See i.  
193.

<sup>510</sup> τὰ βουνούς καλέουσι. On the mean-  
ing and probable derivation of this word,  
see *Excursus*.

<sup>511</sup> τῶν δὲ πᾶν γὰρ ἦν τὸ πλῆθος μεταί-  
τιον, "but as of them the whole popula-  
tion was conjointly guilty." For the con-  
struction see note 383 on § 149, above.

<sup>512</sup> ὀρύσσοντές τε ὀρύγματα ὑπόγαια.  
The practice of mining as an important  
part of siege operations was probably in-  
herited by the Persians from the Medes,  
and by these from the yet more scientific  
Babylonians and Assyrians. In the Nine-  
veh sculptures the operation is continually  
represented. It appears to have struck  
the Greeks (whose scientific strategics  
perhaps may be considered to date from  
the time of Alexander's expedition) very  
forcibly in the time of Herodotus. See v.  
115, and vi. 18.

φέρων αὐτὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχεος προσίσχε πρὸς τὸ δάπεδον τῆς πόλιος· τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ἔσχε κωφὰ πρὸς ἃ προσίσχε, κατὰ δὲ τὰ ὀρυσσόμενα ἤχεσκε ὁ χαλκὸς τῆς ἀσπίδος· ἀντορύσσοντες δ' ἂν <sup>513</sup> ταύτῃ οἱ Βαρκαῖοι ἔκτεινον τῶν Περσέων τοὺς γεωρυχέοντας. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐξευρέθη· τὰς δὲ προσβολὰς ἀπεκρούοντο οἱ Βαρκαῖοι. Χρόνον δὲ δὴ πολλὸν τριβομένων, καὶ πιπτόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἦσσαν τῶν Περσέων, Ἀμασις ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ πεζοῦ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε μαθὼν τοὺς Βαρκαίους, ὥς κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐκ αἵρετοὶ εἶεν δόλῳ δὲ αἵρετοὶ, ποιέει τοιάδε· νυκτὸς τάφρον <sup>514</sup> ὀρύξας εὐρέην, ἐπέτεινε ξύλα ἀσθενέα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς· κατύπερθε δὲ ἐπιπολῆς τῶν ξύλων χοῦν γῆς ἐπεφόρησε, ποιέων τῇ ἄλλῃ γῇ ἰσόπεδον· ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐς λόγους προεκαλέετο τοὺς Βαρκαίους· οἱ δὲ ἀσπαστῶς ὑπήκουσαν, ἐς δὲ σφί ἔαδε ὁμολογίῃ χρήσασθαι· τὴν δὲ ὁμολογίην ἐποιεῖντο τοιήνδε τινα, ἐπὶ τῆς κρυπτῆς τάφρου τάμνοντες ὄρκια· ἔς τ' ἂν ἡ γῇ αὕτη οὕτω ἔχῃ, μένειν τὸ ὄρκιον κατὰ χώρην, καὶ Βαρκαίους τε ὑποτελέειν φάναι ἄξιον βασιλεῖ καὶ Πέρσας μηδὲν ἄλλο νεοχμοῦν κατὰ Βαρκαίους <sup>515</sup>. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ὄρκιον, Βαρκαῖοι μὲν πιστεύσαντες τούτοις αὐτοῖ τε ἐξήϊσαν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἔων παριέναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸν βουλόμενον, τὰς πύλας πάσας ἀνοίξαντες· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καταρρήξαντες τὴν κρυπτὴν γέφυραν ἔθεον ἔσω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· κατέρρηξαν δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τὴν ἐποίησαν γέφυραν, ἵνα ἐμπεδορκέειεν ταμόντες τοῖσι Βαρκαίοισι χρόνον μένειν αἰεὶ τὸ ὄρκιον ὅσον ἂν ἡ γῇ μένῃ κατὰ τὰ τότε εἶχε καταρρήξαι δὲ οὐκέτι ἔμενε τὸ ὄρκιον κατὰ χώρην.

Τοὺς μὲν νυν αἰτιωτάτους τῶν Βαρκαίων ἡ Φερετίμη, ἐπεὶ τε οἱ <sup>202</sup> ἐκ τῶν Περσέων παρεδόθησαν, ἀνεσκολόπισε κύκλῳ τοῦ τείχεος, τῶν δὲ σφί γυναικῶν τοὺς μαζοὺς <sup>516</sup> ἀποταμοῦσα περιέστιξε καὶ

and is baffled.

201  
Amasis attempts a stratagem, and by treachery occupies the town.

202  
Pheretima's cruel revenge.

<sup>513</sup> ἂν. This particle is to be taken with ἔκτεινον. Translate: "and the Barcaeans would countermine in this region and kill those of the Persians who were working the sap."

<sup>514</sup> τάφρον. Three MSS and Suidas (v. τάφος) give the form τάφρην, which in § 28, above, is the reading of all the MSS.

<sup>515</sup> κατὰ Βαρκαίους. Gaisford reads κατὰ Βαρκαίων. But a large number of MSS have the reading in the text, and in v. 19, the expression μηδὲν νεοχμοῦσαι

κατ' ἄνδρας τούτους rests on the authority of nearly all.

<sup>516</sup> τοὺς μαζοὺς. The grammarians confine this form to the breast of the male, but the distinction appears to be a factitious refinement of the Alexandrines. In ii. 85, above, and ix. 112, below, the greater part of the MSS have the form μαζοῦς, and here only one (V) has μαστοῦς. Yet in iii. 133, and v. 18, there is an unanimous consent for the form μαστός.

τούτοις τὸ τεῖχος· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων λήθην ἐκέλευσε θέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Βαττιάδαι τε καὶ τοῦ φόνου οὐ μεταίτιοι· τούτοις δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐπέτρεψε ἡ Φερετίμη.

## 203

The Persians carry off the bulk of these Barcians into slavery.

They make an attempt on Cyrene, but fail. A panic fear falls on them.

Τοὺς ὧν δὴ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων οἱ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδισάμενοι ἀπήγεσαν ὀπίσω· καὶ ἐπεὶ τε ἐπὶ τῇ Κυρηναίων πόλει ἐπέστησαν, οἱ Κυρηναῖοι λόγιόν τι ἀποσιεύμενοι<sup>517</sup> διεξήκαν αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ ἄστεος· διεξιούσης δὲ τῆς στρατῆς, Βάδρης<sup>518</sup> μὲν ὁ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευε αἰρέειν τὴν πόλιν, Ἀμασις δὲ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ οὐκ ἔα· ἐπὶ Βάρκην γὰρ ἀποσταλῆναι μούνην Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν ἐς ἃ διεξελθοῦσι καὶ ἰζομένοισι ἐπὶ Διὸς Λυκαίου ὄχθον μετεμέλησέ σφι οὐ σχοῦσι τὴν Κυρήνην, καὶ ἐπειρώντο τὸ δεύτερον παρίεναι ἐς αὐτήν· οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι οὐ περιώρεον. τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσῃσι, οὐδενὸς μαχομένου, φόβος ἐνέπεσε<sup>519</sup>. ἀποδραμόντες τε ὅσον ἐξήκοντα στάδια, ἔζοντο· ἰδρυθέντι δὲ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ταύτῃ ἦλθε παρὰ Ἀρυάνδῳ ἄγγελος ἀποκαλέων αὐτοὺς· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι Κυρηναίων δεσθύντες ἐπόδιά σφι δοῦναι ἔτυχον, λαβόντες δὲ ταῦτα

On their retreat home all stragglers are cut off by the natives.

## 204

tives.

ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον παραλαβόντες δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτοὺς Λίβυες, τῆς τε ἐσθῆτος εἵνεκα καὶ τῆς σκευῆς τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπελκομένους<sup>520</sup> ἐφόνεον, ἐς δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπικέατο. Οὗτος ὁ Περσέων στρατὸς τῆς Λιβύης ἐκαστάτῳ ἐς Εὐεσπερίδας ἦλθε. τοὺς δὲ ἡνδραποδίσαντο τῶν Βαρκαίων, τούτους δὲ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀνασπάστους ἐποίησαν παρὰ βασιλέα· βασιλεὺς δὲ σφι Δαρεῖος ἔδωκε τῆς Βακτρὴς χώρας κόμην ἐγκατοικῆσαι. οἱ δὲ τῇ κόμῃ ταύτῃ οὐνομα ἔθεντο Βάρκην, ἥπερ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν οἰκευμένη ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Βακτρῇ<sup>521</sup>.

## 205

Darius settles the Barcians in Bactria.

Οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡ Φερετίμη εὖ τὴν ζῆν κατέπλεξε· ὥς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης τισαμένη τοὺς Βαρκαίους ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἀπέθανε κακῶς· ζῶσα γὰρ εὐλέαν ἐξέζεσε<sup>522</sup>. ὥς

<sup>517</sup> ἀποσιεύμενοι. See note 404 on § 164, above.

<sup>518</sup> Βάδρης. The manuscript S has Μάνδρης, but all the others Βάδρης, which Gaisford retains. But see the note 441 on § 167.

<sup>519</sup> φόβος ἐνέπεσε. There can be no doubt that the Ζεὺς Λυκαῖος is identical with Pan, the especial deity of Arcadia, as VIRGIL calls him (*Bucol.* x. 26).

<sup>520</sup> ἐπελκομένους. Not primarily "crippled" or "fainting," but "dragged on by

others," like the led camels described in iii. 106. No doubt such would be men fainting under wounds or fatigue; but this idea does not reside in the word ἐπέλκεσθαι, but is an inference from the circumstances of the case.

<sup>521</sup> ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Βακτρῇ. See note on vi. 9.

<sup>522</sup> ARISTOTLE (*Hist. Anim.* v. 25, ed. Schneider) mentions Alcman the poet, and Pherecydes of Syros the historian, as instances of persons dying of this dis-

ἄρα ἀνθρώποισι αἱ λίην ἰσχυραὶ τιμωρίαι πρὸς θεῶν ἐπίφθονοι Pheretime comes to a bad end.  
 γίνονται. ἡ μὲν δὲ Φερετίμης τῆς Βάττεω<sup>133</sup> τοιαύτη τε καὶ  
 τοσαύτη τιμωρὴ ἐγένετο ἐς Βαρκαίους.

ease, but does not mention Pheretime. Familiar instances in later times are Sulla, Antiochus Epiphanes, Herod, Galerius, and Philip II. of Spain.

<sup>133</sup> τῆς Βάττεω. The manuscripts S, K, F, have Βατταίου. Pheretime was the wife of a Battus (as appears from § 162), but there is nothing in Herodotus (except

this passage may be taken as such) to show whose *daughter* she was. But as confessedly Βάρτος is the Libyan name for a chieftain, it seems far from impossible that she was represented as the *daughter* of a Battus or Battæus, and that the appellative was mistaken for a proper name.

## EXCURSUS ON IV. 199.

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Τῶν ὑπερβαλασσιδίων χώρων τὰ μέσα ὀργᾷ συγκομίζεσθαι, τὰ βουνοὺς καλέουσι.

From this passage it appears that in the region of Cyrene the term *βουνοὶ* was locally given to a particular part of the country, viz. that which was at a medium elevation between the coast, and the high chain which ran E. and W. and formed the southern boundary of the district.

Herodotus undoubtedly speaks of the word as if not a familiar one to the inhabitants of Hellas, although in common use at Cyrene. From other sources we learn that it was often found in the *Syracusan* poetry (PHEYNICHUS, p. 156). In later times, it and its derivatives are found at *Alexandria* (See the LXX in *Genesis* xxxi. 46. *Exodus* xvii. 9. *Numbers* xxiii. 9. *Deuteronomy* xxxiii. 15. *Joshua* v. 3. *Ruth* ii. 14. 16). This, from the known commercial intercourse between Alexandria and the parts of Libya about Cyrene, may be accounted for equally well on the hypothesis that the word was an importation into Egypt from Cyrene, being originally African, and on that of its existence in the Macedonian dialect, and therefore in the Hellenic language in its early state.

After the growth of the κοινὴ διάλεκτος of literature, the foreign character of the word appears to have worn off. Thus POLYBIUS has *βουνώδης*, DIODORUS SICULUS *βουνοειδής*, STRABO and PAUSANIAS *βουνός*. But this was not the case before the time of the Ptolemies. PHILEMON, the comic poet, ridiculed the word as a foreign one (*ap. Eustath. in Il. X.* 881, 882) in one of his plays; and although it is

perhaps impossible to give a *certain* interpretation to the obscure passage of *ÆSCHYLUS* (*Suppl.* 116),

ἰλέομαι μὲν Ἀπία βοῦνιν  
καρβάνα δ' αὐτὰν  
εὐακοῖς,

yet it is plain that Ἀπία βοῦνιν there, and γὰ βοῦνιν (776), are phrases unfamiliar to the ear of an Athenian. Accordingly it has been supposed that the word βοῦνός was a native African word, adopted by the Cyrenian settlers, transported in the course of commercial intercourse to Sicily, and brought by *Æschylus* from thence to Athens, on his return from his sojourn in the island.

But another theory seems at least equally plausible, viz. that the word is Pelasgian, that is to say, belonging to the very earliest stage of the Greek language, and that instead of being brought *from* Africa, it was taken *thither*, and also to Syracuse, from Hellas Proper; that in a time antecedent to the colonization of Cyrene, it was common in Peloponnese, but that it there became obsolete, or at least archaic and peculiar to religious offices, while at the same time it was retained in ordinary language in the colony<sup>1</sup>.

That, if a Hellenic word at all, it belonged to the earliest stage of the language, seems to follow from the circumstance that the Cyrenian colonists were not a homogeneous population, being partly from Crete, partly from Thera, and partly Minyans from Laconia and Elis (*HEROD.* iv. 145—161). If used by all of them, it cannot have been a provincialism, but must have formed a part of their common inherited vocabulary. Therefore, on this hypothesis, we may expect to find its etymological equivalents in the other dialects of the same family. Following this clue, there do seem to be grounds for the belief that a root βῶν, βοῦν, or βόν, signified in the early language of which these are off-shoots, "the Earth," or, to speak more exactly, "a mountain." From this fundamental conception, it is only natural that two classes of words should be derived, the one inheriting the sensuous, the other the religious portion of the original notion: the former conveying always a notion of *elevation* or *convexity*, the latter, one of *sanctity*, arising from the sacred character of

<sup>1</sup> Compare note 52 on ii. 14, and that on v. 45, κατὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κρᾶστιν.

the earth as an object of worship in the ancient elemental religions<sup>1</sup>.

Instances of the former class are the following. 1. The Gaelic "Ben" (Armorican "Pen"), signifying "a mountain." This root shows itself in the mediæval Latin "Benna," which, according to DUCANGE, was a Gallic term for a car (perhaps rather, like *currus*, the elevated seat in a car). It is also traceable in the English "bench" (boenchen?), "bank," and the French "banc." 2. The word "bon" preserved in the mediæval Latin "bonna," which, according to DUCANGE, means "a boundary mound," and remains in the English "bound<sup>2</sup>." 3. The German "Buehne," signifying an elevation of planks, a stage or dais. 4. The Greek *βουβάν* (where the first syllable is a prefix, as in *βούτρας*, *βουκαίος*, &c.), which was used as early as the time of HIPPOCRATES in its modern medical sense. 5. *βουβός*, which HESYCHIUS says the *Cyprians* used in the sense of *σπιθαίς*, "a heap of litter." 6. *βουβοί βομοί*, HESYCH., a sense of the word which seems archaic, as in the early rituals altars were mounds of earth.

The following instances seem referable to the latter class.

1. HERE *βουβαία* is a name under which an elemental deity, apparently identical with the Earth or Hecate, was worshipped at Corinth. See the note on v. 92, & τὸ Ἡραῖον. That this surname was not derived from the locality of the temple, as being on the top of a *βουβός*, but was the ancient name of the goddess, seems probable from the circumstance, that in PAUSANIAS's time a mythical *Bonus*, son of Hermes, was put forward as the eponymous founder, although the word *βουβός* in the sense of "a hill" had by that time become common. Also the temple stood together with one of a Demeter, to whom therefore the epithet, if merely expressing locality, would have been equally applicable.

<sup>1</sup> These, it should be remembered, regarded every distinct form in which the natural forces developed themselves, as a separate divinity. Thus the mountain was divine, no less than the forest, and the spring: and superstition accordingly produced its Oreads as well as its Dryads and its Naiads. It seems not unlikely that the relation of Ζεὺς Δαδωναῖος to the Dryads, and of Oceanus to the Naiads, is paralleled by that of a *Bouvaia* to the Oreads.

<sup>2</sup> This word seems to have been sometimes pronounced *βέν*. In Hertfordshire I have found the expression "bone-plate" (i. e. *bound-platte*), used to signify a space left as a boundary between two parishes. *Bon* would be related to *Ben*, as *bonus* to *bene*, an adverb which implies a form *benus* or *boenus*.

2. The same deity, under the same name slightly modified, appears also in the old Latin rituals. The Roman antiquaries doubted whether the month of *May* was so called from *Maius*—(the *Deus Maius* of Tusculum, a deity identical with Jupiter)—from *Maia* the wife of *Vulcan*, or from *Maia* the mother of *Hermes*. But *Cornelius Labeo* asserted that the *Maia* to whom the *Flamen Vulcanalis* sacrificed on the kalends of *May* was nothing else than *the Earth*. She was conjoined with *Mercury* (as the *Here Bunæa* of *Corinth* was with *Hermes* through the mythical *Bunus*) in the ritual which was assigned to her; the victim sacrificed was a pregnant sow; and the ceremonies were of a secret nature. In the Pontifical Books she was invoked (*indigestabatur*) under the names of *Bona Dea*, *Ops*, *Fauna*, and *Fatua* (*MACROBIUS, Saturnal. i. c. 12*). *Macrobius* adds: “Sunt qui dicant hanc deam potentiam habere *Junonis*, ideoque sceptrum regale in sinistra manu ei additum. Eandem alii *Proserpinam* credunt, . . . . . alii *χθονίαν* Ἐκάτην . . . . *Bœoti* *Semelam* credunt . . . . *Quidam* *Medeam* putant.” The decided identity of this deity with the *Here Bunæa* of *Corinth*, and of both with the *Earth*, makes it a probable supposition that both *Bona* and *Bunæa* are merely dialectal variations of the same word<sup>4</sup>, which if so must have been *Pelasgian*. The religious formula, “*Quod bonum faustumque sit*,” derives its origin (I believe) from the ritual of this deity.

3. In the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon dialects, there are, according to *GRIMM (Deutsche Mythologie, p. 20)*, a whole groupe of words signifying “prayer.” Old Norwegian *bøn*, Swedish and Danish *boen*, Anglo-Saxon *bén*; from whence came *bénsian* (supplicare), English *boon* (which in *Chaucer* and *Robert of Gloucester* is *bone*). These all appear to me to be connected with the root of *Bunæa*.

4. The word *Penas*<sup>5</sup>, which *DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS* mentions as having been inscribed on the figures of the *Dioscuri*, that he saw in a part of *Rome* called “*Sub Olivis*” seems to be merely equivalent to *θεός*. The *Penates* in the *adytum* at *Lavinium* were

<sup>4</sup> The difference in quantity between ‘*bŭnus*’ and *βουνός* is no argument against this view. It is justified by many similar diversities, e.g. *βράχιον* and ‘*brachium*.’

<sup>5</sup> He says the word was *DENAS*, but *Scaliger* considers it certain that he mistook the ancient *ρ* for a *π*.



two heralds' staves (one of iron and one of brass) and a vase of Trojan pottery (*Antiqq.* i. 67).

5. The English word *bon-fire* (anciently *bone-fire*) is perhaps best explained by considering it to mean "bene-ominatus ignis," and to have had originally a religious (probably lustral) significance, like the Palilia at Rome, the St. John's Fire of Germany, and the ritual alluded to in *Deuteronomy* (xviii. 10) and 2 *Kings* (xvi. 3). On the latter passage THEODORET remarks: εἶδον γὰρ ἐν τισὶ πόλεσιν ἀπαξ τοῦ ἔτους ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις ἀποτιμέναις πυρὰς, καὶ ταύτας τινὰς ὑπερ-  
λομένους . . . . . τὰ δὲ γε βρέφη παρὰ τῶν μητέρων παραφερόμενα  
διὰ τῆς φλογός· ἐδόκει δὲ τοῦτο ἀποτροπιασμός εἶναι καὶ κάθαρσις.  
(*Opp.* i. 362, ed. Paris.) But the connexion of *lustral fire* with *Earth-worship* is in Greece at least as ancient as the time of the Homeric Hymn, in which the legend of the fiery purgation of Demophoon by Demeter appears (vv. 230, seqq.); and in Italy the same early connexion is indicated by the fact of the Flamen *Vulcanalis* sacrificing to the *Earth*, under the name of Maia or Bona Dea, as observed above.

END OF VOL. I.

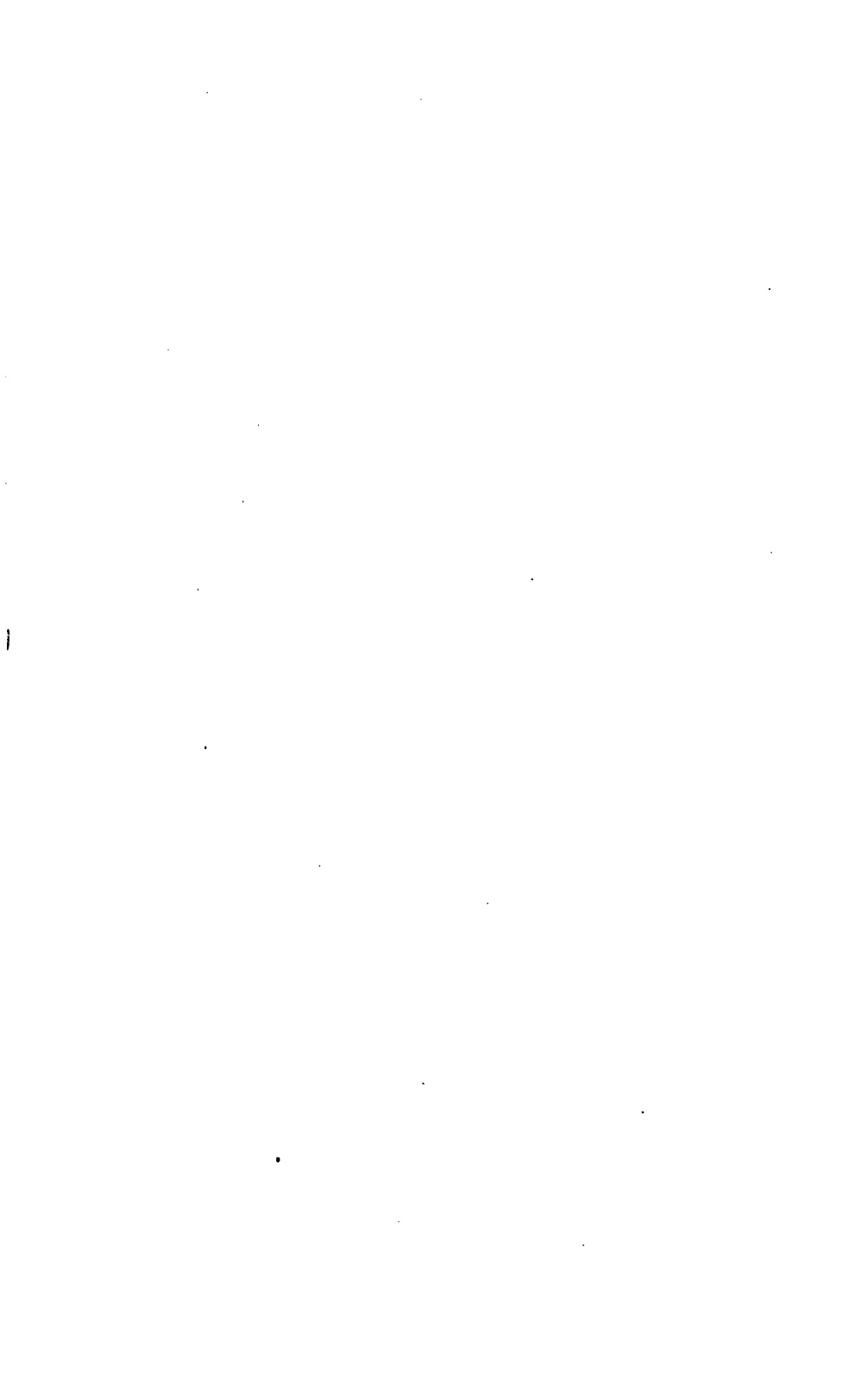


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